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PART I.—JANUARY

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## The "Fifty-seven Years" in the Zoroastrian Doctrine of the Resurrection

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THE doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is a familiar one in Zoroastrianism from the Avesta and kindred sources. It has long been a puzzle to me, however, to understand why the Pahlavi Books assign the exact number "fifty-seven years" at the end of the last millennium to the events connected with the resurrection of the dead (Phl. *rīstāxēz*) and the renovation of the world (Phl. *frašōkart*, Av. *frašōkərətī*) by the Saviour or Benefactor (Phl. *Sōšyans* or *Sōšāns*, Av. *Saošyant*) and his assistants, fifteen males and fifteen females.<sup>1</sup> It has therefore seemed worth while to bring together the Pahlavi passages alluding to the fifty-seven years and see if anything can be deduced from them.

1. We may begin with the B ū n d a h i s h n.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, chap. ix, § 85 (1927), being the original English from which was made the German translation in Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, 2. 684–686 (1903).

<sup>2</sup> For the text of the Indian recension of the Būndahishn see the editions by Justi, p. 72, lines 10–13; Westergaard, p. 72, 10–13; M. R. Unvalla, p. 84, 12–15; and cf. transl. by West, *SEE*, 5, 123. For the Iranian Būndahishn see the photozincograph facsimile edited by T. D. and B. T. Anklesaria, p. 223, 2–5, fol. 1136; its text in this passage presents some slight but unimportant variations from the Indian recension.

Bd. 30. 7. "First the bones of Gayōmart are roused up (*ōl hangēzēnēt*),<sup>1</sup> then those of Mashya and Mashyōi,<sup>2</sup> then those of the rest of mankind; in the fifty-seven years of Sōshyans they awaken (*vigrāsēnd*)<sup>3</sup> all the dead, and all men stand up."<sup>4</sup>

2. The Dātistānī Dēnīk refers similarly to these years as follows:—

DD. 35 (36). 5. "In the fifty-seven years, which are the period of the raising of the dead."<sup>5</sup>

The short chapter in which this allusion occurs treats of the renovation of the world and gives the names (DD. 35 (36), 4-7) of six of the larger company, who will aid the Saoshyant (Phl. *Sōšyans*, here written *Sōšāns*) in bringing this and the resurrection to pass in their respective regions of the earth, while his own activities are confined to the central zone of Khvanīras. It concludes (§ 7): "The same perfect deeds for six years in the six *other* regions, and for fifty years in the brilliant Khvanīras, awaken "immortality and set going everlasting life and everlasting weal."

The question here arises as to whether we should try to bring the years of this particular paragraph (§ 7) into connexion with the "fifty-seven" mentioned in the paragraph (§ 5) just above, as already quoted. West (*SBE*. 18, 79, n. 4) notices that the number "six" in § 7 is found in all the

<sup>1</sup> Thus (*hangēzēnēt*) is to be read, from Phl. *hangēzēnitān*, see Bartholomae, *WZKM*. 25, 404.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of "Mashya and Mashyōi" read "Mahryag and Mahryānag" with Schaefer in Reitzenstein-Schaefer, *Studien z. antik. Synkretismus*, p. 233, and see Schaefer's discussion (op. cit., p. 226, n. 1), together with his references to Freiman and Junker.

<sup>3</sup> Best transliterated as *vigrāsēnd* "they awaken", instead of (West) *virāyēnd* "they prepare"; see Bartholomae, *WZKM*. 25, 404.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of the "Huzvarish" logograms *madam yakavimūnand* (Ind. Bd.) the Iran Bd. gives the Iranian equivalents *ōl ōstand*.

<sup>5</sup> For the Pahlavi text, see edition by T. D. Anklesaria, *Datistan-i Dinik, Part I, Pursishā I-XL*, p. 73, Bombay (1910 ?); for translation see West, *SBE*. 18, 79. Cf. further Söderblom, *La Vie future*, pp. 260-1.

<sup>6</sup> See note 3 above. But West here, as above, translates "prepare", since he reads the word as *virāyēnd*.



manuscripts, and adds the comment, "but one would expect it to be 'seven', so as to complete the fifty-seven years of § 5. The number being written in ciphers the difference between 'six' and 'seven' is very slight." We have, it would seem, a choice either (1) to suppose that the number "six", instead of an original "seven", had crept into the copies owing to the predominance of the six leaders and six regions; or else (2), if the texts are correct, we may conjecture that an additional year (6 + 1) was devoted to a combined effort in bringing to its full fruition the individual work accomplished by the Saoshyant and his six co-labourers. In any case it seems plausible to surmise that we have here at least one of the two or three attempts by the Pahlavi writers to interpret or apportion the fifty-seven years.

3. In a passage in the *Vichītakīhā ī Zātsparam*, or "The Selections of Zātsparam", as translated by West, *SBE.* 37, 405, § 9, we again find a reference to "the fifty-seven years of Sōshāns". The paragraph, which is part of a passage mystically connecting the number of words in the Gāthās with the epochs of time, seeks to explain the number by comparing "the original 57 words" in the Airyaman Prayer and its accompanying utterances which are recited as formulas at the end of the Gāthās. Zātsparam explicitly calls attention to the fact that these latter formulaic addenda, numbering twelve and twenty-one words respectively, combined with those in the Prayer, sum up to the "original 57".<sup>1</sup> Or, as West (*loc. cit.*, n. 4) observes, "the Airyaman contains 24 words, its Ashem-vohū 12, and its consecration (Yas. 54. 2) 21 words, making altogether 57 words." We do not know whether Zātsparam had any traditional basis for this occult interpretation or whether his own ingenuity evolved it; nevertheless, such an explanation seems fanciful and far-fetched.

<sup>1</sup> No text is available, but we may rely on the accuracy of West's translation.



4. A better explanation, or rather distribution, of the fifty-seven years, though I cannot call it a solution of the problem, is found in a passage in the seventh book of the Dēnkart (Dk. 7. 11. 4).<sup>1</sup> This brief chapter (only nine paragraphs) deals with the close of the final millennium and the renovation of the world by Sōshāns. In the summarized account which it gives concerning his coming and the events involved, the following paragraph occurs:—

Dk. 7. 11. 4. "In the fifty-seven of his years there will be an annihilation of the fiendishness of the two-legged race *and* others, and a subjugation of disease and infirmity, death and affliction, and of the primal evils of tyranny, heresy, and wickedness. There will be a perpetual growth of green vegetation *and* happiness of the whole creation. There will be seventeen years of vegetable eating, thirty years of drinking water, *and* ten years of spiritual food."

The combined years, 17 (vegetable) + 30 (water) + 10 (spiritual food), make up the "fifty-seven". Although the passage gives no particular reason for the distribution of the years involved, it may rest on some old tradition. We may recall that the Būdahishn (Bd. 30. 2-3) states that towards the end of the millennial years before the Saoshyant shall appear, men will gradually desist from eating meat (*bisraya* = *gōšt*), then from milk (*pēm*), subsisting only on water (*mayā* = *āb*), and finally, "in the ten years when Sōshyans comes they remain without food and do not die." 2

All of these Pahlavi passages are in agreement with regard to the number fifty-seven years of Sōshāns; they differ

<sup>1</sup> See tr. West, *SBE*, 47, 117. For the text cf. D. M. Madan, *The Pahlavi Dinkard*, part 2, pp. 674-5; also Dastur D. P. Sanjana, *The Dinkard*, 14, 98-9 (text); p. 95 (transl.).

<sup>2</sup> For text of the Indian Bd. 30. 2-3, see Justi, p. 70 bottom, 71 top; Westergaard, pp. 70-1; Unvalla, p. 82 bottom, 83 top; and for the Iranian Būdahishn, Anklesaria, p. 221. Cf. also transl. West, *SBE*, 5. 120-1.

only in those particular instances, noted above, where an individual attempt is made to explain or apportion the years in this period. This fact would tend to show that there was no recognized tradition regarding the latter point, while, with regard to the former, some well-known tradition must have been current.

5. A solution, perhaps, of the number fifty-seven may be found in a passage in the *Dēnkar* (Dk. 7. 6. 12), which is based on the traditional chronology and says that fifty-seven years elapsed from the time when Zoroaster first received the revelation of the religion until it was published throughout the world.<sup>1</sup> The passage runs thus:—

Dk. 7. 6. 12. "One *marvel* is this, which is manifest (*padtāk*), that in fifty-seven years onward from Zaratūsht's receiving the religion, the arrival of the religion is manifest in *all* the seven regions (of earth)." <sup>2</sup>

If, in the light of this statement, we examine West's tables of Zoroastrian Chronology (*SBE.* 47, introd. p. xxxi), as based on the millennial system of the *Būdahishn* and other Pahlavi sources, we shall observe at the outset certain parallels between the years assigned in the careers of Aūshētar, Aūshētar-māh, Sōshāns, and those of Zaratūsht, since each of these spiritual leaders in the last three millenniums of the world successively received the divine revelation at the age of 30, the age at which it was vouchsafed to Zoroaster. We may,

<sup>1</sup> I am especially indebted to my fellow-worker, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, for suggestions in connexion with this passage.

<sup>2</sup> For the text see Madan, *The Pahlavi Dinkard*, 2. 648; Sanjans, *Dinkard*, 14. 45 (text), 44 (transl.). Cf. transl. West, *SBE.* 47. 80. The traditional chronology of the early years of the Faithis summarized by West, *SBE.* 47, introd. p. xxx; see the references to the Pahlavi texts there cited, and compare also the Persian *Ravāyat* of Kam Dīn Shāpur, 2. 48, 11-12, Bombay, 1922. Incidentally may be added the fact that another Persian *Ravāyat*, that of Kam Bhara, op. cit. 2. 48, 18, assigns "57 years" for the reign of the legendary Kai Khusrāu. The *Būdahishn* (Bd. 34. 7), however, gives a round number of "60 years" for this monarch's reign. For the passages in the *Ravāyats* I have to thank my colleague, Professor L. H. Gray.

therefore, be justified in suggesting further that the number of "fifty-seven years" devoted by Sōshāns to the final renovation of the world and the resurrection was really based on the traditional fifty-seven years which it took for Zoroaster's religion to be spread abroad throughout the seven regions of the earth. Such a conjecture in the way of solving the problem seems at any rate plausible.

19-26th June, 1927.

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## Is the Nyayapraveśa by Dinnaga ?

By PROFESSOR GIUSEPPE TUCCI, Ph.D.

THE *Nyāyapraveśa*<sup>1</sup> with the commentary of Haribhadra has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, together with a careful comparative study of the two Tibetan translations by my friend Vidhuśekhara Shāstrī. Both translations presuppose the same original, but the first (T<sup>1</sup>) (Cordier, *Catal.*, vol. iii, p. 435, n. 7) has been translated from the Sanskrit, while the second (T<sup>2</sup>) is a translation from the Chinese of Yuan Chwang (Tib.: T'añ Sam Tsañ). The title of the work in the Sanskrit text is *Nyāyapraveśa-sūtra*: in this the word *sūtra* seems to be out of place, and it would be better to substitute the Chinese 論 *lun*, *śāstra*, which is much more correct, and which is to be found also in the index of the *bsTan-aGyur*: *Bstan.bcos.rigs.pa.la.ajug.pa*: *nyāyapraveśa-śāstra*. (Cf. Haribhadra's *Vṛtti*, p. 9: *nyāyapraveśakākhyaśāstram*.) According to the Tibetan colophon of T<sup>1</sup> the title of the book is given as *pramāṇa-nyāyapraveśaprakaraṇa*; but as it often happens in the Tibetan titles, this is probably a later restoration based on the Tibetan itself. If we have recourse to the commentary by Kwei-chi (因明入正理論疏) we should be inclined to interpret the *ts'ad ma* of the Tibetan not as *pramāṇa*, but as *ts'ad.mai.rig.pa*: *pramāṇavidyā, hetuvidyā*: in fact the Chinese commentator gives us in transcription the Sanskrit title of the book in this way: 梵云. 醯都. 費陀. 那耶. 鉢羅吠奢. 奢薩怛羅; in Sanskrit, *hei tu—fei t'o—na ye—po lo fei she—she sa tan lo*. Then he explains: *hei tu* means 因 cause; *fei t'o* means 明 knowledge; *na ye* means 正理 logic; *po lo fei she* means 入 to enter;

<sup>1</sup> As I am writing far away from any Chinese library, nor have I yet received the last volumes of the Taishō edition of the *Tripitaka*, I cannot help using for this note the Nanking edition of the works by Kwei-chi and Shen t'ai: therefore I cannot give any better reference.

*she sa tan lo* means 論 *śāstra*. It is evident, therefore, that the title of the book was *hetuvidyā-nyāya-praveśaśāstra*. But curiously in the Chinese translation the book is not attributed to Dinnāga, but to 商羯羅塞縛彌 or ||主 (Nanjiō's Cat., 1216, Sugiura, p. 36).

Moreover, Kwei chi himself, after having given the transcription of the title of the book, and having explained it in various ways, comments upon the phrase which follows the title, I mean: 商羯羅主菩薩造 (that is to say, made by Bodhisattva *Śaṅkarasvāmin*). He says: 梵云. *Shang kie lo-sei fu mi p'u sa* 訖栗底: *ki.li.ti*. In Sanskrit: *Śaṅkarasvāmi-bodhisattva-kṛta*. Further, in the Chinese *Tripitaka*, under the name of Dinnāga there is another treatise which has been translated twice: firstly by Yuan Chwang and after him by I Tsing (Nanjiō, nn. 1223, 1224), and which is called 因明正理門論, restored by Nanjiō as *Nyāya-dvāṛakatarka-śāstra*; this, however, is not perfectly correct, the right restoration being *hetuvidyā-nyāyamukhaśāstra*.<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> When I first wrote this article, although I could not accept the restoration proposed by Nanjiō (*Nyāyadvāṛakatarkaśāstra*), I was inclined to think that the title of Nos. 1223-4 in Nanjiō's Cat. was in Sanskrit *Nyāyadvāṛaśāstra*. When I received the proofs, I substituted *Nyāyamukha* for *Nyāyadvāra* for the following reasons. First of all, those who know Buddhist Chinese are aware of the fact that Ch. 門, like Tib. *sgo*, may be the equivalent of Skt. *dvāra*, as well as of *mukha* (cf. expressions like 解脫門 *vimokṣamukha*, etc.). Therefore, according to the Chinese a restoration *Nyāyamukha* would be quite as possible as *Nyāyadvāra*. Moreover, the recently published text of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* confirms the conjecture that the title of the original book by Dinnāga was, in fact, *Nyāyamukha*. In the *Tattvasaṅgraha* we read (p. 372, l. 23):—

*evam nyāyamukhagrantho vyākhyātavyo dīśānyā |*  
*jñānam ity abhisambandhāt pratītiḥ tatra coditā ||*

*Kamalaśīla* thus comments on this śloka:—*tatrāyaṃ Nyāyamukhagranthaḥ : "yo'j jñānam artharūpādeḥ viśeṣapābhīdhāyākābhēdopacāreṇāvibhaktiḥ tad akṣam akṣam prati varittata iti pratyakṣam" viśeṣaṇaṃ jātyādi, etc.*

In the index of quotations the editor of the text considers this passage to be from the *Nyāyapraveśa*; but he adds in a footnote: *ādarśapustake pāthabhedo drśyate* (p. 90). The *ādarśapustaka* is the text of N.P. as it is printed in the same collection, where the definition of *pratyakṣa* is given in the following terms: *pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham yo'j jñānam arthe*



relation between the *Nyāyapraveśa* and this other treatise has not yet been settled. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*History of Indian Logic*, p. 300, n. 2) wrongly affirms that the *Nyāyapraveśa* corresponds to Nos. 1223 and 1224 of Nanjiō's *Catalogue*, while at page 299, n. 1, he says that the *hetucakraḍamaru* is probably the same as the *hetuvāraśāstra* referred to by I Tsing (Takakusu's transl., p. 187). Professor Ui (*Vaiśeṣika Phil.*, p. 68, n. 2) rightly pointed out that the *Nyāyapraveśa* cannot be attributed to Dinnāga, but it seems that he was inclined to identify the *Nyāya Pr.* only with the Tibetan text translated from the Chinese. But as it is certain that Nanjiō 1223 and 1224 are absolutely different from Nanjiō 1216, in the same way it is certain—as was stated already by Vidyābhūṣaṇa himself (p. 300, n. 1) and has been now definitely shown by Vidhuśekhara Shāstrī—that both the Tibetan translations are of one and the same work. Now, what is the relation between the *Nyāyapraveśa* and the *Nyāyamukhaśāstra* ? Are these both to be ascribed to Dinnāga, or was one only written by the great logician ?

In the colophon to the *Nyāyapraveśa*, translated into Tibetan from the Chinese (Cordier, iii, p. 436), it is already

*rūpādaṁ nāmajātygādikālpānārahitaṁ tad akṣaṁ akṣaṁ prati vartata iti pratyakṣam.*

But there is no question of *pāthabheda*, because, as may be gathered from Kamalaśīla himself, we have here not a quotation from the N.P., but from the *Nyāyamukha*. In the commentary on *kārikā* 12 (Yuan Chwang's transl., Tōkyō ed., p. 3a) Dinnāga quotes half a *śloka* as a *mūlakārikā* (i.e. taken from the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*) :

現 量 除 分 別  
餘 所 說 因 生

Then, commenting on the definition *pratyakṣaṁ kalpanāpocḥham*, he writes 若有智於色等境、遠離一切種類名言、假立無異諸門分別、由不共緣現現別轉故現量。

Now it is evident that this definition tallies fairly well with that given by Kamalaśīla in his quotation from the *Nyāyamukha*. So that there is no doubt that Nanjiō 1223, 1224 represent the Chinese version of the *Nyāyamukha*, which is the *rigs.pa'i.sgo.* attributed to Dinnāga and quoted very often in the Buddhist logical works preserved in the *bsTan-pGyur*.



said that this work must not be identified with the *rigs.pai.sgo* : *nyāyamukha* which is quoted in the *ts'ad.mai.agrel.c'en*, the commentary on the *Pramāṇa(samuccaya)*. Moreover, we have not sufficient grounds for rejecting the statement of Kwei-chi. He was a pupil of Yuan Chwang, the translator of both works, and was himself perfectly acquainted with the history of Indian logic, as it is proved not only by his commentary upon the *Nyāyapraveśa*, but also by his essays and glosses on the *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* as the 成唯識論料簡, the ||| 別鈔, and the commentary on the *Viṃśakā*-and *Triṃśakā-kārikā*.

The statement that he gives is formal<sup>1</sup>: Dinnāga wrote the *Nyāyamukhasāstra*, and Śaṅkarasvāmin, who was one of his pupils, composed the *Nyāyapraveśa*, deriving the fundamental tenets of this book from the treatise of his master. Shen t'ai, 神泰, who was another disciple of Yuan Chwang, and who has commented upon the *Nyāyamukhasāstra*, 因明正理門論述記, makes a statement almost identical in meaning: "Nyāya (正理) is the name of the other fifty books (literally: teachings), as the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* 集量), and so on. Because this *sāstra* represents the door of it (viz. *nyāya*), therefore it is called *nyāyamukha*. As to the *Nyāyapraveśa* made by Śaṅkarasvāmin (天主) [in the title of it] this *sāstra* is called [simply] *nyāya*, and because that [book, viz. the *Nyāyapraveśa*] can permit the entrance in this [viz. the *Nyāyamukha*], therefore it is called 'entrance into the *Nyāya*'. Since [the title] is abridged, it does not contain the word: door."

Recently my learned friend Vidhuśekhara Shāstrī has studied again the question in an article published in the *Indian Historical Review* (vol. iii, 1, p. 152). In this he endeavours to show that the *Nyāyapraveśa* is by Dinnāga, and that the authority of the Chinese sources is contradicted by the Tibetan and Sanskrit documents. On the contrary, I am inclined to maintain that here also Chinese sources are

<sup>1</sup> In the introductory part of his glosses on the *Nyāyapraveśa*.

correct. In fact, I think that his theory is based on the invalid assumption that the *Nyāyapraveśa* is identical with a supposed *Nyāyadvāra* (p. 153, "it goes without saying that in fact *N.P.* and *Nyāyadvāra* are one and the same"), while he believes that Nanjiō 1223 and 1224 are to be restored in *Nyāyatarkadvārāsāstra*. As, however, I have already shown, there is no word for *tarka* in Chinese; while, as we have seen, the Tibetan authorities also assert that the *Nyāyapraveśa* and the *Nyāyamukha* are two different books. Moreover, just as Chinese 門 and 入 have two different meanings, in the same way the Tibetan *sgo*, which corresponds usually to Skt. *dvāra* or *mukha*, is never used for *praveśa*, the regular translation of which is *ajug.pa*. Therefore, since the *Nyāyapraveśa* and the *Nyāyamukha* are two different works, the following passage of the commentary by Dinnāga himself on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* has no value for the purpose of proving that he himself is the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa*: *de.lta. bui. yon. tan. can. gyi. ston. pa. la. p'yag. qts'al. nas. ts'ad. ma.bsgrub.par.byabai.p'yir.rañ.gi.rab.tu.byed.pa.rigs.pai.sgo.la.sogs.pa.rnams.las.qdir.gcig.tu.btus.te.ts'ad.ma.kun.las.btus.pa.brtsam.par.byao*.

Nor does the other passage of Jinendrabuddhi (in his *Viśālāmalavātī*, Mdo (Narthang ed.) Re, fol. 4<sup>b</sup>, quoted at p. 155) prove aught else than is already *siddha*, that is to say, that the *Nyāyamukha* (and not the *Nyāyapraveśa*) is by Dinnāga.

The example of the first of the *pakṣābhāsās*, namely the *pratyakṣaviruddha*, referred to and refuted by Kumārila (*Ślokavārttika*, i, 1, 5, Chowkhamba ed.), and Pārthasārathimīśra (*ibid.*), *aśrāvaṇaḥ śabdaḥ*, occurs certainly in the *Nyāyapraveśa*, but it is also discussed in the *Nyāyamukha*: 現量... 相違... 如有成立聲非所聞. that is to say: *pratyakṣaviruddham: yathā: aśrāvaṇaḥ śabda iti*.

Again, the *svavacanaviruddha*, refuted by Kumārila, is also contained in the *Nyāyamukha*, although the example given by Pārthasārathimīśra, *jānanī me bandhyā*, does not



occur, it is true, in the *Nyāyamukha*, where the example is 一切言皆是妄: *sarvavacanāni mithyā*<sup>1</sup> (cf. *Nyāyabindu*, Benares ed., p. 85; *sarvaṃ mithyā bravīmi*). But this does not prove anything, since it is obvious that we cannot assert that the *Nyāyamukha* was the only source from which Pārthasārathimīśra drew his knowledge of Buddhist philosophy.

The example of the *lokaviruddha*: *śaśi na candrah* is far more interesting; it can be found neither in the Sanskrit text of the *N.P.* nor in T<sup>1</sup>, but it occurs in the Chinese translation and in T<sup>2</sup>, which, as already said, is based on that. Now this example is discussed in the *Nyāyamukha*—如說懷兔非月有故: *yathā śaśi na candra iti*.

As to the example of the *hetvābhāsa*, called *dharmaviśeṣa-viparītasādhana*, that is to say, *parārthās cakṣurādayaḥ saṅghātātvaḥ chayanāsanādyanāgavat*, referred to by Kumārila, it is not in the *Nyāyamukha*; but it should be noted that the example was not invented by Dinnāga, who rather took it from the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 17 (cf. the commentary of Gauḍapāda on it).

In addition, it is worthy of notice that according to the tradition preserved by the Chinese commentators (Shen t'ai, who evidently reproduces the theories of his master, called by him 法論師) Śāṅkarasvāmin altered in some points the doctrine of Dinnāga contained in the *Nyāyamukha*. So, for instance, in this last book there are only five *pakṣābhāsās*: (1) *svavacana-viruddha*; (2) *āgama-viruddha*; (3) *loka-viruddha*; (4) *pratyakṣa-viruddha*; (5) *anumāna-viruddha*.

In the *Nyāyapraveśa*, on the contrary, we find nine *pakṣābhāsās*, that is to say, the four mentioned above as well as (6) *aprasiddhaviśeṣaṇa*, (7) *aprasiddhaviśeṣya*, (8) *aprasiddhbhaya*, (9) *prasiddhasambandha*. How can this difference between

<sup>1</sup> This thesis can be met with in the first chapter of the fragment of the *Tarkasāstra* (?) attributed to Vasubandhu. Its text has been restored into Sanskrit by me, and will very soon be published together with other logical works preserved in Chinese.



the two works be explained? According to Shen t'ai the last four *doṣas* are a superfluous addition by Śāṅkarasvāmin. The *aprasiddhaviśeṣa* is, according to him, nothing else than *hetvaprasiddhadoṣa* 因不成過; the *aprasiddhaviśeṣaṇa* is *vaidharmyadr̥ṣṭāntadoṣa* 無同喻 |; the *aprasiddhobhaya* is related to the first two, and, as these are not *pakṣābhāsās*, it also cannot be a *pakṣābhāsa*.

As to the example given by Śāṅkarasvāmin in order to explain the *prasiddhasambandha*, namely, *śrāvaṇaḥ śabdaḥ*, this is in fact *aprasiddhapakṣa*, because nobody can begin a discussion if the *prativādin* is not supposed to have a thesis completely different from that which is accepted by the *vādin*. Therefore, he concludes, there are only five *pakṣadoṣās*. Kwei-chi himself, after having quoted the first five *pakṣābhāsās*, comments: "Dinnāga established only these five and Śāṅkarasvāmin added the other four."

Lastly, my friend Vidhuśekhara Shāstrī is opposed to the attribution of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to Śāṅkarasvāmin, since Yuan Chwang does not quote in his travels the name of this author. But I do not think that this is a decisive objection, because not only was the book translated by the great pilgrim himself, under the name of Śāṅkarasvāmin, but, as can be seen from many passages of the commentaries by Kwei-chi and Shen t'ai, these Chinese scholars obtained all their information about the authorship and the history of these logical works from none other than their own master.

To conclude, I think that neither the attribution of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to Dinnāga, to be found in the rather late Tibetan translations of this work, nor the statement of a later author such as Haribhadra, can authorize us to deny validity to the ancient Chinese sources, which through Yuan Chwang were directly connected with traditions current in India at the time of the travels of the great Chinese pilgrim.

Nor should we forget that in the colophon of the discovered MSS. of the *Nyāyapraveśa* no statement is to be found concerning the author of the work.



## Temple-and-Image Worship in Hinduism

BY J. N. FARQUHAR

1. The use of images in Hindu temples and in Hindu homes is, perhaps, not absolutely universal to-day, as we shall see ; but the non-conforming minority, if it still exists, is exceedingly minute. In every part of India temples and images may be seen ; and the religious life of all classes of the people depends very largely on their use.

2. Yet *the Aryans of the Punjab*, from whom the religion of India with its priests, schools, laws, literature, and customs has come, *possessed no temples and used no images*. They were a most religious people ; yet *they had no public worship of any sort*. They had domestic rites, and rites for the farm and the cornfield ; they had a noble pantheon of heavenly gods ; they had trained priests, an elaborate ritual and a stately liturgy ; yet every religious observance was of a domestic character. Even when a king summoned scores of priests and held a very great sacrifice for some state purpose, the sacrifice was the king's own personal undertaking, and it was only indirectly that it could be of importance to his people.

There were three types of Aryan sacrifice : (a) the offering of milk, grain, and butter in the fire of the altar ; (b) animal sacrifice ; (c) flagons of *soma* set out on the sacrificial grass. The man who held the sacrifice invited the necessary priests to come to his home ; and in a sacrificial shed, or in the open air, all the preparations were made. The gods were invited to descend ; and they were believed to come flying down from heaven, in their aerial cars, to the place of sacrifice and to sit down and eat and drink with the sacrificer, his wife, and the priests. *To this day this is the only fully orthodox worship in Hinduism*. All rules for both ritual and liturgy appear in Vedic literature.

3. How, then, did temple-and-image worship become the



common cult of Hinduism and displace the ancient sacrifices ? There is no record of the change in Hindu literature, nor is there any law in existence which declares the practice legitimate. All that we can make out from the literature is that the practice of image-worship became established and recognized within Hinduism round about 400 B.C. References to images, temples, and temple-priests make their appearance first in the literature of the fourth century B.C. They are found in the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa*, the *Grihya Sūtras*, the *Dharma Sūtras*, and in the early sections of both epics ; while such references are not to be found in earlier literature.

The archaeological is quite consistent with the literary record. Stone images and remains of temples belonging to the third century B.C. have been discovered in fair numbers ; and thereafter there is abundance of material. The temples and images of the fourth century were probably of wood, in almost all cases, and have therefore perished.

Thus the general date of the appearance of temple-and-image worship in Hinduism is known ; but no authoritative pronouncement sanctioning the change is to be found in the literature anywhere nor does any law exist ordaining the practice. There is no welcome given to the new form of worship, nor is any voice raised against it.

4. Further, when we ask whence the practice came, the literature is again silent. The actual practice of image-worship is reflected in fragmentary fashion in most of the great books from the fourth century B.C. onwards ; but no Vedic work describes the ritual or prescribes the liturgy ; and there is not a hint given as to the history of the introduction of the cult. Only in late sectarian books do we get any account of the details of the worship.

5. Thus Hindu literature does not enable us to decide whence Hindu temple-and-image worship came. Nor have modern scholars settled the question for us. But there is A DEFINITE TRADITION in India on the subject, a tradition which the writer has heard from scholarly Brāhmans of the highest grades

and also from Śūdra scholars. The tradition is this, that *Temple-and-image worship grew up among Śūdras and was finally accepted by Hindus of the higher castes.*

There are three writers who, in their books, have given expression to this tradition, yet without mentioning the fact that it is a tradition.

The first is P. T. Śrīnivāsa Iyengar, whose name proclaims him a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava Brāhman. In discussing, in his *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, the development of Hinduism, he writes : " Temple ritual was elaborated on a grand scale. This ritual was primarily based on the ceremonies of fetish-worship of the Dravidian races." <sup>1</sup>

The second is Prof. Radhakrishnan, who, in his book, *The Hindu View of Life*, p. 41, says, " Image worship, which was a striking feature of the Dravidian faith, was accepted by the Aryans."

The third is Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who has had unusual opportunities for intercourse with all types of Indian scholars. In his brilliant new book, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, he stresses the victory of the conquered Dravidians over the conquering Aryans in several fields, and finally says : " In particular, the popular, Dravidian element must have played the major part in all that concerns the development and office of image-worship, that is of *pūjā* as distinct from *yajña*." <sup>2</sup>

The writer has not seen any discussion of this tradition by scholars. Professor A. Berriedale Keith, in his latest work,<sup>3</sup> discusses the origin of the use of idols in India and concludes with the words : " It is therefore perhaps more plausible to believe that their employment gradually developed in India itself, though under what influences we simply do not know."

6. At first sight the statement that *Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas accepted from the despised Śūdra class a form of*

<sup>1</sup> p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, 31.



worship which is now supreme in practically every type of Hinduism, seems to be totally incredible ; yet there are several large considerations, which, taken together, make it impossible, in the judgment of the writer, to reject the tradition.

(a) Although image-worship, both at home and in the temple, is recognized as fully legitimate for Hindus of all castes, yet every one acknowledges that *the ritual of image-worship is utterly alien from Vedic ritual*. Nor does any account of the new ritual and liturgy occur in any Vedic book.

But if the new ritual did not come from a Vedic source, then the conspicuous absence of rules for the ritual and liturgy of image-worship in Vedic literature is fully intelligible.

(b) It is rather a startling fact that, to this day and all over India, *Hindu temple-priests*, though universally recognized as Brāhmins, are not given at all the same standing and honour as other Brāhmins. Many centuries ago, temple-and-image worship became a recognized part of Hinduism. If, at that time, the ancestors of these modern temple-ministrants, being Śūdras, were given the Brāhmin title, because, in Hinduism, it was impossible to recognize a man as a priest unless by caste he was a Brāhmin, then their present position in Hindu society is fully comprehensible. Otherwise, the present invidious distinction is quite unintelligible.

(c) As we have just seen, the use of images, since 400 B.C., has been recognized as legitimate for all Hindus, in domestic as well as in temple worship ; and it has proved so popular that since then it has been almost universally practised.

Yet, from the very beginning, a part of the Brāhmin community, large or small, refused to adopt the cult of images, and continued to perform the ancient Vedic sacrifices. Since all the directions for the performance of these sacrifices are found in the ancient Hindu literature which is classed as *śruti*, i.e. revelation of the highest grade, these men were called Śrautas. It is probable that most cultured Brāhmins maintained this attitude for a long time.

Yet in the course of the centuries, image-worship steadily



gained ground among Brāhmanas of all types ; so that the number of Śrautas has slowly dwindled until to-day. Yet, even now, there are a few families in which the head of the house is called an *agnihotri*, because he keeps the sacred fire burning and offers domestic sacrifice in it ; and, from time to time, though very rarely, one hears in India that a Śrauta Brāhman has had one of the great sacrifices performed.

Further, we are assured by cultured Hindus that, a hundred years ago, *there were Śrauta Brāhmanas in existence who had never bowed down to idols*. There are still a few Śrautas in India, but whether they maintain this Puritan attitude or not the writer does not know.

(d) It must be frankly acknowledged that, while for monotheists idolatry is impossible, *among people whose outlook is polytheistic, no form of worship is so attractive and so helpful as temple-and-image worship*. The vivid sense of the living presence of the gods in the temple, the charm of the ritual, and the deep emotional effect produced by the ritual, the liturgy and occasional hymn-singing on the hearts of the spectators, all combine to create eager worship and to inspire deep devotion.

Hence, by the Christian era, or soon after, considerable numbers of Brāhmanas had adopted temple-worship. The great vogue of the doctrine of *ahimsā* must have turned many thoughtful Brāhmanas against the animal sacrifices of Vedic worship. The advance of image-worship among them is proved by the rise of the worship of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, as forming together the highest manifestation of the bodiless Brahman. Those who worshipped the three felt that they were not sectarians, worshipping one of the many personal gods, but that, in their cult, they recognized the one supreme Spirit. The *Trimūrti* expressed, in the happiest way possible, the unity in diversity which was their conception of the divine. That this was a Brāhman movement is plain from the fact that the theology of the cult appears in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upanishad*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> iv, 5-6 ; v, 2.

At a later date, when the worship of Brahmā had become impossible, Brāhmins who used images adopted a *pañchāyat* of gods—Vishṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Śūrya, Gaṇeśa—as representing the whole pantheon; and set their images or symbols in a quincunx for worship. They also built five-fold temples, each temple-enclosure containing five temples set in a quincunx. In order to maintain their orthodoxy, they adopted a ritual taken from the *Grihya Sūtras*. Instead of performing the *śoḍaśa upachāra*,<sup>1</sup> the sixteen operations, of the ordinary temple-ritual, they pronounced mantras and poured milk, ghee, or Ganges water, over the images or symbols of the five. The phrase they used for this new type of worship was *pañchāyatana pūjā*,<sup>2</sup> i.e. five-shrines' worship. This new type of worship is still common. The liquid is put in a metal vase or jar, called, in Hindī, *pāñchpātra*, five-pot, and is poured over the images or symbols with a spoon. It is practised in domestic worship as well as in temples.

It is worthy of notice that for "shrine" they chose an ancient word, *āyatana*, used in the Upanishads<sup>3</sup> for the abode of a god. It is an old Aryan word; for in the *Avesta* we find *āyadanā*<sup>4</sup> used with the same connotation.

This movement is most instructive. These Brāhmins wished to worship images; for they felt the power and value of the system; but they wished also to conserve their orthodoxy. Hence they chose, not a single god, but a *pañchāyat* representing the whole pantheon, and they adopted a mode of worship which is actually Vedic, being found in the domestic sūtras. Since the sūtras are *smṛiti*, not *śruti*, they are called *Smārtas*. Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas have also used this type of worship.

† (e) The practice of the fine arts in Ancient India was in the

<sup>1</sup> See Arthur Avalon, *Tantra of the Great Liberation*, xcvi; my *Crown of Hinduism*, 313.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, 293.

<sup>3</sup> *Āitareya*, ii, 1; *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, iii, 9, 10; *Kaushītaki*, i, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 52, 195, 391.



hands of men of extremely low caste.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Govinda Dās in his recent book, *Hinduism*, calls attention also to the lack of appreciation shown in Indian literature for men of artistic gifts, exclaiming: "The enormous mass of Sanskrit literature does not preserve the name of a single human artist."<sup>2</sup>

Clearly this would not have been so, had image-worship been created among the highest Hindu castes.

It thus seems to the writer that the five facts detailed above: (a) The non-Vedic origin of the temple-ritual<sup>3</sup>; (b) the universal low status of temple-ministrants to-day; (c) the Puritan attitude maintained towards image-worship by Śrauta Brāhmins for so many centuries; (d) the religious practice of Smārtas since the Christian era; (e) the extremely low status of the fine arts in ancient India, taken together, prove conclusively that the Indian tradition is trustworthy, and therefore that *temple-and-image worship grew up among Śūdras, that it was thrown open to the three Aryan castes about 400 B.C. and thereafter steadily climbed to its present supreme position.*

7. But scholars may still hesitate to accept the tradition. It may be asked: "How can we believe that, by 400 B.C., the rude despised Dasyus of the *Ṛigveda* had created a form of temple-worship so splendid as to captivate the higher castes?"

Two considerations have to be taken into account:—

(a) We must not equate the word *Śūdra* with the word *Dasyu*. If there is no difference between them, why was the term *Śūdra* created?

It is noteworthy that while *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* occur

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ranade, *Religious and Social Reform*, 185.

<sup>2</sup> p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> The words in use proclaim the gulf between the two systems:—

The Vedic cult.

Worship: *yajña*.

Priest: *hotri*.

The temple cult.

*pūjā*.

*pūjārī*.



frequently in the *Rigveda*, *Śūdra* occurs but once. In later literature *Śūdra* is the regular word, while *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* seldom occur, except in the sense of uncivilized people generally.<sup>1</sup> Still more noteworthy is the fact that, in *Rigveda*, x, 90, 12, *Śūdra* is placed alongside of *Brāhman*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaiśya*. It is the name of a caste, not the name of a race. While all *Śūdras* were *Dasyus*, all *Dasyus* were not *Śūdras*.

Must we not also definitely regard *Rigveda*, x, 90, 12, as being a legal pronouncement, a formal statement that a fourth caste has been created? The three names are old: *Śūdra* is new.

The writer is inclined to believe that, when preparing for the conquest of fresh territory, the leaders of the three castes came to the conclusion that, without the eager co-operation of their serfs, they could not undertake the war, and therefore decided to give them a new status, which would effectively set them far above all aborigines, whether in the Punjab or in outside territory, and would bind them irrevocably to the Aryan people.

The *Śūdras* were thus a special group of aborigines, viz. those *Dāsas* who had been brought into close touch with the Aryans as serfs, and had been moulded in Aryan ways. They already shared the Aryan culture to some extent, although religiously and socially they were kept rigidly apart. Henceforth, as *Śūdras*, they were a closed group, like the other castes; and they were, necessarily, conscious of the new dignity they had as a corporate element in the conquering Aryan force.

(b) Thus, the men designated *Śūdras* in the hymn accompanied their masters on the great expedition of conquest, settled with them on the newly won lands, and shared in the new prosperity. The later literature shows that individual *Śūdras* became men of substance and wealth. The whole *Śūdra* community, in fact, shared in the results of the Aryan expansion, and advanced in culture as well as in wealth.

<sup>1</sup> See *Dāsa*, *Dasyu*, and *Śūdra* in the *Vedic Index*.

Under these conditions, the very crude observances of their ancient polytheism, which are reflected in the *Rigveda*, would gradually develop into an attractive temple-and-image worship, as happened to so many nations of antiquity. This change seems to come quite naturally, when two conditions arise together, *the belief that the gods are like men in appearance*, and *rapid progress in general culture*. The splendid new public worship, with its music, processions, anniversaries, and fascinating services, would then stand out in brilliant contrast with the flat, unchanging ritual of the private sacrifices of the Veda, and would inevitably draw the twice-born castes to the temples.

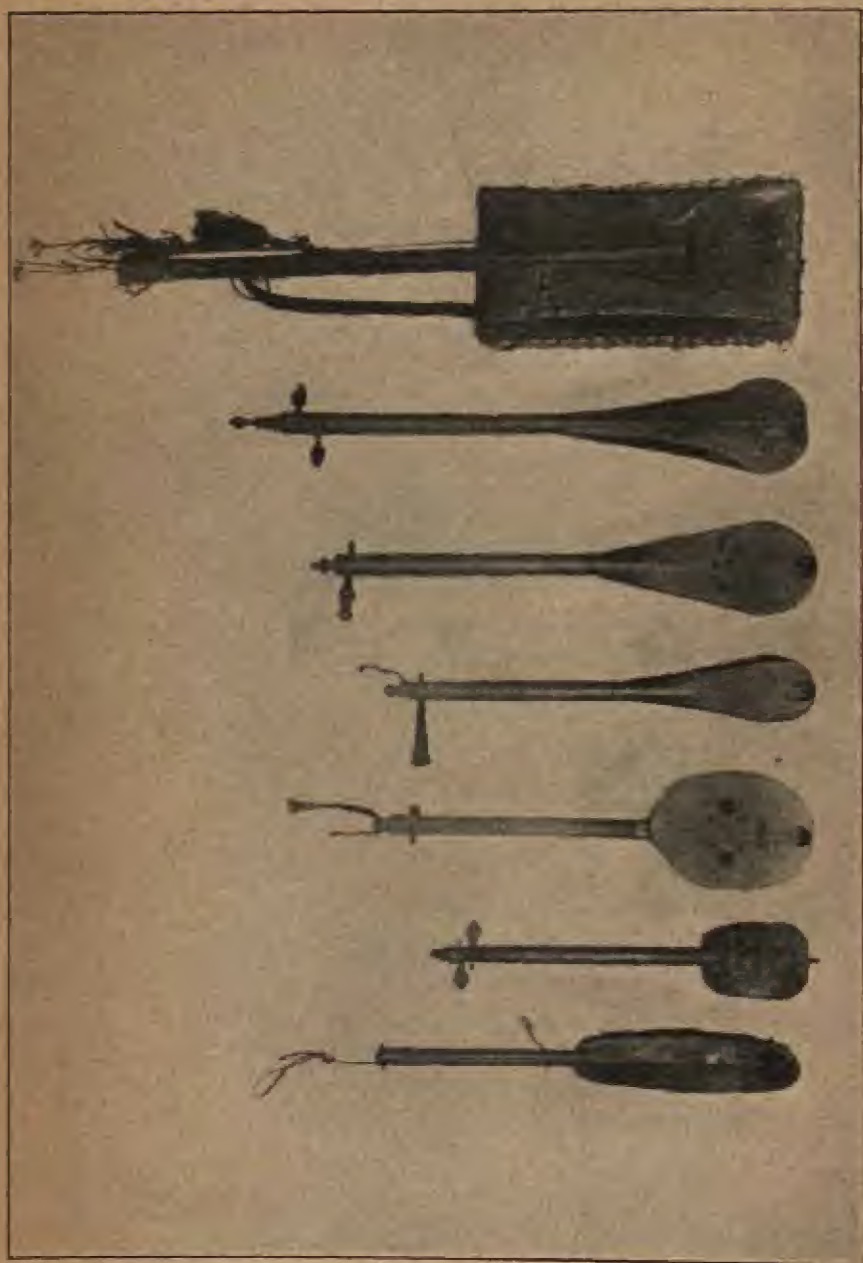
There would certainly be abundance of time for these developments before 400 B.C.

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Gunbris.

Gunbris.

Cambreh.

## A North African Folk Instrument

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

(PLATE I)

"Near the tomb of the saint a group of children . . . is collected round a white-haired negro with cheeks covered with scars. He sings in a sad broken voice, which can scarcely be heard, accompanying the song on a sort of square guitar, a *gimbri*. Strange and weird is the effect of this primitive melody, rhythmised under the burning sun, in the great plains of mysterious Africa, where no European has ever penetrated. Absorbed in his own thoughts, the old child of the dark continent will croon for hours together his plaintive melody, muttering this same sad note, this unvarying strain, escaping like a sigh from his thick, pale, colourless lips."

G. MONTEAUD, *Among the Moors*, p. 7.

AMONG the folk instruments of music in North Africa the primitive lute, guitar, or pandore known as the *gunbrī* (قُنْبَرِي) or *gunībrī* (قُنْبِيرِي) stands *facile princeps*.<sup>1</sup> Look where you will from Egypt to Morocco, from the Mediterranean to the southern confines of the Sūdān, and you will find this instrument in some form or other, although its name may have slight variation.<sup>2</sup> It is essentially an instrument of the people, and is but rarely found in the hands of the professional musician of the town orchestra (*ribā'a al-āla*), who usually confines his attention to the more refined 'ūd (lute), *kūtra* (mandoline), or *ṭunbūr* (pandore)<sup>3</sup> among the stringed instruments whose strings are plucked. All and sundry among the people at large who are impelled to try their hand at music, take up the *gunbrī* or *gunībrī*—the noisy youth, the whining beggar, the strolling minstrel, the industrious workman, the respectable merchant, and the *faqīr* of the religious fraternity (*zāwiya*)—each thinking himself an adept as a performer.

<sup>1</sup> In their various shapes the *gunbrī* and *gunībrī* may be termed lutes, pandores, or guitars.

<sup>2</sup> The negro *cambreh*, or *chalam* (*halam*), is identical with the Arabic *gunbrī*.

<sup>3</sup> The *ṭunbūr* is but rarely used nowadays.



The ancestry of the *gunbrī* is clearly traceable, although its etymological significance may escape us. The identical type, replete with tuning-rings and tabs<sup>1</sup> (and also with the tuning pegs which succeeded them), as well as with the neck passing into the sound-chest (to be explained later), may be found in the art remains of Ancient Egypt, both in pictorial design and in actual specimens.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest reference to the *gunbrī* is made by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1377). He describes the court music of the sultān of Malli in the Western Sūdān, and among the instruments of music he specifies *qanābir* (قنابر) made of gold and silver.<sup>3</sup> MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, the editors of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, say that the singular is doubtless *qunbarā'* (i.e., *qunburā'*). On the other hand, the lexicographers and special authorities say that the singular is *gunbrī*, with *gunībrī* as a diminutive, the plural being *qanābir*.<sup>4</sup> Strange to say, not one of the later chroniclers of the Western Sūdān mention these instruments, although others are frequently spoken of.<sup>5</sup>

The etymology given above is open to question. A Moor of my acquaintance informs me that *gunbrī* is merely a debased form of *gunāwī* or *gināwī* (قناوي = "of the negroes").

<sup>1</sup> The system of the tuning-rings and tabs is explained below, but it is interesting to note the persistence of this primitive method in spite of the existence of the peg system. Even when the latter is found in the modern instrument, the tabs survive as an adornment (see Nos. 3 and 4) and as a means by which the instrument is hung up.

<sup>2</sup> See Sacha, *Die musikinstrumente des Alten ägyptens*, p. 54, et seq., and tafel ix. Wilkinson, J. G., *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837), ii, 298, et seq., figs. 185, 187, 188, 191.

<sup>3</sup> *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, trad. par Defrémery et Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853-8), iv, 406.

<sup>4</sup> Boethor, *Dict. Français-Arabe* (1864); Belkassam ben Sedira, *Petit Dict. Arabe-Français* (1882); Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes* (1886), p. 60. Beaussier, *Dict. pratique Arabe-Français* (1887) writes *كنبري* using specially the *ك* instead of the *ق*, and giving the regular feminine plural *ات*.

<sup>5</sup> *Tārikh al-sūdān*, *Tārikh al-fattāh*, and *Tadhkirat al-nisyan*.

At a casual glance there would appear to be some justification for this derivation, as the instrument is a great favourite with the negroes. Further, I find that Höst, in his *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (1787) calls the *gunbrī* the *kitāra kināwa* (كيتارة كناوة = "the negro guitar").<sup>1</sup> Christianowitsch thought that the instrument was introduced into Algeria from Morocco,<sup>2</sup> and certainly the latter country has been in closer touch with the negroes of the Sūdān than the former. Morocco appears to have held the *gunbrī* in greater esteem than Algeria. Here the instrument is often well-made, and frequently finely painted or carved with oriental designs.

It is highly probable that the instrument was taken over by the Arabs of North Africa in general from the older inhabitants. It is scarcely possible to examine the examples given without recognizing the instrument of Ancient Egypt. Yet when the Arabs came to North Africa in the late seventh century, they actually possessed a far better instrument of this type in the *ṭumbūr*, and this probably explains why the more primitive *gunbrī* and *gunībrī* of the older inhabitants became relegated to the folk.

MM. Delphin and Guin say that the *gunbrī* is the larger instrument used by the negroes, whilst the *gunībrī* is the smaller type of the Arabs and Moors.<sup>3</sup> The *gunbrī* has a large oblong square or boat-shaped sound-chest (*makhzina*) of wood, the face (*wajh*) of which, known to us as the "belly", is covered

<sup>1</sup> Höst, op. cit., p. 262. *Kināwa* is certainly as old as Yāqūt (d. 1229). See his *Mu'jam al-buldān*, iv, 307 [where, however, it is said to be the name of a Berber tribe].

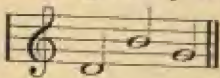
<sup>2</sup> Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe* (1863), p. 31. The statement has been repeated by Rouanet in Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v, 2930.

<sup>3</sup> Delphin et Guin, op. cit., pp. 60-1. Rouanet, op. cit., would make the distinction regional, i.e., the *gunbrī* in the south especially in the Sūdān, and the *gunībrī* in the north. Meaken only writes *ginbrī* and attaches this name to the smaller instrument. See his *Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco* (1891), and his later work *The Moors* (1902).



with skin, hence the face is often called the *jīda*. At the lower end of the face there is a sound-hole about 4 cm. in diameter. This skin is fastened to the sound-chest either by glue, nails, or by leathern thongs which are threaded to the edge and laced around the back. The neck (*yad* = "hand", or '*unq* = "neck") is cylindrical and has no finger-board. In the more primitive types the upper extremity of the neck is quite plain, save perhaps for the addition of a metal ferrule. In better types, however, a scroll or ornamental head called the *qarmūda* is added. This is generally bent backward.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the distinctive feature of the *gunbrī* type is the comprehensive use to which the neck is put. Besides serving as a neck proper, it passes into the sound-chest, being so close to the belly as to actually raise it, where it might be termed the bass-bar, and reaches as far as the sound-hole. Its end, which shows itself at this sound-hole, is fashioned like a fork with two or three prongs, and serves the purpose of tail-pins to which the strings are fastened. This fork is called the *maṣṭara*.

The strings (*awṭār*, sing. *watar*) are generally three in number, although occasionally four or two are used. They are made of gut (sometimes horsehair) and are tied by a loop at the fork (*maṣṭara*), from whence they pass over a high bridge (*kursī*, *ḥimār*)<sup>2</sup> up the neck where they are fastened at various places by means of tuning-rings of leather, as there are no tuning-pegs. These places (*mawāḍī*, sing. *maḍī*) are determined by the *accordatura*, the tuning-rings having tabs attached which enable the performer to shift these rings when tuning. The instrument given by Höst in 1787 had the

following *accordatura*  which probably sounded an octave lower.<sup>3</sup> It is usually played with the

<sup>1</sup> In the design in Höst, *tab.* xxxi, the neck is bent forward.

<sup>2</sup> In Egypt the name *kursī* is given to the tail-piece of the *tanbūr*, whilst the bridge is called the *faras* ("horse"). Cf. the Maghribī term *ḥimār* ("donkey").

<sup>3</sup> For other schemes of *accordatura* see Rouanet, *op. cit.*, p. v, 2930.



thumb and fingers and not with a plectrum, the music being of the simplest character.<sup>1</sup>

A particular point of interest about the *gunbrī* is the custom of decorating the instrument. Usually of plain and somewhat primitive structure in itself, the neck and sound-chest are generally adorned. Shells and metal ornaments are often attached to the latter, whilst the former is furnished with a curious assortment of shells, teeth, bells, coins, chains, tassels, ribbons, etc., dangling from it. Many of these adornments are looked upon by their owners as charms, and the cowrie shell especially brings "good luck" to women.<sup>2</sup> The *gunbrī* is rather a cumbersome instrument to handle, and for that reason it is usually supported by means of a strap or cord which passes round the neck of the player.

No negro *fête* would be considered complete without the *gunbrī*. Whether it be the popular "merry-making" or the *ḥadra* (seance) of the *faqīrs* (*fuqarā'*), the *gunbrī* will be found, striving to make its few notes heard above the din of the large metal castagnets (*qarāqīb*) and the noisy drum (*ṭabl*, *dardaba*) which maintain the rhythm.<sup>3</sup> When there is no drum, which is frequently the case away from the *fêtes*, the *gunbrī* player improvises his own rhythmic accompaniment by beating the skin of the *gunbrī* with his hand.

The *gunībrī*, which is the instrument preferred by the Arabs and Moors, has a much smaller sound-chest, with a relatively longer neck, and is actually a primitive type of *tunbūr*. Where in the *gunbrī* the sound-chest is either boat-shaped or oblong-square, and made of wood, in the *gunībrī* it is generally pear-shaped, ovoid, or hemispherical, and made

<sup>1</sup> For some typical music see *Archives Marocaines*, ii, 194, and Rouanet, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> The lure of display is, however, at the root of the custom. Just as the professional musician of the city likes to possess an instrument richly inlaid with mother-of-pearl and choice woods, with exquisite carvings and metal work, so the mendicant negro minstrel yearns for his frippery and garnishings.

<sup>3</sup> See *Archives Marocaines*, viii, 125, and Delphin et Guin, op. cit., p. 61. *Dardaba* = *dabdaba*. Lyon, loc. cit., writes *ḡubḡaba* (cf. text).

of wood, tortoise-shell, cocoa-nut shell, gourd, and even metal. It has a skin belly, and the neck passes into the sound-chest in the same way as in the *gunbrī*.<sup>1</sup> The belly is generally pierced by a number of small sound-holes in addition to the large sound-hole at the lower extremity. Some of these are mere pin-holes, but they are invariably arranged symmetrically either singly or in twos, threes, or fours, often as part of a decorative scheme.

Unlike the *gunbrī*, however, the head of the *gunībrī* is furnished with tuning-pegs, which are cone-shaped,<sup>2</sup> cylindrical<sup>3</sup> or flat like those of our violin.<sup>4</sup> These are not always fixed in a peg-box (as in Nos. 2 and 6), but pierce the neck diagonally from the front or back. Very rarely is the *gunībrī* found with a "nut".<sup>5</sup> In its stead a piece of gut or leather is tied round both strings and neck.

In spite of some of the primitive appurtenances, however, some excellently fashioned specimens of the *gunībrī* are produced, with carefully selected woods which are highly polished and finished. Most of them have the scroll and neck embellished with incised or fluted rings, sometimes painted in colours.<sup>6</sup> Many have the sound-chest carved in arabesque,<sup>7</sup> although painting the belly is more common.<sup>8</sup> In the latter practice, the smaller sound-holes are used to imitate the Hispano-Moorish "rosettes" (*nuwwārāt*) that are found in the lute, mandoline, and rebec. Flowers, animals, and pious inscriptions are the usual subjects that attract the artist's fancy in pigment decoration.

The *gunībrī* is usually mounted with two strings, although three are occasionally found. They are tuned a fifth apart

<sup>1</sup> In some specimens the neck passes completely through the sound-chest.

<sup>2</sup> See No. 4 below.

<sup>3</sup> See Nos. 3 and 5 below.

<sup>4</sup> See Nos. 2 and 6 below.

<sup>5</sup> The example given by Christianowitsch has a "nut".

<sup>6</sup> See No. 6 below.

<sup>7</sup> See No. 419, *New York*.

<sup>8</sup> See No. 2 below.



generally. This is the custom of the amateurs of the towns, but elsewhere the tuning depends on the needs and the ability of the performer. Although the strings are invariably plucked by thumb and fingers, the plectrum has occasional use, especially in Morocco, where it still carries the mediaeval Andalusian Arabic name of *saffā'a*.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the popularity of the tambourines (*tarr*,<sup>2</sup> *duff*, *bandīr*, *darbūka*, *qurwāl*,<sup>3</sup> and *ta'rija*), drums (*tabl*, *ṭabla*, and *qaṣ'a*), flutes (*qaṣba*,<sup>4</sup> *juwāq*), reed-pipe (*ghāṭa*),<sup>5</sup> and bag-pipe (*zakra*),<sup>6</sup> the *gunībrī* has more deeply implanted itself into the affections of the folk. To us Westerners this is almost inexplicable. What means this dull, hollow, meaningless note that results when we strike a *gunībrī* string in these cold climes of ours? Nothing! And we are amazed indeed that it could convey aught else to others. Yet hearken to this same *gunībrī* in an Arab *dawwār* (village) or Moorish *qahwa* (café) at 30° N. Lat., when the "belly" of the instrument is taut, and the string is crisp, and then one begins to apprehend. Listen to that plaintive voice of the singer, that perpetual cadence of the *gunībrī* that haunts it, and that equally persistent yet seemingly alien rhythmical sequence of the tambourine, and you may enter the spiritual world of these Semites and feel the delights that this music brings to them. If not, you will at least understand that to them this poor "bladder and string" as the *gunībrī* has been called, with its instrumental congener, can bring an ineffable joy, at once a soothing peace and delirious frenzy, even though it leaves you unmoved.

The specimens of these instruments which are given here-

<sup>1</sup> See Seybold's *Glossarium Latino Arabicum* (eleventh century) sub "Plectrum". Cf. *Archives Marocaines*, viii, 189, where it is written *saf'a*.

<sup>2</sup> Called *tār* in Algeria.

<sup>3</sup> Called *gullāl* in Algeria.

<sup>4</sup> The Maghribi vocalization of *qaṣaba*.

<sup>5</sup> Also called *ghāṭa* and *ghīta*.

<sup>6</sup> Beaussier writes *zakra*, and Lyon (*A Narrative of Travels in North Africa*, p. 234) has *zakkā*. Cf. Villoteau (*Descr. de l'Égypte, état mod.*, i, 970), where it is written *zūqqara*.



with are selected from my own collection—*gunībrī* from Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, a *gunbrī* from the Western Sūdān, and a *cambreh* from Senegambia. I have also indicated where similar or other specimens are to be found in public collections.<sup>1</sup>

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE

No. 1, *Cambreh* from Senegambia.—Boat-shaped sound-chest of roughly finished wood. Cylindrical neck of cane ornamented with incised Vandyke pattern, and the end surmounted by a metal ring. Skin belly fastened to the sound-chest by means of neatly plaited leathern thongs which are stretched across the back. Two strings of horse-hair are attached to the fork (*masfara*), and, passing over a high bridge, are fastened, not to tuning-pegs, but to tuning-rings with tabs, which are tied round the neck.

|                           | cm.  |
|---------------------------|------|
| Total length . . .        | 52   |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 29.5 |
| Width of sound-chest . .  | 7.5  |
| Depth of sound-chest . .  | 5.5  |

See *New York*, Nos. 473 and 475. This specimen, which is a lineal descendant of the Ancient Egyptian *nefer*, is found among the more primitive negro and negroid peoples. See Ankermann, *Die africanischen Musikinstrumente*. In the *cambreh* and *gunbrī*, we not unfrequently see the bass-bar threading the belly as in the Ancient Egyptian instrument.

No. 2, *Gunībrī* from Morocco.—Ovoid sound-chest of tortoise-shell. Cylindrical neck of wood, painted green, with floral designs in black, yellow, and red. Skin belly, fastened to the sound-chest with glue, painted dark red, with floral designs in white, blue, yellow, and light red. Eight small sound-holes in the belly. The neck passes through the sound-chest completely, and the lower extremity being pointed, where it projects through the chest, is used as a tail-pin for the strings (missing) to be attached to. At the upper extremity the strings are fastened to two tuning-pegs which work in a peg-box.

|                           | cm. |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Total length . . .        | 50  |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 13  |
| Width of sound-chest . .  | 10  |
| Depth of sound-chest . .  | 5   |

<sup>1</sup> *New York* = *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1904-5). *Michigan* = *Catalogue of the Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments* (Michigan, 1918). *Brussels* = *Catalogue descriptif et analytique du Musée instrumental du conservatoire royal de Musique* (Gand, 1893-1912). *Copenhagen* = *Das Musik-historische Museum du Kopenhagen* (Copenhagen, 1911). *Paris* = *Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique. Catalogue descr. et raisonné* (Paris, 1884). *Supplements* (Paris, 1894, 1899, and 1903).

See *New York*, Nos. 400, 406, 408, and 1324. *Brussels*, Nos. 398 and 399. *Copenhagen*, No. 547.

No. 3, *Gunibri* from Algeria.—Ovoid sound-chest of tortoise-shell. Cylindrical neck of wood, ornamented with incised rings. Skin belly fastened at the back with tautly drawn string. Seven sound-holes, including the one at the base. Two strings of gut are attached to the fork, which, passing over a high bridge, are fastened to two pegs in the neck. (No peg-box.)

|                           | cm.  |
|---------------------------|------|
| Total length . . .        | 55   |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 20   |
| Width of sound-chest . .  | 14.5 |
| Depth of sound-chest . .  | 5    |

No. 4, *Gunibri* from Algeria.—Pear-shaped sound-chest of wood, roughly finished, and inscribed on the back in black ink—الحمد لله واحد. Skin belly fastened with string and glue to the sound-chest. Cylindrical neck of wood, ornamented with incised rings and inscribed in black ink on the back—أحمد اليك الله, etc. No sound-holes other than the one at the base. Two strings (missing) are fastened as in No. 3. (One tuning-peg missing.)

|                           | cm.  |
|---------------------------|------|
| Total length . . .        | 53   |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 22.5 |
| Width of sound-chest . .  | 8.5  |
| Depth of sound-chest . .  | 5.5  |

No. 5, *Gunibri* from Tunisia.—Pear-shaped sound-chest of polished wood. Cylindrical neck of polished wood ornamented with incised rings. Skin belly fastened to the sound-chest as in No. 4. Five sound-holes including the one at the base. Two strings (missing) are fastened as in No. 3. (One tuning-peg missing.)

|                           | cm.  |
|---------------------------|------|
| Total length . . .        | 62   |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 26   |
| Width of sound-chest . .  | 11.5 |
| Depth of sound-chest . .  | 9.5  |

See *New York*, Nos. 415 (three strings), 419, and 420, all from Egypt, and with the bellies painted. *Paris*, Nos. 848 and 849, are also painted.

No. 6, *Gunibri* from Algeria.—Pear-shaped sound-chest, slightly waisted, of wood. Cylindrical neck of wood, the upper portion of which is detachable, so as to allow it to be more conveniently carried. This neck is ornamented with incised and turned rings, which are coloured blue, green, and red. Skin belly fastened as in No. 4. Two gut strings are attached as in No. 2. There are no sound-holes other than the one at the base.

|                           | cm. |
|---------------------------|-----|
| Total length . . .        | 72  |
| Length of sound-chest . . | 31  |
| Width of sound-chest . .  | 12  |
| Depth of sound-chest . .  | 8.5 |

Another portable device is to make a groove in the back of the neck, which serves as a case for the file called the *juwāq*.

See the instrument given in the *Catalogue of Musical Instruments . . . the Property of Henry Boddington* (Manchester, 1888), fig. 35.

For a gourd sound-chest see *New York*, Nos. 413, 1322, and 3488. *Michigan*, No. 1191. For a cocoa-nut sound-chest see *New York*, No. 404.

No. 7. *Gunbrī* from the Western Sūdān.—Oblong square sound-chest of wood, covered with leather and cloth, which are fastened with square-headed iron nails. Two rows of cowrie shells ornament the sides. Cylindrical neck of wood, from the top of which hang silken and leathern tassels, trinklets, chains, cowrie shells, and coins. A strap passes from the head to the foot of the instrument so that the minstrel can sling the instrument over his neck or shoulder. Skin belly fastened to the sound-chest with brass tacks. No sound-holes in the chest other than the one at the base. Three strings of gut are attached as in No. 1.

|                         | cm.  |
|-------------------------|------|
| Total length . . .      | 83·5 |
| Length of sound-chest . | 38·5 |
| Width of sound-chest .  | 16·5 |
| Depth of sound-chest .  | 12   |

See *New York*, No. 1326. *Michigan*, Nos. 1188 and 1189. For a boat-shaped sound-chest see Hōst, *op. cit.*

#### NOTE

The *gunbrī* and *gunṭbrī* are not dealt with in the *Encyclopædia of Islām* despite the heading, "*Gimbrī* [See *Konbur*]".



## The Painted Pottery of Susa

By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY

WHEN publishing recently the painted pottery found at al 'Ubaid<sup>1</sup> I had necessarily to refer to that found by the French excavators at Susa and other mounds in that part of Persia. I pointed out that while at al 'Ubaid there were two types of painted pottery, the thick and the thin wares, which were contemporary and were associated with various types of plain and incised ware, and while there was a very definite difference between these wares and those of Susa and Musyan, yet certain analogies and parallels did exist both with the thin wares of Susa I and with the thick wares of Susa II, which have always been regarded as differing from each other very widely in date and in style, and the former of which was not associated with any other type of pottery.

The original publication of the Susa and other material in the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* by the actual excavators, of whom M. de Morgan was the chief, and by M. Pottier, lays it down as an axiom that Susa I is earlier than Susa II, and attempts to establish a continuous tradition connecting the two. One of the latest writers on the subject, Mr. H. Frankfort (*Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and their earliest inter-relations*, Occasional Papers of the Royal Anthropological Institute, No. 6), while accepting the difference in date, strongly attacks the French theory of continuity, and attributes the two wares to two independent civilizations.

The basis of Mr. Frankfort's classification is a very brilliant and a very elaborate analysis of style; he finds that Susa I illustrates a "young" art, stylizing and essentially abstract; Susa II shows an "old" naturalistic and conventional art,

<sup>1</sup> *Ur Excavations*. Vol. I al-'Ubaid: Part II, The Cemetery, pp. 155 ff.

and this implies an absolutely opposite mentality; the second style cannot develop from the first, but must have an entirely separate origin.

I cannot help feeling that Mr. Frankfort's definitions of style, admirable for an analysis of an art whose material history is already known, are too subjective to serve as criteria for constructing the history of an art which presents itself to us undocumented. There are certain vases of the second style which he signalizes as obviously "old", and to me they appear as obviously "young"; the intention of his phraseology is clear enough, but its extension brings in too much of the personal element. But a more serious objection to Mr. Frankfort's theory is that by isolating Susa I from Susa II, and therefore from everything with which Susa II is associated, he is left with nothing but the painted vases to represent the pottery of the first period, and is driven to the supposition that pottery making was then but a new invention, and even to the doubt whether pottery for ordinary use existed at all; it was this conclusion that drew from me the reply (*al 'Ubad*, p. 161) that "if no plain pottery was found associated with the painted, I should search for any explanation—even an oversight on the excavators' part—rather than regard this as an argument to such an improbable conclusion". In the volume from which I have quoted, the points which I wished to make did not necessitate a further inquiry into the Susa case; but here I might put forward certain facts which have escaped both sides in the dispute.

Both sides, as I have said, are in agreement on one point, that Susa I and Susa II belong to very different periods in time. This is precisely the point on which I feel doubtful.

The orthodox view rests on evidence of two sorts, external and internal, on stratification and on the character of the wares. The archaeological evidence, so far as we have it—and Mr. Frankfort with justice deplures that the excavators have in this respect been only too chary of detail—shows conclusively that Susa I was always found below Susa II



and separated from it by a thick stratum of clean soil; the pottery of Susa I is homogeneous and differs from that of Susa II in paste, in technique, in firing, in form, and in decoration.

The pottery of Susa I is very thin, very lightly fired, fragile, and porous; unlike the hard thin wares of Musyan and al 'Ubaid, it could never have served any practical household purpose.

Its decoration, as Mr. Frankfort has shown, is largely skeuomorphic, derived from prototypes of leather or basket-work.

It is found in graves, and was obviously made expressly for graves, being useless for anything in life.

In this imitative decoration M. Pottier sees a schematic and conventional art betraying either incapacity or decadence, Mr. Frankfort "all the characteristics of an abstract style at the height of its development" and proof of an early stage in the history of the potter's art. There is another possibility which might almost reconcile both views, namely, that in pottery specially made for graves a religious conservatism preserved the forms and decoration of a primitive age long after such had passed out of living use, and that convention had crystallized, with occasional lapses into slackness, the "masterful *élan*" of youth. There is support for this in the character of the pottery itself. Did the graves of Susa really represent the output of a young craft, we should expect to find all kinds of experiments both in form and in applied ornament; actually the shapes of the vases (of which there are hundreds) are only four, and not only are the decorative motives very few, but the scheme of decoration is inseparable from the shape of the pot, so that the ornament characteristic of an open bowl is never found on a straight-sided tumbler or on a jar. This means tradition of a very hard and fast kind. The fact that all the vessels are either made on the *tournette* or regularly wheel-made proves that pottery making had long been practised; if in pottery intended for graves



a necessarily primitive skeuomorphic decoration is still used and its varieties are rigidly confined to the shapes appropriate to them, that means tradition based on religious conservatism.

The pottery of Susa II is thick, reasonably well fired, and eminently useful. Its shapes are real ceramic shapes; in decoration all skeuomorphic tradition has disappeared and the motives, where not geometric, are naturalistic in style, but the general scheme of decoration is eminently suited to the form of the individual vase and is calculated to bring out its architectural values. The potter of Susa II is not performing a religious rite; himself the product of evolution, perhaps a rather decadent product, working, with a free hand, to catch a market in which his wares were no longer too highly prized, he may sink to the stereotyped and the slovenly or he may at times give play to his imagination and produce something new and individual, but he is always sufficiently an artist to observe the essential congruity of form and pattern no less scrupulously than did the maker of the tall "leather-jack" goblets of Susa I.

Widely different as is the effect produced at first sight by the two classes of pottery, I believe that this is deceptive, and that, if one bears in mind the very different purposes for which they were undoubtedly made, the very different traditions which those purposes necessarily impose, and the intimate and exclusive relation between shape and decoration which inspires both classes alike, then one will find that the "internal evidence" has been unduly forced, and that this apparent dissimilarity does not suffice to prove any great difference of date, certainly not an independence of origin. Equally the arguments I have put forward, while they invalidate the orthodox conclusion, do not suffice to prove it wrong, still less to establish any other thesis; they simply clear the ground of prejudice.

Next for the "external" evidence, which both the excavators and Mr. Frankfort have assumed to be conclusive. This is summarized in the *Coupe théorique*, published by

M. de Morgan in the 13th volume of the *Mémoires* here reproduced as Fig. 1, and by his description of the strata from the base upwards, as follows :—

1. A la base, les collines naturelles.
2. Les vestiges de la première ville, avec son mur d'enceinte et sa necropole extérieure.
3. Une épaisseur de 5 à 8 mètres de terre jaune très compact, dans laquelle on rencontre des cachets archaïques, des frag-

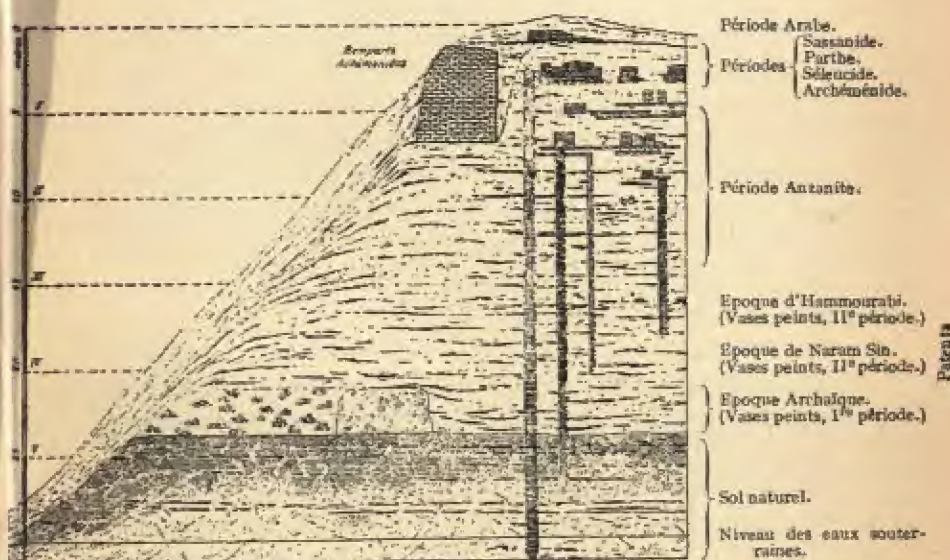


FIG. 1.—Coupe théorique des ruines de l'Acropole à Susa.  
(Reproduced from *Délégation en Perse. Mémoires*, Tome xiii, p. 23.  
Paris, 1912. By kind permission of M. Ernest Leroux.)

ments de vases peints de moins en moins nombreux au fur et à mesure qu'on s'élève, vases et amulettes d'albâtre.

4. Une zone que j'attribue à l'époque de Naram-Sin, contenant la céramique dite de la seconde période, . . . apparition des cylindres-cachets et de la céramique incisée.

5. Partie supérieure de cette zone : céramique peinte de même nature très développée . . . textes, inscriptions.



6. Époque de Hammourabi. Même art, mais disparition des vases peints de la seconde période.

It is true that the material for forming an independent judgment is here reduced to a minimum by the suppression of a vast amount of detailed evidence observed in the course of the work ; but such detail might well at the moment (and later by one not acquainted with the site) have been accorded undue weight ; by the time the work was over a very large area had been excavated, and we must assume that M. de Morgan's section, however schematized, does take all detail into account and give a fair picture of the combined results. A few further remarks occur in the text : " dans la partie examinée jusqu'à ce jour du Vme niveau nous voyons au centre les vestiges d'une bourgade, autour une muraille d'enceinte et, en dehors de cette enceinte, les sepultures " ; the graves are not found all round the walls, but in groups at certain points, perhaps near the gates : inside the rampart the primitive habitations are marked by alternate layers of ashes and rubbish, containing fragments of painted pottery—no complete vases were found here ; unfortunately we are told very little about the character of these fragments.

The area excavated was large (750 square metres, including the cemetery), and to judge from the comments of the different excavators, the phenomena were, as is to be expected, not uniform over the whole of it. M. de Morgan summarizes as above, " a thickness of from 5 to 8 metres of compact yellow earth, in which occur archaic seals, fragments of painted pottery, growing less and less numerous as one gets higher, alabaster vases and amulets," the description covering the whole depth from the primitive settlement to the Naram-Sin level : " Separated from the cemetery level by a zone 7 to 8 metres thick in which nothing occurs except numerous hand-made vessels of rough clay, the Elamite civilization suddenly reappears " (Pézard, in *Antiquités de la Susiane*, p. 12) ; with this de Mecquenem agrees, " In any case we can prove a gap of civilization on the acropolis tell, since above



the painted pottery and up to the second level we find nothing but coarse pottery, often hand-made, and undecorated." In the centre of the tell M. de Mecquenem found an artificial platform of crude bricks and compressed earth. M. Jéquier, in the small area excavated by him, remarked "a layer one or two metres thick which includes no house remains and contains virtually no objects", which he attributed to levelling.<sup>1</sup> Allowing for inequalities in the underlying stratum of the primitive town, it is clear none the less that the dotted horizontal line which in M. de Morgan's *coupe* defines the transition from the Fifth Level to the zone of Naram-Sin, is very much of a generalization; actually the "levelling" inside the wall was piecemeal, and its surface very irregular, different platforms having been contrived to take different buildings; but that does not prevent the whole being roughly contemporary.

The thickness of the deposit of ashes and rubbish representing the early settlement is not given, but from a dead reckoning of the strata (five to eight metres of yellow earth, etc., between it and the zone attributed to Naram-Sin) it cannot have been very great; part at any rate of the yellow earth layer must lie below the existing top of the wall, which is shown as standing three metres high.

The factors therefore are, the wall stump, graves outside it, scattered throughout the three metre depth of the layer defined in the *coupe*, and ending flush with the wall remains, and inside the wall a mass composed of (a) house ruins and (b) above these, mixed soil in which no house remains were found, the "yellow earth" of M. de Morgan; these form a

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Frankfort objects to this explanation (his comment that "a levelling which produces one or two metres of practically clear soil is most unusual" is mistaken; that is just what the destruction of mud brick walls does; and the objection if valid at all would tell equally against his own theory) and supposes that the clean stratum is due to the desertion of the site and the gradual decay of its houses after a second period of occupation marked by red pottery and stamp seals brought in by strangers from the north.

single stratum between the virgin soil and the Naram-Sin zone in which the Susa II pottery appears. It was assumed by the excavators and accepted without question by other writers that the contents of this stratum were necessarily of the same date. If anything is archæologically certain, it is that they are not.

Houses are built on the level of the ground (I am speaking of course of primitive houses, where foundations are shallow at best), and graves are dug down into it. Identity of level is in itself enough to disprove identity of date. In the present case the archaic settlement was set on the natural soil, and though the hillocks of this have in the schematized section been reduced to a straight line, we can safely assume that the ground level on the two sides of the town wall was the same, i.e. that shown by the *coupe*. Had the earliest graves been contemporary with the earliest settlement, they would have been below the base line; actually all are above it. The interments can only have taken place when against the outer face of the wall there had accumulated a depth of soil sufficient to contain them. If this accumulation was due to the throwing out of rubbish from the town over the wall, it does not date from the time of the primitive settlement. The early houses were almost certainly made of plain mud or wattle and daub; the "alternate layers of ashes and rubbish represent the series of such constructions, each put up over the ruins of its predecessor; both types of construction are short-lived, and the amount of debris produced *in situ* by the collapse of a building of the sort is considerably greater than would be the sum of the refuse carried out from it and thrown away during the period of its occupation". In other words, the ground level inside the wall would tend to rise much faster than that outside it, and by the time there was a deposit of two or three metres against the outer wall face, the house sites inside would have been probably five metres up above the natural soil. Actually the house remains form, so far as the evidence goes, a very thin deposit, whereas the graves



come up flush with the top of the wall and, since there must have been earth above the highest of them, even if they were not dug particularly deep, the deposit at the end of the cemetery period was at least four metres high.

If the above estimate of the relative rise of levels inside and outside the wall be thought wrong, and my interpretation of the evidence as showing the stratum of house rubbish to have been a thin one be held mistaken, if, in other words, it be maintained that at the end of the primitive period the wall footings might have been earthed up equally on both sides, with on the outside four metres of accumulated rubbish containing the graves and on the inside house ruins of the same depth or even less, I must answer that this is, archaeologically speaking, equally impossible, for how, in that case, does the wall come to be destroyed down to its present level? Protected on both sides, it could not have been destroyed by any natural process of weathering, not, that is, while the deposit outside retains a horizontal surface flush with the wall top for a distance of not less than seven and a half metres from the wall face. Figure 2 will make this point clear: assuming an equal depth of deposit on both sides, the dotted line A . . . A shows the first results of destruction or desertion of the site, the second dotted line B . . . B the results of prolonged denudation by natural causes. Neither line bears the least relation to what the excavators found and recorded. Again, assuming the equal depth of deposit, the destruction of the wall was not due to artificial levelling, for no one wishing to make a level area for new building would remove a metre or more of good solid stuff over a space 750 metres square; levelling in an ancient oriental town was always done by pulling down the upper parts of standing walls and using the material so obtained to fill up the hollows between them; then fresh material might be brought in to cover up the whole; the result is to *raise* the level, not to lower it. However we may interpret the evidence in detail, the outstanding facts revealed by the excavations are irreconcilable with any theory



that the made soil of the cemetery was contemporary with the house remains of the lowest strata inside the wall. The graves therefore must be later than the primitive settlement.

This being so, do the facts take us any further?

The wall was reduced to its present height before there was much deposit against its outer face; by the time the uppermost graves were dug, they being flush with the wall top, the deposit must have been higher than the wall is now;

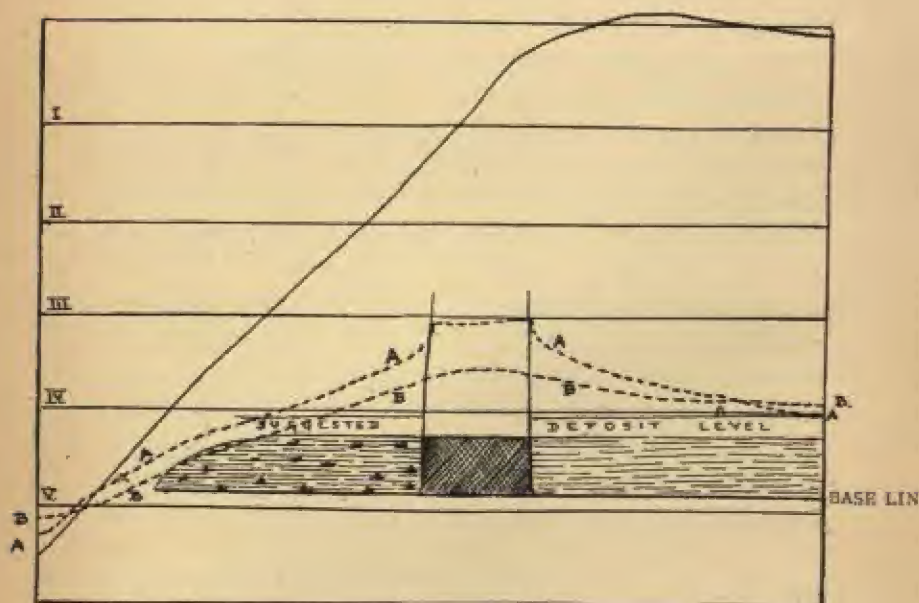


FIG. 2.

on the other hand, the graves are found only outside the wall, not inside it, and so the wall must have existed sufficiently to demarcate the cemetery area. Inside the wall, dividing the early house strata from the Naram-Sin zone, there is a layer of more or less barren soil which M. Jéquier rightly diagnosed as due to artificial levelling; it is not uniform but varies in height from 5 to 8 metres above the (irregular) base line; the upper part of it contains fewer objects than

the lower ; this stratification appears to go only so far as the inner face of the wall, but the remains of the Naram-Sin and Hammurabi periods apparently extend beyond it, as no limit to these is shown on the *coupe*.

It seems to me impossible to dissociate the destruction of the wall from the filling in of the town area behind it ; the lower part of the filling would result from the demolition of houses, the upper part from the razing of the wall ; the stump of the old wall would be left to serve as the retaining-wall of the new terrace or terraces ; possibly it served also as the foundation for a new (and less massive) town wall which has now disappeared. During the process of demolition a great deal of debris would necessarily collect against the outside of the wall also ; possibly levelling was done on this side too, and the raising of the outer level was not merely accidental ; later more rubbish was thrown here, and by the time of the latest interments the extramural level had risen to a height of some four, or perhaps five, metres, and was virtually flush with the Naram-Sin zone. By this time the old wall stump had been buried out of sight, but its function as demarcating the cemetery area had been taken over by the walls of the houses on the terraces.

I think it is demonstrably the case that the graves, at any rate the higher graves, are later than anything which lies behind and not higher than the surviving stump of the town wall, later therefore than the primitive town and the deposit of yellow earth. In this yellow earth and within the "Vme niveau" of the *coupe* come the seals and red pottery which Mr. Frankfort attributes to Northern influence (or immigration) at the close of the "Susa I period", and thus there must disappear the "intermediate stratum"<sup>1</sup> with which he

<sup>1</sup> M. Jéquier too is struck by the difference between the contents of this stratum and those of the graves : " Ici nous sommes en presence d'une civilization toute differente " ; the difference may be due to the red pottery being earlier (instead of later) than the painted wares of the graves, but the real point is that one cannot deduce the character of household utensils from the dummy pottery made for the dead according to a traditional formula.



fortifies his theory of a different racial origin for "Susa II". If we are justified in correlating the formation of the extra-mural deposit and the destruction of the old town wall with the internal levelling which ushers in the painted pottery called "Susa II", then it seems that the graves should be considered contemporary with the new settlement and the thin pottery of the graves contemporary with the thick painted pots and the incised wares of the Naram-Sin zone.

It will be objected that I have left out of consideration the definite statement of the excavators that in the house ruins of the primitive settlement there occurred numerous fragments of "Susa I" pottery. It is a pity that we are not told more about these fragments, but we cannot do other than accept the report as given. It does not invalidate my contention. The house remains, forming a thin stratum, do not represent any very prolonged period, and they are immediately succeeded by the levelling which I attribute to the users of the thin tomb pottery of "Susa I"; the difference in date need be very small, and there is certainly no reason to assume that implies a difference in civilization. The real stumbling-block caused by this pottery is this—why should house ruins contain numerous fragments of vessels which by common consent can only have been made for graves and were useless for practical purposes? Personally I prefer to think that they did not, and in so thinking I am casting no slur on the excavators. They describe the fragments simply as "Susa I". Now at Musyan and the neighbouring tells they found painted pottery in house ruins which also they describe as "Susa I", but, as Mr. Frankfort has pointed out, this ware is distinct from the grave pottery of Susa and is definitely utilitarian, "household earthenware." By the French excavators the term "Susa I" is thus given, as it should be given, a wider extension than the funerary ware of the period, and they gave it this extension, perhaps unconsciously, when they applied the term to the fragments from the early town. All that the field evidence, as we have it, shows, is that in the



pre-Naram-Sin period a painted pottery was in use which was closely related to that of the immediately succeeding Naram-Sin period. This, I think, was to be expected.

The suggestion that "Susa I" and "Susa II" are really contemporary receives a degree of support from discoveries at other sites. M. Pottier states that in the Musyan mounds "the pottery of the first style and that of the second are found mixed together in the remains of the houses"; the actual excavators distinguished these house fragments into two classes, thick and thin, of which they identify the former with Susa I and regard the second as a decadent derivative from it. Much plain pottery was found with the painted wares. Further, in graves, another type of painted pottery occurred. Mr. Frankfort has established the fact that none of these wares are identical with those discovered at Susa: the thin pottery resembles "Susa I" and belongs to the same class, but is a later development; the thick pottery (which M. Pottier calls "Susa II") is contemporary with the thin, together with which it is found, and the grave pottery, though it approaches to Susa II, cannot be identified with it. To some extent the differences may be due to local styles, but it is more probable that they are due to the Musyan material being later in date than the Susa grave vessels.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth noting that as soon as we get, at Musyan, wares which diverge slightly from the established Susa types, the authorities cannot agree to which of the Susa "periods" they ought to be assigned; this rather weakens the argument that the differences between Susa I and Susa II are such as to necessitate a long lapse of time and even an independence of origin. But the important point is that here thick and thin wares are proved to be contemporary and have features in common both with the thick and with the thin wares of Susa.

<sup>1</sup> To me it appears unquestionably later. The later date of Musyan might account for the really different feature of the site, namely, that for the graves the traditional skeuomorphic pottery has been abandoned and we find instead of it large polychrome jars.

At al 'Ubaid we found thick and thin painted wares. As I have pointed out elsewhere, they are by no means to be identified with the Susa types, but they have enough in common both with the thick and with the thin wares of Susa to make some kind of connexion certain, and since the two classes at al 'Ubaid are strictly contemporary that connexion would be inconceivable if the Susa classes belonged to very different dates or to different civilizations. It was this difficulty which started me on the present line of investigation.

What, then, is the result of it ?

That the Susa graves are later than the primitive settlement is, on archaeological grounds, indisputable. Their connexion with the "Naram-Sin" zone is a very probable hypothesis. This late dating of the grave pottery does not mean that painted wares were only introduced about 3000 B.C. ; on the contrary, the argument that the forms and designs of the grave vessels represent a survival implies a previous history ; but the only material surviving from the earlier period would be the fragments from the house ruins, which we should expect to resemble the grave wares rather than "Susa II" for the very reason that they would come closer in time to the originals from which "Susa I" tradition derives : the fact that they could be described by the excavators as "Susa I" is thus no stumbling-block at all. But this is not equivalent to saying that the grave style (Susa I) is the original of the house style (Susa II) ; it is more probable that painted pottery was in domestic use before any was employed for graves, for the same conservative spirit which preserved for the dead the painted clay copies of leather vessels would have continued to put real leather vessels in the graves long after pottery had replaced clay for living use ; the skeuomorphic vases represent the application of a familiar craft—the turning and painting of clay—to a demand which literally interpreted had grown out-of-date and irksome. It is only within strict limits that we can argue back from the grave vases to an earlier phase of the painted pottery as a whole ;



of that we should get a truer idea from the household wares ; this is why M. Pottier, who recognized the close relation between " Susa I " and " Susa II ", laid himself open to Mr. Frankfort's criticism when he tried to establish a direct line of succession between them.

The connexion, and the differences, between the Susa material as a whole and that of southern Sumer has been discussed in *al 'Ubaid* and referred to above. On technical grounds we should suppose the Sumerian to be the earlier of the two, because while the bulk of the Sumerian pottery is hand-made and only some examples betray the use of the *tournette*, the Susa pottery (both Susa I and Susa II) is made either on the *tournette* or on the fully developed potter's wheel. This technical point does not in itself constitute proof, but in this case it is supported by actual dating. At Ur the painted pottery had entirely disappeared by 3500 B.C. ; in the graves of that period no trace of it is found and even the soil in which the graves are dug produced scarcely a sherd of it : in Persia Susa II admittedly, and Susa I also, if the reasoning given above be correct, comes as low as 3000 B.C. Further north in Sumeria we have the painted wares of Jamdat Nasr, which are quite distinct from those of the south, and judging from the tablets found with them come in time between the painted pottery of *al 'Ubaid* and the 3500 B.C. graves of Ur. Jamdat Nasr has little in common with Susa, but does connect with Musyan, which Mr. Frankfort rightly considers to be later than Susa (i.e., in his argument, than Susa II) : Jamdat Nasr therefore stands in much the same relation to *al 'Ubaid* as does Musyan to Susa, but in each case the Sumerian wares are earlier than the Persian. We seem to have in the two countries a parallel development, deriving from a common source, but achieved far more rapidly in Sumer : in each the transition from the earlier to the later style (i.e. from Susa to Musyan and from *al 'Ubaid* to Jamdat Nasr) may well be due to influences from the north. In Sumer painted pottery dies out very early. In Asia Minor it survives until the



Greek period. In Susa it lasts until Naram-Sin at least, and work on Persian sites further north would probably show that the tradition continued much later there.

Everybody, I think, has felt that as a time series Susa I-Susa II-Musyan is not satisfactory; hence the divergence of views between M. Pottier and Mr. Frankfort. With Susa I and Susa II reduced to two aspects of one phase of civilization the site is brought into harmony with others, the process of development becomes reasonable, and the archæological facts receive their only possible interpretation.

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## Mitlani

Von FERDINAND BORK

**I**n *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Oktober, 1926, hat Hannes Skoeld eine Arbeit "Sur la lettre en langue Mitanni" veröffentlicht.

Ich bekenne, dass ich kein Bedürfnis fühle, darauf zu antworten, denn was Skoeld schrieb, kann nur schreiben, wer der Frage der Entzifferung unbekannter Sprachen sehr ferne steht, d.h. also, wer über meine Mitani-Studien kein Urteil haben kann. Aber zu Nutze und Frommen der Anderen, gerade derer, die sich darüber kein Urteil anmassen, und die doch aus den Aeusserungen scheinbar oder wirklich Urteilsberechtigter sich allmählich selbst ein Urteil erfüllen wollen, halte ich es doch für meine Pflicht zu antworten. Es soll möglichste Klarheit gewonnen werden, damit die Sache gefördert werde.

So sei denn allen denen, die Entzifferungen praktisch fern stehen, ausdrücklich gesagt, dass es natürlich ganz unmöglich ist, eine gänzlich unbekannte Sprache aus einem, wenn auch langen, so doch auf grössere Strecken stark beschädigten Briefe auf einen Anhieb mit dem Anspruche auf vollkommene Richtigkeit zu entziffern. Es kann also nur als Unwissenheit gewertet werden, wenn Skoeld glaubt, von mir voraussetzen zu können, dass ich den Anspruch erheben wolle, den Mitani-Brief einwandfrei übersetzt zu haben, wo es sich doch nur darum handeln kann, durch steten Tropfen den Stein zu höhlen. Jeder besonnene Forscher muss sich darüber klar sein, dass sich beim Mitani-Briefe die Entzifferung des Akkadischen wiederholen muss. Das ist so selbstverständlich, dass kein Eingearbeiteter vom Entzifferer verlangen wird, dass er es noch besonders ausspreche.

Ferner ist meine Arbeit nicht nur 15 Jahre alt gewesen, als Skoeld schrieb, sondern in diese 15 Jahre fallen die neuen Einsichten in die Sachlage durch den Fund von Boghazköi.

Was also heute durch diesen Fund Gemeingut der Forschung ist, werde ich doch wohl ebenso gut wissen wie Skoeld—vielleicht auch besser—auch wenn ich darüber nicht geschrieben habe. Ich habe auch 1908 sehr wohl gewusst, dass wir ein mesopotamisches geschriebenes š auch als s lesen können,<sup>1</sup> Skoeld scheint aber nicht erwogen zu haben, dass man auch arisches š doch nur durch die š-Zeichen schreiben konnte, und dass iranisch ein *duš* doch zu *duš* werden musste; wenn man also, wie damals üblich, die arisch klingenden Namen von El-Amarna als iranisch auffasste, dann durfte man eben nicht *duš* lesen. Die Entscheidung war damals unmöglich, und sie ist es auch heute noch, weil eben die š-Zeichen auch š-Laute ausdrücken können. Darum war es für jeden Keilschriftler selbstverständlich, dass ich diese Fragen ebenso bei Seite lassen musste, wie Jensen und Messerschmidt, die ebenso genau wussten, dass die š-Zeichen auch s ausdrücken konnten. Heute lesen wir "Dušratta", obwohl auch Dusratta möglich wäre, aber wir wissen auch, seit G. Hüsing's bahnbrechendem Vorgehen,<sup>2</sup> dass die fraglichen Namen indisch sind. Und damit stellt sich auch die Frage ganz anders, welcher s-Laut in "Šutarna" gemeint sei—es könnte ja auch ein "palatales" s sein, und da die ägyptische Schrift für dieses kein Zeichen zur Verfügung hatte, so scheidet ihre Autorität überhaupt aus. Und ob in dem Namen das indische *su* stecke, ist wiederum sehr fraglich, seitdem die Form "Šutatarra" aufgetaucht ist: das *suta* könnte auch eine paliartige Form für skrt. *śruta* meinen, was weit wahrscheinlicher ist: ein indischer Name "Śrutataruna" wäre begreiflich genug, aber was soll denn "Su-tatarra" sein?

Oder nehmen wir den Namen, den gerade ich zuerst

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. auch Ungnad, Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens (1923), S. 11, Anm. 1.

<sup>2</sup> G. Hüsing, Die Inder von Boghazköi, in der Bandouin de Courtenay-Festschrift (Prace Linguistyczne usw.) Krakau, 1921.



“Keluhipa” gegenüber dem “Gi-lu-hi-pa” aller meiner Vorgänger umschreibe, während Skoeld Gi-lu-hi-pa schreibt trotz dem ägyptischen Kjlǵjp, das er nach W. M. Müllers heute überholter Schreibung wiedergibt. Hier werde ich belehrt, dass das ägyptische “g”-Zeichen etwas wie ein “gh” widergebe, als ob das von Skoeld neuestens entdeckt sei. Schrieb doch schon Erman: “𓆎 g ist ein dem 𓆎 nahestehender Laut, den wir nicht näher kennen”, und etwas wie gh—Spirans oder Aspirata?—sucht Hüsing ja auch im Namen Harri.<sup>1</sup> Aber es ist doch klar, dass die Frage, ob die Mitanisprache solches gh habe, erst aufgeworfen werden kann, wenn fest steht, dass “Keluhipa” kein indischer Name ist! Denn ist es ein solcher, so besagt seine Schreibung mit dem h-Zeichen nichts für dessen Lautwert im Mitani. Kurz, Dinge, über die bisher (und zumal 1908!) eine Entscheidung ganz unmöglich war, habe ich nicht zum Auffüllen meines Büchleins verwenden wollen.

Auf derselben Stufe steht Skoelds Vorwurf, dass ich den Lautwert des t in “Mitani” nicht untersucht hätte. Da mir W. M. Müllers “Asien und Europa” seit weit über 30 Jahren bekannt ist, habe ich natürlich auch gewusst, was Müller S. 283 über die ägyptische Wiedergabe des Namens zusammenstellt. Aus diesen Schreibungen einen Schluss auf die besondere Art des t abzuleiten, erschien und erscheint mir ganz unmöglich, und noch ausgeschlossener, dass es ein Spirant sei! Das Schwanken der Lautbedeutung liegt ja hier auf ägyptischer Seite, denn das fragliche Zeichen kann im Aegyptischen auch ein t ausdrücken, was Skoeld ja selbst nach Müller anführt, während ein t der Keilschrift als Spirant für diese Zeit unannehmbar ist. Aber die Unsicherheit in der Deutung des ägyptischen Lautes geht viel weiter: es ist nämlich möglich, dass ein vermittelndes Volk, etwa in der Nachbarschaft von Kilikien, im Aramäergebiete, ein t vor n als Spirans aussprach, so dass der hörende Aegypter

<sup>1</sup> G. Hüsing, D. Wanderung der arischen Inder (Tagungsberichte der Deutschen Anthropologischen Gesellschaft. Wien, 1927, S. 120–124).

das bewusste Zeichen, der Keilschrift lesende aber t schrieb.

Und noch mehr dürfte zu beachten sein, dass ein t in "Mitani" ein Lateral sein dürfte, so dass wir auch \**Mitlani* umschreiben könnten, vielleicht für damals sogar \**Mehlani*, woraus dann *Mehrani* wurde (Assurahiddin, Prisma A, Col. II, Z. 25, Keilinschriftl. Biblioth., Bd. II, S. 128).

Ich glaube also doch nicht, dass ich in drei wesentlichen Punkten die wahre Natur der Mitani-Laute verkannt hätte, geschweige denn der Mitani-Sprache, wie Skoold daraus ableitet. Vielmehr glaube ich nicht allein zu stehen mit meiner Meinung, dass der "Schlüssel" zu dieser Sprache im Verbaldrucke zu suchen sei, nicht in ganz subjektiven Lautbestimmungen und ebenso nicht im Wortschatze.

Dass ich diesen nicht missachte, wenn ich auch "kein Gewicht auf lexikalische Uebereinstimmungen zwischen dem Mitani und den kaukasischen Sprachen" lege, die um 3½ Jahrtausende von ihm getrennt sind, ergibt sich doch wohl daraus, dass mich die verwandten altkaukasischen Sprachen auf den Gedanken brachten, dass das Wort für "Gattin" nicht "*ašti*" sondern *roti* zu lesen sein möge. In der Orientalist. Lit. Ztg. 1918, Sp. 271 hat dann Hüsing die entsprechenden Wörter zusammengefasst—einschliesslich des Tamil!—und dabei bereits meine jüngere Lesung *roti* angemerkt, die ich aber nicht mehr aufrecht erhalte, und Ungnad hat mit Unrechte gemeint (Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen. S. 5), dass diese Lesung nur einer Hypothese wegen vertreten werde, man kann vielmehr umgekehrt sagen, dass die Lesung *ašti* auf einer Hypothese ruhe, weil sie sich dem semitischen *aštu* anschliesst. Dass ich auch sonst das Lexikalische nicht ausser Acht gelassen habe, zeigt meine Seite 71 ja wohl zur Genüge. Aber meine Jahrzehnte lange Beschäftigung mit alten und modernen kaukasischen Sprachen hat mich auch gelehrt, dass in dieser Sprachgruppe nicht entfernt das Gewicht so auf das Lexikalische zu legen ist wie in den arischen (indoeuro-



päischen) Sprachen oder gar im Semitischen. Und eben darum stört es mich wenig, wenn wir bisher nicht viele lexikalische Uebereinstimmungen finden.

Hier sei aber noch etwas zur Klärung ausgesprochen: Von "kaukasischen" Sprachen reden wir zur Zeit eigentlich nur aus Bequemlichkeit. Schon 1916 hat Hüsing in seinen "Völkerschichten in Iran" (Mitt. d. Anthropolog. Gesellschaft. Wien.) S. 223 ausgesprochen, dass die Ueberhochschädel nicht gut Hättiter sein können, und hat auf die Voranstellung des Genetivs in der einen, seine Nachstellung in der anderen Gruppe verwiesen, verwendet aber für beide noch den Ausdruck "kaukasisch". Diese Zusammenfassung unter einem Namen ist aber nur ein einstweiliger Notbehelf, denn auch Hüsing meint ja, dass hier zwei ganz verschiedene Sprachstämme seit uralter Zeit einander durchwachsen haben. Und Ungnad (a.a.O. S. 7) betont, dass die "Hättiterschädel" nicht den Hättitern sondern den "Subaräern" angehören, wofür wir wohl einfacher und wohl auch richtiger "Sürer" sagen. Damit ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, dass noch andere Rassen- und Sprachstammreste sich hinter dem Gewirre von Völkern und Sprachen verbergen, die wir vor der Hand als "kaukasische" bezeichnen. Da mit diesem Ausdrucke ja keine Herkunft aus dem Kaukasos selbst sondern aus dessen Umgebung gemeint ist, so ist dieser Ausdruck sicher dem "vorderasiatisch" von Luschans vorzuziehen, in dem ja eine Lehrmeinung eingebettet liegt, die unbeweisbar ist: Denn diese Völkermasse ist nicht die Urbevölkerung, also in Vorderasien nicht autochthon, und das Anrecht auf diese Benennung "vorderasiatisch" hätte entweder nur die Urbevölkerung oder—alle Rassen und Sprachen, die ihre hauptsächliche Rolle in Vorderasien gespielt haben. (Der Ausdruck "japhetitisch" erscheint mir so unter aller Kritik, dass ich über diese Eigenbrödelei weiter kein Wort verliere, nachdem ich mich in der Zeitschrift "Mannus" (1922, S. 174 ff.) dazu geäußert habe.)



Bei solcher Lage der Dinge ist es wohl gerechtfertigt, die Frage der Zugehörigkeit des Mitani nicht von der Masse der lexikalischen Uebereinstimmungen abhängig machen zu wollen. Das Entscheidende ist gerade bei diesen Sprachen ohne Zweifel der Satzbau und in diesem in erster Reihe die Frage des verbalen Ausdruckes. Diesem war also meine Arbeit in erster Reihe gewidmet, und damit glaube ich immerhin ganz lohnende Arbeit am Feilen des Schlüssels geleistet zu haben. Nur was ich für diesen Zweck an phonetischen Studien brauchte, nämlich die genauere Ermittlung der Zeichenwerte, habe ich berücksichtigt, und wenn Skoeld meint, ich habe die wahre phonetische Natur der Mitanisprache nicht begriffen, so hat er damit so sicher recht, wie wenn er gesagt hätte, ich sei nie am Nordpole gewesen. Aber einerseits hat er keine Ahnung von den Schwierigkeiten, über die ich neuerlich in meiner "Skizze des Lükischen" (Leipzig, Hahn und Seifarth, 1926) in § 31 ff. meine Ansicht entwickelt habe, und andererseits hat er auch nicht begriffen, wo der Weg zu den Erkenntnissen führt, sonst könnte er seinen Aufsatz nicht geschrieben haben.

Aber sei meine Uebersetzung im wesentlichen richtig oder nicht, so ist es eine andere Frage, ob meine Ergebnisse ausreichen, die Zugehörigkeit der Sprache zu anderen erkennen zu lassen. Skoelds Schlüsse wirken, wie wenn sie nach einem Leitfaden der Logik angefertigt wären, aber die wissenschaftliche Forschung bedarf anderer Mittel, die Voraussetzungen müssen richtig sein, sonst gehen alle Schlüsse daneben, und das Ganze ist die naive Spielerei eines Fernstehenden, dem man kein Urteil zugestehen kann. Skoeld kennt die Bedingungen nicht, unter denen wir arbeiten, weiss nicht abzuschätzen, was sich überhaupt erreichen lässt, ja er verzichtet selbst auf ein Urteil über die Richtigkeit meiner Uebersetzung.

Wie liegen nun die Dinge in Wahrheit, wie kann man die Lage dem Nichtfachmanne näher bringen?

Eine wirklich richtige Uebersetzung wird man unter günstigen Umständen—und nur wenn man in meinem Sinne weiter arbeitet—vielleicht in 100 Jahren erzielen können, es ist aber nicht wahrscheinlich. Diese Einsicht muss der Entzifferer bei Jedem voraussetzen, dem er ein Urtheil zubilligen kann. Skoeld bringt diese Einsicht nicht mit, sonst könnte er sich nicht so ausdrücken, wie er es überall tut. Wir haben keine Bilinguen, müssen Wortbedeutungen und Inhalt erraten und dann nachzuprüfen versuchen, ob beide überhaupt richtig sein können, und weiters, ob es noch andre Möglichkeiten gibt.

Eine der schwierigsten Fragen des Mitani ist die Bestimmung der Pronomina personalia und possessiva, die vor mir schon Messerschmidt viel Mühe gemacht haben. Ich hatte mich im Wesentlichen meinem Vorgänger angeschlossen; nur hatte ich Bedenken getragen, ihm darin zu folgen, zwei Suffixe für "unser" anzunehmen, *šu-š* und *iffa-šu-š*, wie ich jetzt lesen möchte, und ich hatte versucht, im Hinblick auf Messerschmidts *šu-š* "ich" das erstere als eine besondere Ausdrucksform für "mein" aufzufassen, obwohl die Stellen II, 78 und IV, 117 für *enna-šu-š* die Bedeutung "unsere Herren" nahe legen. Weil nun aber in III, 112 f. "meinem Bruder" durch *šen-iffa-šu-ta* widergegeben wird, während unmittelbar vorher und nachher "mein Bruder" *šen-iffu-* lautet, so schloss ich, dass "mein" und "unser" im Gebrauche durch einander gehen, und hielt mein Abweichen von Messerschmidt nicht für besonders belangreich.

Seit einigen Jahren freilich bin ich geneigt, Messerschmidt in gewissem Sinne recht zu geben, und sowohl *-šu-š* als auch *-iffa-šu-š* als Suffixe für "unser" anzusehen. Eine reichlich 7 Jahre zurück gehende Beobachtung G. Hüsings hatte mich dazu veranlasst. Er sucht den Ausdruck des "unser" in dem Elemente *-šu-*, während *-iffa-* nur bindender Art sei. *enna-šu-š* "unsere Herren" einerseits, und *ifr-iffa-šu-uš* "unsere Könige" nebst *atta-iffa-šu-š* "unsere Väter" andererseits sind also zwei verschiedene Typen des gleichen



Possessivausdruckes. Hüsing hat auch die notwendige Folgerung gezogen, dass das bindende *-iffa-* auch in dem Possessivausdrucke *-iffu-* der 1. Pers. Sing. enthalten sein muss, und zerlegt ihn in *-iff(a) + u*. Er sieht also in dem Elemente *-u* allein den Possessivausdruck der 1. Pers. Sing.

Diese Beobachtungen Hüsing's schaffen Licht nach vielen Seiten: 1. Der Ausdruck des "mein" und "dein", der bei Messerschmidt kaum auseinander zu halten war, ist jetzt wesentlich verschieden. 2. Das Possessiv-Suffix *-u* "mein" erweist sich als gleichgestaltig dem verbalen Suffixe *-u* "ich", z. B. in *tana-u* "ich gebe". 3. Mitanisches *-u* "ich", "mein" ist das genaue Gegenbild des elamischen *u* "ich", "mein" und ist wie dieses mit dem georgischen *v-*, z. B. in *v-kben* "ich beisse", *v-šli* "ich entfalte", zu verbinden. 4. Das Messerschmidtsche *šu-š* "ich", wenn es richtig bestimmt ist, wird als entstanden aus einem Pluralis maiestaticus aufzufassen sein. Beachtenswert ist nun, dass die modernen Sprachen des kaukasischen Nordwestflügels, das Abchasische, das Tscherkessische und das Tschetschenische, für "ich" Bildungen aufweisen wie *sa-ra*; *se-r'e*, *se*, *sse*; *suo*, *so*. Anscheinend hat sich in ihnen die gleiche Entwicklung vollzogen wie im Mitanischen.

Dass übrigens auch das Pronomen "du" des Mitanischen seine nächsten Verwandten im Abchasischen und Tscherkessischen hat, steht auf S. 71 meiner "Mitanni-Sprache".

Aus dem Voranstehenden wird der Leser ersehen, dass das Mitani in der Formung des sprachlichen Ausdruckes freier ist als beispielsweise eine arische oder semitische Sprache, deren Formen fest geworden sind. Die sich daraus ergebenden Schwierigkeiten der Entzifferung können nun derartig grosse sein, dass das Urteil über die Einzelercheinung schwanken muss, bis jemand in einer glücklichen Stunde den Punkt findet, wo der Hebel mit Erfolge angesetzt werden kann. Das wird dankbar anerkannt. Wenn aber Skoeld mir auf Grund meiner Uebersetzung *enna-šu-š* "meine Götter" vorwirft, ich hätte den ägyptischen Gott Ammon zu einem



Gotte der Mitaniern gemacht, so muss ich diese Bemerkung als oberflächlich und verständnislos zurückweisen. Genau so wie alle Forscher, die sich in Mitani-Brief vertieft haben, habe ich den ägyptischen Gott in seiner älteren Lautgestalt mit langem *a* in der zweiten Silbe erkannt. Als fremden Namen habe ich ihn in meiner Uebersetzung dadurch herausgehoben, dass ich ihn *Amán* schrieb, d.h. die Vokallänge angab.

Auf gleicher Stufe steht Skoelds Versuch, die Gleichheit der "Nominativ"-Suffixe *-š-* und *-l(l)-* zu bestreiten (S. 676), die doch schon Messerschmidt auf S. 33 seiner Mitanni-Studien bewiesen hatte. Damit wird aber Skoelds Hypothese von der Verteilung der Götter auf Aegypten und Mitani der Boden entzogen. Was er darüber sagt, ist entweder längst bekannt, z. B. dass *Šauška-š* die Ištar von Ninawa ist, oder es ist unrichtig. Seine Gleichung *Ea-šarri* = Osiris scheitert an der lautlichen Unvereinbarkeit der beiden Namen. *Ea-šarri* ist ein assyrischer Gott (Knudtzon, El-Amarna-Tafeln, Bd. II, S. 1057), und *Šimike*—oder ist Limmike zu lesen?—ist der Gott der Stadt Ihipe, die im Lande Mitani gesucht werden muss. Denn wenn Nimmoria nach Kelijas Berichte (I, 83 ff.)—ich interpretiere jetzt einiges daraus anders, und zwar in engerem Anschlusse an die Ausdrucksweise der assyrischen Briefe *Dušrattas*—ein "schönes Geschenk" (*taše apli*) "zu der Vätergabe hinzu" (*att-arti-fa-na*) nach Ihipe, "der Stadt des Šimike," sendet, um den unersättlichen Bittsteller abzuspeisen, und wenn Kelija dieses Geschenk in Ihipe abliefert (*amm-oš-a*), so kann Ihipe nicht in Aegypten liegen, wie Skoeld will.

Zu dem Namen Aegypten hat Skoeld übrigens etwas beizusteuern, und zwar unter Hinweis auf Hugo Winckler, leider ohne Angabe der Stelle, nämlich die Gleichung *Mi-zi-ir-ri* = *Ma-aš-ri*. Beide Namen kommen in dieser Gestalt im Mitani-Briefe nicht vor. Auch kann ich in meinem Buche ein *Miçiri* nicht finden, das ich nach Skoeld geschrieben haben soll. Skoeld möchte anscheinend die beiden Länder

*Mi-ci-ir-re-e* und *Ma-a-aš-ri-a(a)-an-ne-e* einander gleich setzen. Ein solches Unterfangen würde man sogar schon einem Keilschriftstudenten im ersten Semester mit Rechte übel nehmen. Skoeld hat aber ausserdem übersehen, dass der Fund von Boghazköi lehrt, dass der zweite Name jetzt *Ma-a-taš-ri-a(a)-an-ne-e* zu lesen ist. Das einzige, das aus dem fürchterlichen Unfuge bei Skoeld bestehen bleiben kann, ist, dass <sup>mit</sup>*o-o-mi-i-ni* = "Land" ist, aber diese Erkenntnis verdanken wir nicht ihm sondern P. Jensen.

Skoeld macht mir ferner den in der Uebersetzung von III, 108-124 vorgeschlagenen Ländertausch zum Vorwurfe, der nichts zu tun habe "mit den bekannten historischen Tatsachen". Ich glaube, es würde ihm schwer fallen zu sagen, mit welchen. Gerade die Archivfunde von El-Amarna und Boghazköi haben gezeigt, dass eigentlich "alles schon dagewesen ist". 1908 hielt ich eine Grenzberichtigung in Form eines Gebietsaustausches durchaus für möglich, und ich bereue meine damalige Uebersetzung durchaus nicht, da sie den logischen Zusammenhang der Stelle aufgedeckt hat. Damals konnte ich nicht weiter kommen, weil der Sinn dieser Stelle (und auch von I, 8-15, II, 65-85, IV, 125-130), der aus dem Rahmen aller sonstigen Dušratta-Briefe heraus fällt, unbekannt war. Und auch Skoeld hat über den wirklichen Inhalt dieser Stellen nichts zu sagen gewusst, er steht mit leeren Händen da.

Ungefähr 5 Jahre nach der Veröffentlichung meiner Mitani-Studie machte mich G. Hüsing darauf aufmerksam, dass der in I, 11 angeführte dritte Ländername <sup>mit</sup>*Ha-ca-p[a-a]l-o-ok-ko(a-an)* die mitanische Widergabe des z. B. in der Bagistapinschrift genannten Katpatuk(k)a = Kappadokien sei. Diese geniale Entdeckung beleuchtet blitzartig die historische Lage. Es kann sich nicht mehr um Grenzberichtigungen handeln, sondern um ein Bündnis zwischen Aegypten und Mitani gegen die andrängenden Hattiter. In Frage kommen Abmachungen über die Mobilisation des ägyptischen Syriens und der östlich des



Euftrat anstossenden Gebietsteile von Mitani. Es scheint nun aus dem Briefe hervor zu gehen, dass das *Mur-ro-o-he* oder *Mur-jo-o-he* —so wird wohl zu lesen sein!—Aegypten gehört und wohl eine Verballhornung von Amurru darstellen dürfte, während *Ma-a-taš-ri-a-(a)-an-ne-e* ein Teil von Mitani ist. Die Stelle IV, 127 f. dreht anscheinend das Verhältnis um: "Und den Dušratta lass mobilisieren (?) in Murjohe, und den Immoria lass mobilisieren (?) in Matašrienne!" Dieser Spruch ist in besonders feierlicher Weise, als Orakel des Šimike, dargeboten und will besagen, dass im Falle besonderer Not von Mitani Dušratta berechtigt sein solle, auch die Hilfskräfte des Herrn Schwiegersohnes im ägyptischen Nachbargebiete Amurru zusammen zu raffen. Diesem wiederum müssen, um ihm die Sache schmackhaft zu machen, gleiche Rechte in Matašrienne zugestanden werden. Der Mitani-Brief fällt also in eine Zeit, als der hättitische Druck nach Südosten zu stärker wird und Dušratta in Folge chronischen Geldmangels diesem Feinde nicht gewachsen ist.

Es ist natürlich unmöglich, die oben angedeuteten Stellen des Mitani-Briefes in einem neuen Uebersetzungsversuche zu geben, da die Aufrollung der von mir weiter geförderten grammatischen Erkenntnisse im Rahmen einer Zeitschrift nicht möglich ist. Ich möchte nur noch die Frage kurz andeutend behandeln, was hinter dem Namen Matašrienne stecken mag.

Gerade in jener Gegend, wo ich Matašrienne suche, und in der Nachbarschaft im Norden, Nordosten und Osten finden sich zahlreiche Namen mit dem Elemente *-ene*, das in alter Zeit *\*-ane* gelautet haben könnte. Es läge also ein Anlass vor, in unserem Namen *-anne* davon abzutrennen. Das übrig bleibende *Matašri-* bleibt aber noch unverständlich, wenn wir es nicht weiter zerlegen können. Dieses erscheint mir in der Tat möglich. Da ich es aus historischen Gründen in der Nachbarschaft des ägyptischen Syrien suche, so kam ich auf die *Osro-ene*. Ich möchte den Versuch wagen, *Osro-ene* und *Mat-ašri-anne* gleich zu setzen. Das ist aber



nur unter der Voraussetzung wahrscheinlich, dass entweder in Mat-ašri-*anne* das akkadische *mātu* "Land" enthalten ist, oder der anderen, dass eine spätere Zeit, als die Bevölkerung völlig akkadisiert war, den ersten Bestandteil wegliess, da er ja "Land" zu bedeuten schien.

Ich breche hier ab. Ich habe mich bemüht, den fast 12 Druckseiten *Skoelds* auch nur einen Gedanken abzugewinnen, der die Entzifferung des *Mitani* fördern könnte; es war ein vergebliches Bemühen. Es musste aber so ausfallen, weil *Skoeld* nirgends in die Tiefe geht und auch nicht in die Tiefe gehen konnte, weil er zu allem Uebrigen ohne jedes Fachwissen ist. Wie schlimm die Sache ist, mag aus Folgendem hervor gehen: 1. Er verwendet *L. Messerschmidts* "*Mitanni-Studien*" nicht; in Folge davon macht er mich für Dinge verantwortlich, die *Messerschmidt* gefunden hat. 2. Von *J. A. Knudtzon* verwendet er nur die in Bd. IV der *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* gegebene Umschrift des *Mitani-Briefes*, nicht aber die in seinen *El-Amarna-Tafeln* (*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, Bd. 2, Berlin, 1915.—Beginn des Erscheinens 1907) gebotenen Berichtigungen und die Anmerkungen *O. Webers* und *Knudtzons* in Bd. II. 3. *O. Schröders* Ausgabe des Textes (*Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler d. Kgl. Museen*, Berlin, Heft XII, S. 35-55) hat er nicht verwertet. 4. Vom Wesen der Keilschrift hat er ganz laienhafte Vorstellungen.

Es ist mir völlig unfassbar, dass ein Gelehrter in solcher Weise an die Oeffentlichkeit getreten ist, und meine Phantasie lässt mich im Stiche, wenn ich mir die Frage vorlege, zu welchem Zwecke wohl *Skoeld* geschrieben haben mag.

*September, 1927.*

*(This discussion is now closed.)*

# Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan. II : The Sa-cu Region

BY F. W. THOMAS

(Continued from 1927, p. 844.)

## D. MONASTERIES AND A HISTORIC FOUNDATION

17. Ch. 0021 (670, vol. xxxi, foll. 115; *verso* of fol. 2 of a text in *dbu-can* script; ll. 8 of clear *dbu-med*).

[1] ཨོ ཨོ || Bod . yul . du . byuñ . bañi . dge . bañi . bśes . ñen .  
gi . rgyud . kyi . rnam . s . grañs . la . ||

[2] Rgya . gar . gyi . mkhan . po . Bo . de . sva . rva . las .  
stsogs . pañi . slob . ma . ni | Dbah . btsun . ba . Ye<sup>1</sup> . še(s) .  
dbañ . po | Dbah . Dpal . dbyañs . | Ñan . lam . Rgyal .  
mchog . dbyañs . | Hgo . h̄bom . Rdo . rje . rgyal . po . | Jeñ .  
Gsal . rab . rin . po . che . | Myañ . Mchog . rab . gzo . nu . |  
Myañ . Gśa (?) . myi . go . cha . | Glehu . Gzo . nu . sñiñ . po . |  
Lha . luñ . [3] Dpal . gi . rdo . rje | Tshog . ro . Dpal . gi .  
señ . ge . | <sup>2</sup>Tsog . ro . Byams . pañi . señ . ge . <sup>2</sup> | Cog . ro .  
Hchos . kyi . bśes . ñes (n) . | de . las . bsogs . pa . ni . Bsam .  
yas . dañ . Hphrul . snañ . yan . cad . kyi . dge . bañi . bśes .  
ñen . lags . sho . ||

Mdo . gams . gyi . chos . grañi . slob . dpoñ . |

[4] Wañ . Śes . rab . sla . ba . | Hdan . ma . Bkun . dgah .  
dpal . | Nem . Dgah . ldan . byañ . chub . las . bsog<sup>3</sup> . pa . ni .  
Mdo . gams . nas . brgyud . pa . lags . so . ||

Kam . beuñi . chos . grañi . slobs . pon . | Dbas . Byañ .  
chub . rin . cen . | 'An . Dge . lam . | Lañ . h̄gro . Dam .  
mtsho . || Lbe (Hbe ? Lee ?) . zi . Rnal . h̄byor . [5] skyor . |  
Hphru . ma . legs . las . bsogs . pa<sup>4</sup> . ni | byañ . ños . phyogs .  
su . brgyud . pa . lags . so . ||

Go<sup>5</sup> . cuñi . chos . grañi . slo . dpoñ . Myañ . Rin . cen .

<sup>1</sup> Corrected from *yes*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tsog* . . . . *ge* repeated and then erased.

<sup>3</sup> Below the line.

<sup>4</sup> Below the line.

<sup>5</sup> Corrected from *Gog*.

byañ . chub . || Ža . śāa . Hjam . pañi . sñiñ . po | Hgo . bom .  
 Sa . mun . tra . || Hgreñ . ro . Dgeñi . blo . gros . | Phuñ . Dge .  
 rgyas . las . btsogs . Śi . goñ . bu . nas . [6] brgyud . pa . lags .  
 sho . || rdzogs . so . |

[1] "Record of the succession of *kalyāṇa-mitras* who arose in Tibet.

[2-5] I. Pupils of the Indian abbots Bodeśvara and so forth :—

*Dbañ* the reverend Ye-śes . dbañ-po (Jñānendra) ;

„ *Dpal-dbyaṅs* (Śrighoṣa) ;

*Rgyal-mchog-dbyaṅs* (Ujjayana (?) ghoṣa) of Nān-lam ;

*Rdo-rje-rgyal-po* (Vajrarāja) of Hgo-ñbom ;

*Jeñ Gsal-rab-rin-po-che* (Prakāśaratna) ;

*Myañ Mchog-rab-gžo-nu* (Prāgra(?)kumāra) ;

„ *Gśa-myi-go-cha* ( . . . varman) ;

*Gleñu Gžo . nu . sñiñ-po* (Kumāragarbha) ;

*Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje* (Śrīvajra) of Lha-luñ ;

*Dpal-gyi-señ-ge* (Śrisiṃha) of Cog-ro ;

*Byams-pañi-señ-ge* (Maitrisiṃha) of Cog-ro ;

*Hchos-kyi-bśes-gñen* (Dharmamitra)

—these and others are the *kalyāṇa-mitras* of [the country] as far as the monasteries Bsam-yas and Hphrul-snañ.

[3-4] II. Teachers of the seminary of Mdo-gams :—

*Wañ Śes-rab-sla-ba* (Prajñācandra) ;

*Hdan-ma Kun-dgañ-dpal* (Ānandaśrī) ;

*Nem Dgañ-ldan-byañ-chub* (Tuṣitabodhi) ;

—these and others are of the succession of Mdo-gams.

[4-5] III. Teachers of the seminary of Kam-bcu :—

*Dbas Byañ-chub-rin-chen* (Bodhiratna) ;

'An Dge-lam (Supatha, Kṣemamārga ?) ;

*Dam-mtsho* of Lañ-ñgro ;

*Lbe-zi Rnal-ñbyor-skyor* (Yogastambha ?) ;

*Hphru-ma-legs* ;

—these and others are the succession in the region of the north.



[5-6] IV. Teachers of the Go-cu seminary :—

Myaṅ Rin-cen-byaṅ-chub (Ratnabodhi) ;

Ṣa-sṇa Hjam-paḥi-sṇiṅ-po (Mañjugarbha) ;

Sa-mun-tra (Samudra) of Hgo-hbom ;

Dgaḥi-blo-gros (Sumati) of Hgreṅ-ro ;

Phuṅ Dge-rgyas (Punyavistara) ;

—these and others are the succession of Śi-goṅ-bu. *Finis.*"

#### Notes.

1. 2. *Dbah* (l. 6 *dbas*) : see p. 56.

*Nan-lam*, a place mentioned in the Lhasa treaties (*JRAS.*, 1910, p. 1277, l. 22, p. 1281, l. 47), where Col. Waddell reads *Tshe-nan(-lam)* which he takes as referring to Singanfu ; cf. also the *Chronicle*, l. 84, *Nan-lam-tsal*.

*Hgo-bom* (l. 5 *Hgo-hbom*) has been mentioned above (p. 823), and the second element occurs in *Khri-boms*. The name of *Kum-bum*, which might here occur to us, is usually explained as *Sku-hbum*.

ll. 2-3. *Lha-luṅ* and *Cog(Tsog)-ro* are known, and the Bsam-yas and Hphrul-snaṅ monasteries are the famous early foundations, the latter at Lha-sa.

l. 3. *gra* = *grva*, see p. 843.

l. 4. *Kam .bcu* = Kan-chou.

*Laṅ-hgro* is mentioned in the *Chronicle* (ll. 176, 206, 237).

l. 5. *Go-cu* is not known to me.

*Hgreṅ . ro* is, no doubt, the territory of the Hgreṅ clan of Mdo-gams (p. 87). It is mentioned in M.I., viii, 13, 48, xiv, 113.

*Ṣa . sṇa* is ordinarily a phrase meaning presence.

*Śi-goṅ-bu* has not yet been found in the documents.

Concerning the surnames (*Myaṅ*, *Hdan-ma*, etc.) see the consolidated list, pp. 91-5.

18. Ch. 73, viii, 5 (705 : vol. lxix, foll. 45-6, and vol. liii, fol. 11 ; 30 × 25 + 30 × 53 + 30 × 25 cm. ; discoloured and fragmentary ; ll. 15 + 31 + 15 of excellent *dbu-can* script ; paragraphs separated by | 's and ०० in red).

This document consists of a series of paragraphs having the form :—

<sup>1</sup> Bam . Stag . zigs . gyi . khram . tshan la <sup>1</sup> || Dgañ . ldan . hbyuñ . gnas . gyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . gyi . yon . bdag . Bam . Stag . gi . skya . | Dgañ . ldan . gnas . gyi . gñal . yas . pañi . gtsug . lag . khañ . gyi . yon . bdag . Leñ . ho . Siñu . lañ . gyi . skya .

" *Account of Bam Stag-zigs.* Crop of Bam Stag, patron of the Dgañ-ldan-hbyuñ-gnas monastery. Crop of Leñ-ho Siñu-lañ, patron of the Dgañ-ldan-gnas-kyi-gñal-yas monastery."

The document again is therefore simply a systematically arranged list of monasteries receiving as income the crops of certain farms, with the names of the owners or occupants of the farms, who are styled *yon-bdag* (*dāna-pati* "donors" or "patrons"). Though we have only a fragment, the number of establishments, many of which may have been small, is sufficient to remind us of the fact that Śa-cu was the place of the "Thousand Buddhas"; and the system, though perhaps the produce only, and not also the ownership of the estates, belonged to the monasteries, is agreeably analogous to the holdings of the Tibetan Buddhist church and of the endowments of religion and learning in mediaeval Europe.

The names of the religious establishments, which are grouped under the several accounts according to their initial syllables, may conveniently be reproduced in the same manner :—

[ll. 1-5] (*Title of account missing.*)

|                     |             |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Dri-myed . . .      | monastery ; |
| „ ya-rnam-dag       | „           |
| „ -dños . grub      | „           |
| „ -tin . ñe . hñzin | „           |
| „ -rgyas . pa       | „           |
| „ -don . dam        | „           |

<sup>1</sup> This part in red ink.

[ll. 6-12] *Account (tshan) of Klu-sbehi-bsgye-hu-rje-gye-se Hpyan-legs :—*

*Khram account (khram-tshan) of Cañ Lha-legs :—*

[Rnam]-dag-dgaḥ-ldan monastery ;

Rnam-dgaḥ-bo „

Rnam-dag-yon-tan „

„ -pad-mo „

„ -don-grub „

„ -rin-chen „

„ -don-mdzad „

„ -snañ-mdzad „

„ byams-pa „

„ mthaḥ-yas „

[ll. 13-B l. 6] *Khram account of Bam Stag-zigs :—*

Dgaḥ-ldan-hbyuñ-gnas monastery ;

„ -gnas-kyi-gḥal-nas „

„ -pad-mo „

„ -sprul-pa „

„ -myi-g-yoḥ „

„ -mthaḥ-yas „

„ -rgyal-ba „

„ -dri-myed „

„ -byams-pa „

„ -rdo-rje „

[B ll. 6-12]. *Khram account of Cañ Si-ka :—*

Rin-chen-hod-hphro monastery ;

„ -hbar-ba „

„ -rnal-hbyor „

„ -bla-myed „

„ -bsam-yas „

„ -dus-gsum „

„ -don-dam „

„ -dkaḥ-thub „

„ -hod-khyab „

„ -chos-grags „



[B ll. 13-20]. *Khram account of Li Sehu-lan* :—

Chos-grags-bsam-yas monastery ;

|   |              |   |
|---|--------------|---|
| „ | -bkra-śis    | „ |
| „ | -g-yuñ-hdruñ | „ |
| „ | -dgañ-ldan   | „ |
| „ | -gzi-brjid   | „ |
| „ | -rgyas-pa    | „ |
| „ | -don-mdzad   | „ |
| „ | -myi-g-yo    | „ |
| „ | -legs-ldan   | „ |

[B l. 20-7]. *Khram account of Leñ-ho Zun-zun* :—

G-yuñ-hdruñ-yañ-dag monastery ;

|   |              |   |
|---|--------------|---|
| „ | -dam-pa      | „ |
| „ | -don-dam     | „ |
| „ | -rdzu-hphrul | „ |
| „ | mñam-ñid     | „ |
| „ | -byams-pa    | „ |
| „ | -bla-myed    | „ |
| „ | -dge-rtags   | „ |
| „ | -yid-bñin    | „ |

[B ll. 27-31]. *Khram account of Wañ Stagu* :—

Don-dam-rnal-hbyor monastery ;

|   |              |   |
|---|--------------|---|
| „ | -bla-myed    | „ |
| „ | -byams-pa    | „ |
| „ | -rdzu-hphrul | „ |
| „ | -mñam-ñid    | „ |
| „ | -myi-g-yoñ   | „ |

[C ll. 1-2]. (Title of account missing).

Dbañ-mchog-rnal-hbyor monastery ;

[C ll. 2-9]. *Khram account of Cañ Ka-dzo* :—

Bsam-yas-dus-gsum monastery ;

|   |             |   |
|---|-------------|---|
| „ | -myi-g-yoñ  | „ |
| „ | -rnal-hbyor | „ |
| „ | -rin-chen   | „ |
| „ | -btañ-sñoms | „ |

Bsam-yas-mchog monastery ;

„ -yon-tan „

[C II. 9-15]. *Khram account of Cañ Hphan-legs* :—

Khams-gsum-grags-pa monastery ;

„ -bla-myed „

„ -rgyal-ba „

„ -mchog „

„ -ži-ba „

„ hph . . . . . „

„ don-mdzad „

„ g-yuñ-druñ „

The names of these monasteries exhibit, as will be seen, a certain sameness. They consist for the most part of combinations of well-known Buddhist or Indian phrases, such as *dri-med* (= *amala*, *nirmala*), *rnam-dag* (= *viśuddha*), *dgah-lan* (= *tuṣṭa*), *rin-chen* (= *ratna*), *chos-grags* (= *dharmakīrti*), *g-yuñ-hdruñ* (= *svastī*), *don-dam* (= *paramārtha*), *bsam-yas* (= *acintya*), *khams-gsum* (= *triloka*), *bla-med* (= *anuttara*), *byams-pa* (= *Maitreya*), *dños-grub* (= *siddhī*). They are all Tibetan, which, however, may represent Sanskrit or Chinese originals.

It remains to justify the translation of *tshan*, which has occurred already several times (pp. 808, 810, 842), by “account” and to explain the phrase “*khram account*”.

*Tshan* cannot have the common senses of “class”, “group”, “a number of”, or of “mark”, “name” (*mtshan*), or of “office”. The sense of “account” fits the occurrences. For *khram* (going back to *khra-ma* “register”, etc.?) we may cite *khram-kha* “chart used in witchcraft”, “cross marks cut into a piece of wood”, and *khram-sin* “board on which the body of a culprit is stretched to flog him on the back”. Remembering the numerous wooden sticks with combinations of lines and frequently with names and amounts, we can hardly hesitate to recognize in the *khram-tshan* these same tallies, such as were frequent in

England down to the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> On two of these tallies the words *tshan* and *khram* in fact occur :—

(a) M.I., xxvii, 8 :—

[1] Hphan . cuñ . dog . tshan . gyi . bul . . .

[2] To . tson . gis . phul . bañ . . .

(b) M.I., xiv, 131 a :—

[1] ra 3 | dre . dbu | ra . ma

[2] o | kog . chas . hlug . khram |

[3] lug                      ma . mo.

19. Ch. 9, I. 37 (722, vol. xxxii, foll. 88–96 ; 42·5 × 7·5 cm ; fol. 9, numbered 35–41 ; followed by No. 74, another text ; ll. 4 per page of good ordinary *dbu-can* script ; paragraph titles in red ink).

88 (35) [1] ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་གྲུག་ལག་  
 khañ . bzeñs . par . Mdo . gams . kyī . khams . kyī . dbañ . po .  
 rnams . kyis . dkon . mcog . gsum . la . meod . ciñ . yon .  
 phul . ba . hdihi . bsod . nams . dañ | byin . gyi . rlabs . kyis  
 [l. 2] lha . btsan . po . rje . blon . hkhor . dañ . bcas . pañi .  
 sdig . pa . thams . cad . ni . byañ | bsod . nams . dañ . ye . śes .  
 kyī . tshogs . ni . yoñsu . rdzogs . nas . chab . srid . mjal . dum .  
 g-yuñ . druñ . tu . brtan . sku . tse . riñ . žiñ . lha . dañ . myiñi .  
 bde . skyid [l. 3] phun . sum . tshogs . pa . la . gnas . te | bla .  
 na . myed . pa . yañ . dag . par . rdzogs . pañi . byañ . cub . lhun .  
 gyis . grub . par . smon . to | ལྟོགས་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་གྲུག་ལག་<sup>2</sup> De . ga . gtsigs .  
 kyī . gtsug . lag . khañ . žal . bsro . bañi [l. 4] bde . blon . gyi . smon  
 lam . du . gsol . bañ<sup>2</sup> || phyogs . bcu . mthañ . yas . mu .  
 myed . pa . na . skye . ba . dañ | hgog . pa . las . rnam . par .  
 dben . ba . yod . myed . dañ . rtag . chad . kyī . mthañ . las .  
 hdas . pa . dus . gsum . gyi . de . bžin . gśegs . pa (B l. 1) thams .  
 cad . la . meod . ciñ . bstod . nas . skyabsu . meiste | gus . par .  
 phyag . htsal . lo | hñig . rten . dañ . hñig . rten . las . hdas . pa .  
 na . hphags . pa . thams . cad . mkhyind<sup>3</sup> . pañi . ye . śes . dañ .

<sup>1</sup> In the business, for instance, of the East India Company, as may be seen from the specimens exhibited in the India Office Library.

<sup>2</sup> Red ink in original.

<sup>3</sup> For *mkhyend*.



ldan . pa . ḥgag . la . ci . sñed . bžugs . so . cog [B. 1. 2] dan |  
 chos . dan | sañs . rgyas . dan | dge . ḥdun . la . skyabsu . meī .  
 ste | gus . par . phyag . ḥtshal . lo || Ḥo . lde . spu . rgyal .  
 gnam . gyi . lha . las . myiḥi . rjer . gśegs . pa . yon . gis . sku .  
 bla . gžan || chab . srid . che | chos . bzañ | gtsug [B 1. 3]  
 lag . che . bas . yul . byuñ . sa . dod . tshun . cad . rjeḥi . gtuñ .  
 ma . gyurd . te | chab . srid . g-yuñ . druñ . tu . brtan . žiñ . che .  
 baḥi . bkaḥ . drin . chen . pos . phyogs . brgyad . tu . khyab .  
 par . khebeste | phyi . nañ . gñis . kyī . Ḥgriñ<sup>1</sup> . myi . ḥo . chog .  
 la [B 1. 4] mñam . bar . dgoñs . nas . mtho . žiñ . dregs . pa .  
 ni . bñlabs . dan . thabs . kyis . btul . te . rigs . paḥi . chos . la  
 btsud . | dmaḥ . žiñ . rgrad . pa . ni . ḥphral . yun . gñisu .  
 dgaḥ . žiñ . spro . bar . gziñs . bstod . nas . gnam . mthaḥ . ḥog .

89 (36) [A 1. 1] ☞ | | gi . Ḥgreñ . myiḥo . chog . | yun .  
 gyi . bkaḥ . drin . gyis . khyab . pas | gnam . chen . po . phyogs .  
 bžihī . mñah . bdag || ḥphrul . gyi . lugs . dan . ḥthun . pa .  
 ni | Bod . kyī . lha . btsan . po | ḥphrul . gyi . ža . sña . nas .  
 bžugs . te || yon . yañ | chu . bo . chen . poḥi . [A 1. 2]  
 glad | gañs . ri . mthon . poḥi . rtsa | yul . mtho . sa . gtsañ .  
 baḥi . gnas . na . bžugs . pas | ḥphrul . gyi . lha . btshan . po .  
 ni || gduñ . rabs . ḥgrañs . par . yañ | lhaḥi . lugs . ma .<sup>2</sup>  
 mñam . ste | rgyal . po . gžan . bas | che . žiñ . brtsan . bar  
 [A 1. 3] mñon | — | de . ltar . yab . myes . lha . dan . stañ .  
 bas | | yon . yañ | chab . srid . che | dbu . rmog . brtsan .  
 baḥi . steñ . du || ḥphrul . gyi . lha . btshan . po . Khri .  
 Gtsug . lde . brtsan . gyi . ža' . sña . nas | sku . la . dbyig  
 [A 1. 4] ḥkhruñs | thugs . la . ḥphrul . mñah . ste | gtsug . lag .  
 khañ . thams . chad . tshul . bžin . mdzad . pas . ni | sku . bla .  
 riñ . rdzi . dan | gnam . saḥi . lha . klu | thams . chad . kyañ .  
 ḥgo . žiñ . dgyes || thugs . rje . chen . po . dan . ldan . bas .  
 ni . Ḥgreñ . myi . [B 1. 1] ḥo . chog . la | gnam . saḥi . lugs .  
 dan . ḥthun . bar | bkaḥ . ciñ . bkur . te | chab . srid . gyi .  
 mñah . thañ . chen . po . dard . ciñ . rgyas . paḥi . dus . su . |  
 chab . srid . kyī . blon . po . yañ . ḥphags . pa . dag . chig |

<sup>1</sup> Sic for *Ḥgreñ*.

<sup>2</sup> Below line, inserted. For *dan* ?

mñah . thañ . tu . byuñste || blon . chen . po [B l. 2] žaň .  
 Khri . sum . rje . daň | chen . po . žaň . Lha . bzaň . po . gñis .  
 kyis | dgrahi . śed . smad . de | chab . srid . kyi . phaň .  
 bsod . nas . || Rgya . Drug . Hjaň . las . stsogs . pa .  
 mthañi . rgyal . po . || bar . du . chab . srid . la . sdo . žiň .  
 rtsol | ba . [B l. 3] kun . kyaň | bkañ . nan . gyi . mthu .  
 daň | rlabs . kyis | bthul . bas . ni . re . thag . bead | yun .  
 riň . por . legs . śiň . bde . bañi . bkañ . drin . gyis . ni . dad . pa .  
 daň . spro . ba . bskyed . nas | guam . sa . yid . hbyor . pa .  
 daň . hdra . bar | rgyal [B l. 4] khams . tu . ma . žig . gis ||  
 Bod . rje . blon . gyi . bkañ . gus . par . mñan . te | chab . srid .  
 mjal . dum . chen . po . mdzad . pa . hdi . yaň | hphral . yun .  
 gñis . su . legs . śiň . bde . ba . ñi . tser . ma . baste | gžah .  
 gsaň . gñis . 90 (37) [A l. 1] ☸ || su . chab . srid . kyi . phaň .  
 mtho . ba . daň . smos . śiň . brjod . pañi . don . kyaň . rab . tu .  
 zab | lo . stoň . rabs . khrir . yaň . hbri . ba . myed . par . bzaň .  
 žiň . sñan . te . mjal . dum . gyi . legs . pa . chen . po . mñon .  
 sum . tu . mdzad [A l. 2] pa . hdi . dkon . mchog . gsum .  
 daň | hñig . rten . gyi . lha . klu . thams . cad . kyis .  
 kyaň . mkhyend . ciň . gzigs . pas . na | nam . tu . yaň . myi .  
 hgyur . žiň . brtan . bar . smond . to || de . ltar . mjal .  
 dum . chen . po [A l. 3] mdzad . pañi . rkyen . kyis . rgyal .  
 khams . tu . ma . žig . gi . hbañs . mchon . chañi . khar . ñon .  
 moñs . pa . myiň . myed . par . bstald . te | bde . skyid . pañi .  
 gnas . la . dus . gcig . tu . bkod . pañi . bsod . nams [A l. 4]  
 chen . po . hdis | hphrul . gyi . lha . btsan . po . Khri . Gtsag .  
 lde . brtsan . mched . daň | chab . srid . kyi . blon . po . chen .  
 po . legs . pa . sgrub . sgrub . pa . blon . chen . po . žaň . Khri .  
 sum . rje . daň | žaň . chen . po . Lha [B l. 1] bzaň . lastsogs .  
 pa . Bod . rje . blon . hkhord . par . bcas . pa . daň | sems .  
 can . thams . cad . sgrib . pa . rnam . gñis . byaň . nas . bsod .  
 nams . daň . ye . śes . kyi . tshogs . yoñsu . rdzogate . mthar .  
 yaň . bla . na . myed . pa . yaň . dag [B l. 2] par . rdzogs .  
 pañi . byaň . cub . tu . mñon . bar . rdzogs . par . sañs . rgyas .  
 par . smon . to || de . ga . G-yu . tshal . mjal . tum . thaň .  
 tu . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag . khaň . mdzad . pa . hdi . yaň .



lo . no . gñis [B l. 3] la . rgyal . khams . chen . po . gsum .  
 mjal . dum . ba . dañ . gtsigs . chen . po . mdzad . pañi . sa .  
 gzi . ste | hdir . beas . pa . dañ . sbyar . na<sup>1</sup> | hdi . yañ . sñon .  
 gyi . hpahgs . pa . rnam . kyis . yañ [B l. 4] dag . par . byin .  
 kyis . brlabs . pañi . sa . gzi . zig . ste | yon . yañ . hdi . lta .  
 buñi . legs . pa . chen . po . dus . gcig . tu . byuñ . bañi . don .  
 tu . btsigs . pas . lhag . par . yañ . bsod . nams . che . žiñ . bkra .  
 sis . par . mñon . te | 91 (38) [A. l. 1] ~~¶~~ || bsod . nams . chen . po .  
 de . dag . gi . byin . kyis . gtsuñ . lag . khañ . hdi . yañ . nam . ñi .  
 ma . dañ | zla . ba . yod . kyi . bar . tu . yun . tu . brtan . ba .  
 dañ | hpñrul . kyi . lha . btsan . po . Khri . Gtsug . lde . brtsan .  
 gyi . za . sña . nas | sku . tshe . riñ . žiñ [A l. 2] chab . srid .  
 che . ba . dañ | dgoñs . pa . yid . bžin . tu . grub . par . smon .  
 to || sñon . Rgya . Drug . dañ<sup>2</sup> . chab . srid . la . ma .  
 mjal . d . te . nold . pa . dag . gi . dus . na . lha . sras . dbu .  
 rmog . brtsan . po . dañ | blon . po . dpañ . hdzañs [A l. 3]  
 ldan . žiñ . dgra . thabs . mkhas . pañi . skyims<sup>3</sup> . kyis . dgra .  
 la . phog . pa . dañ | dmag . mañ . poñi . mthu . brtsan . pos .  
 dgrañi . mkhar . phab . pa . dañ | g-yu . bzlog . pa . dañ |  
 yul . bcom . ba . dañ | mnañs . beađ . pa . la [A l. 4] stsogste |  
 dgrañi . myi . phyugs . mañ . pho . srog . dañ . bral . ba . dañ .  
 ma . byind . par . blañs . phañi . dño . sdig . ci . meis . pa . yañ .  
 bsod . nams . chen . po . hdiñi . byin . dañ . zil . kyis . mnand .  
 te . žu . žiñ . byañ . bar . smon [B l. 1] to || dkon . mchog .  
 gsum . la . mcod . ciñ . yon . phul . ba . dañ | dño . sdig . bsags .  
 pa . lastsogs . pañi . bsod . nams . kyis . rjesu . bsño . žiñ .  
 dmyigs . pa . dañ | bzod . pa . dañ . hñhol . tsañsu [B. l. 2]  
 gsol . ba . lastsogs . pa . smon . lam . gžan . yañ | bla . nas .  
 mdzad . pa . dañ . mthun . bar . smond . to || <sup>4</sup> De . ga .  
*G-yu . tshal . gtsigs . kyi . gtsug . lag . khañ . du . Mkhar . tsan*  
 [Bl. 3] *khrom . chen . pos . smon . lam . tu . gsol . ba* <sup>4</sup> . ||  
 Bod . rje . blon . dbu . rmog . brtsan . Sgam . dkyel . chen . poñi .

<sup>1</sup> s here erased.Read *Hjañ*?<sup>2</sup> For *skyems*.<sup>3</sup> Red ink in original.



sku . ril . la | bar . tu . Rgya . Drug . dañ . Hjañ . rgyal .  
 khams . chen . po . gsum . gyis . chab . srid . kyī . mdab .  
 tu [B l. 4] bsños . pa . las | rje . dbu . rmog . brtsan .  
 blon . po . rin . po . che . dpaḥ . rtsal . dañ . ldan . bañi .  
 byin . rlabs . kyis . dgra . bkañ . hog . du . chud . du |  
 gtsigs . bkañ . rtsald . to . ḥtsald . tu . mnos . la | nam . ʒa .  
 92 (39) [A l. 1] ॐ | : | myi . rabs . kyī . gtam . brjod .  
 kyī . bar . tu . legs . pañi . bkañ . drin . dgugs . kyis . zin . to .  
 ḥtsal . la . khebṣte . brjod . pañi . gtsigs . kyī . gtsug . lag .  
 khañ . bžeñs . par . rgyal . khams . chab . srid . kye <sup>1</sup> . la  
 [A l. 2] ltod . pañi . slad . tu . lha . sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde .  
 brtsan . gyi . ʒa . sñā . nas . thugs . kyī . phrin . las . su . mdzad .  
 pa . dañ | blon . chen . po . ʒañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ | chen .  
 po . ʒañ . Lha . bzañ . gis . dgra . Rgya . Drug . gi . g-yul .  
 [A l. 3] chen . po . bzlog . pa . lastsogs . pa . thabs . ches . phras .  
 dgra . la . gnad . par . bgyis . pa . dañ | kh[r]om . Mkhar .  
 tsan . pa . lta . ʒig . Bod . ḥbañs . dpaḥ . sran . la . stend . pañi .  
 tshul . bžin . du [A l. 4] lo . ño . gcig . la . g-yul . chen . po .  
 gñis . bzlog . pañi . dpaḥ . bañi . sna . drañs . pa . lastsogs . ste |  
 Bod . rjes . ḥbañs . kyis . chab . srid . la . sdo . bañi . slad . tu .  
 dbugs . chags . la . gnad . pañi . sems [B l. 1] kyis . mphro .  
 btod . ciñ . rma . phyuñ . ño . ḥtsal | rtul . tsam . ma . lus . phar .  
 byañ . bar . smon . lam . gsolte | Khar . tsan . khrom . kyis .  
 yon . dbul . ba . la | ॐ || | <sup>2</sup> De . ga . G-yu . tshal . gtsigs .  
 kyī . gtsug . lag . khañ . tu . Kva . cu . khrom . chen [B l. 2] po .  
 nas . smon . lam . tu . gsol . ba <sup>2</sup> || Bod . rje . blon . dbu .  
 rmog . brtsan . | Skam . dkyel . chen . poñi . sku . riñ . la |  
 bar . du . dgra . Rgya . Drug . Hjañ . rgyal . khams . chen . po .  
 gsum . kyis . chab . srid . kyī . mdab . tu . bsdos . pha . las  
 [B l. 3] rje . dbu . rmog . brtsan | blon . po . rin . po . che .  
 dpaḥ . rtsal . ldan . bañi . rlabs . kyis . dgra . bkā . hog . tu .  
 chud . de . | gtsigs . bkañ . stsald . to . ḥtsal . tu . mnos . pha .  
 nam . ʒa . myi . rabs . su . gtam . brjod . kyī . bar . tu [B l. 4]  
 legs . pañi . bkañ . drin . dbugs . kyī . zin . to . ḥtsal . khebṣ . te |

<sup>1</sup> Read *kyi*, as below (B l. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Red ink in original.

brjod . paḥi . gtsigs . kyī . gtsug . lag . khañ . bžeñs . par . rgyal .  
khamś . chab . srid . kyī . la . ltod . paḥi . slad . tu | lha . sras .  
kyī . za . sūa . nas . | thugs . kyī .

93 (40) [A l. 1] ཨ ། | hphrin . las . su . mdzad . pa .  
dañ | blon . chen . po . zañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ | chen . po .  
zañ . Lha . bzañ . gis . Rgya . Drug . gi . g-yul . chen . po . bzlog .  
pa . lastsogs . pha . Bod . rjes . hbañs . kyis . chab . srid . la .  
sdo . baḥi . slad . [A l. 2] tu . dgra . la . gnad . paḥi . ūugs .  
kyis . bgyis . so . htsal . bag . tsam . ma . lus . par . byañ . bar .  
smon . lam . tu . gsol . te | Kva . cu . khrom . chen . po .  
nas . yon . tu . dbul . baḥ || ཨ ། | <sup>1</sup> *Phyug . tsams* . [A l. 3]  
ston . pon . dpon . g-yog . gi . smon . lam . tu . gsol . baḥ || <sup>1</sup>  
dkon . mehog . gsum . la . phyag . htsal . lo || sañs . rgyas . la .  
phyag . htsal . te . thams . cad . mkhyen . pa . laḥo || [A l. 4]  
chos . la . phag . htsal . te | theg . pa . bla . na . myed . pa .  
laḥo || dge . ḥdun . la . phyag . htsal . te | phyir . myi . log .  
paḥi . byañ . cub . sems . dpah . rnams . laḥo || bdag . dañ .  
gžan . kyī . non . sgrub . paḥi . phyir . dkon . mehog . gsum .  
la . mchod . de | sdig . pa . thams [B l. 1] cad . btsald . nas |  
bsod . nams . kyī . rjes . su . yi . rañ . ste | dkon . mehog .  
gsum . la . phyogs . śiñ . rton . to || Thugs . skam . dbu . rmog .  
brtsan . baḥi . rje . blon . thugs . la . hphrul . dgoñs . phas .  
Rgya . Drug . Hjañ . las . stsogs . pha [B l. 2] bar . tu . bkaḥ .  
myi . mñand . pa . yañ . hbañs . gñug . ma . dañ . ḥdra . bar .  
rnal . tu . phab . nas . dbu . rmog . brtsan . la . chab . srid . che .  
baḥi . ḥdab . la . phyogs . par . gsol . nas | mjal . dum . gyi .  
gtsigs . beas . nas . [B l. 3] rdo . riñs . la . bris | gtsigs . kyī .  
gtsug . lag . khañ . bžeñs . nas . so . khamś . kyī . khrom .  
ni . dal . | yul . chen . poḥi . dbus . skyid . ciñ . dar . bar .  
bgyis . ḥdi . las . bkaḥ . drin . che . ba . ma . meis . pas . sri .  
zu . dañ . bkaḥ [B l. 4] drin . dran <sup>2</sup> . baḥi . mtsan . ma .  
tsam . du . dkon . mehog . gsum . la . yon . baḥi . bsod . nams .  
kyis | Bod . rje . blon . hkhor . dañ . beas . pha . sku . tshe .

<sup>1</sup> Red ink in original.

<sup>2</sup> Below line.



dañ . mñaḥ . thañ . g-yuñ . druñ . du . grub . la . Bod . khams .  
 na . phas . kyī . dgra . dañ . ḥkhrug . pañi . myi . gragste |  
 94 (41) [A l. 1] ❶ || lo . phyugs . rtag . legs . la .  
 gtsigs . bcas . pa . bžin . yun . du . brtan . žiñ . ḥjig . rten . dañ .  
 ḥjig . rten . las . ḥdas . pañi . bde . skyid . phun . sum . tshogs .  
 pha . dañ . ldan . bar . smon . to || [A. l. 2] ❷ || <sup>1</sup> Hbrom .  
 khoñ <sup>2</sup> . sa . hi . smon . lam . du . gsoñ . bañ <sup>3</sup> || rje . bla . na .  
 bžugs . pa . ni . lha | chab . srid . kyī . blon . po . ni . ḥphruld |  
 rje . blon . lha . ḥphrul . kyis . gnam . ral . ba . ni . lhañi . byin .  
 kyis . drubs . | sa . gas . pa . ni . blon . poñi . rlabs . kyis .  
 btsams <sup>4</sup> . te | gnam . sa . ni . yod . sbyar | dgra . [A l. 3]  
 zin . ni . mjal . dum . nas | mtha . nas . ni . dgra . myi . sdo |  
 byañ . nas . ni . g-yag . myi . rtuñ . ste || Bod . ḥbañs . yoñs .  
 bde . skyid . pa . ḥbañ . śig . tu . ma . bas . te | ñi . hog . gi .  
 rgya <sup>4</sup> . khamsna [A l. 4] rgyal . phran . mcis . pañi . rñams .  
 sems . myi . bde . žiñ . srid . śor . ḥidu . dogs . pañi . rñams .  
 kyañ . srid . la . myi . dbab . ciñ . sems . bde . ba . yañ | rje .  
 blon . lha . ḥphruld . kyī . sku . yon . | ḥdi . ḥdra . bar . bkañ .  
 drin . chen . po . stsalnas . [B l. 1] Bod . ḥbañs . yoñs . su .  
 bde . bañi . dus . ni . ñi . ma . bžin . tu . śard . | <sup>5</sup> men . tog .  
 bžin . tu . rgyas . nas . yul . Bkra . śis . dbyar . mo . thañ .  
 de . ga . G-yul . tsal . tu . | blon . chen . po . žañ . Khri . sum .  
 rje . dañ . | žañ . chen . po . Lha . bzañ . dañ . | bkañ [B l. 2]  
 ḥkhor . dañ . bdag . cag . las . stsogs . phas . gtsug . lag . khañ .  
 brtsigs . dge . ḥdun . gyi . sde . gtsugs . rkyen . dañ . bcas .  
<sup>6</sup> par . sbyar . ba <sup>6</sup> . pañi . yon . kyis . | rje . lha . sras . Khri .  
 Gtsug . lde . brtsan . gyi . sku . tshe . riñ | dbu . rmog . brtsan .  
 dañ | [B l. 3] blon . chen . po . žañ . Khri . sum . rje . dañ |  
 žañ . chen . po . Lha . bzañ . dgoñs . so . ḥtsal . mthar . phyin .  
 pa . dañ | Bod . rje . blon . kyī . gtsug . lag . ñi . ma . dañ .  
 ḥdra . bar . nam . žar . myi . ḥgyur . dañ | geigs . brtan . [B l. 4]

<sup>1</sup> Red ink.

<sup>2</sup> Inserted below line.

<sup>3</sup> m inserted below line.

<sup>4</sup> Inserted below line.

<sup>5</sup> nye here erased.

<sup>6</sup> Inserted below line.



bañ . dañ | <sup>1</sup> bdag . cag . las . stsogs <sup>1</sup> . sems . can . thams .  
 cad . tshe . rabs . kyi , sgrib . pa . byañ . ste | bla . na . myed .  
 pañi . lhañi . yañ . lha . sañs . rgyas . bcom . ldan . ḥdas .  
 Byams . pañi . ḥkhor . tu . skye . bar . smon . to ||

[88a, l. 1] "In founding the monastery erected in Bkra-  
 śis-dbyar-mo-thañ the authorities of the realm of Mdo-gams  
 pray that through the merit and blessing of this donation  
 made in honour of the Three Jewels all the sins of His  
 Majesty, the Btsan-po, together with his retinue of lords  
 councillors, may have been cleansed, and that, their merits  
 and wisdom being perfected, the state being established in  
 a circle of concord, in the enjoyment of long life and of entire  
 felicity on the part of gods and men, they may realize the  
 attainment of supreme, perfect illumination.

[88a, l. 3] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE NOBLE COUNCILLORS  
 AT THE FACE-WARMING OF THE THERE ERECTED MONASTERY.

To all the Tathāgatas living in the Ten Directions, infinite  
 and limitless, and those, entirely free from restriction,  
 possessing a non-existence and eternity without bounds,  
 with honour and laud seeking refuge in them, in reverence  
 hail !

To the Exalted in the universe and in the beyond, possessed  
 of omniscient wisdom, as many as abide in their state, to  
 the Dharma, the Buddha and the Saṃgha, seeking refuge  
 with them, in reverence hail !

From the time when Ho-lde Spu-rgyal came from the gods  
 of heaven to be lord of men, and ever in other exalted bodies  
 —with great dominion, good religion, and great science, a  
 royal lineage unbroken as far as the origin of the land where  
 the kingdom arose—with the kind sway of a sovereignty  
 firm on all sides and great filled and encompassed the Eight  
 Regions ; to us Hgreñ people, without and within, equally  
 considerate ; by their influence and measures taming the high  
 and proud and bringing them under the rule of right ; with

<sup>1</sup> Erased.

joy and encouragement in both present and future extolling the humble and afflicted ; filling us Hgreñ people beneath the ends of heaven with perpetual kindness ; rulers of the Four Quarters of the great heaven, equal to the manner of the divine, their Majesties the Btsan-pos of Tibet, of divine descent—

[89a, l. 1] Furthermore, established in his place, the pure land, his high kingdom, above great rivers and at the foot of high snow-mountains, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po, in the counting of the generations of his line equal to the manner of the gods, is beyond other kings manifestly great and permanent.

[89a, l. 3] Of ancestry thus rivalling the gods, furthermore also great sovereign and of high helmet, His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, in body firm knit, in mind divinely endowed, with due foundation of all monasteries, continues the succession of exalted bodies to the joy [of all], beginning with all the gods of heaven and the Nāgas.

[89a, l. 4] At the time when, through his great compassionateness towards us Hgreñ people, the great authority of his government spread and flourished, protecting us with respect in a manner resembling heaven, there came into power certain exalted councillors of state, the Great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje, and the Great Uncle Lha-bzañ-po, these two. Humbling the might of enemies and setting them in the bosom of the state, by the power and influence of their commands they tamed all the border kings, of China, the Drug, the Hjañ and others, till then venturing and making effort for dominion, and cut short their hopes. After long time, when righteous and prosperous kindness had engendered trust and encouragement, as though heaven were realized in men's minds, some several states, respectfully heeding the orders of the high councillors of Tibet, made this great concordat of states ; whereby, to say nought of ephemeral good and happiness both in present and future, there is among friend and foe alike reason profound indeed for extolling and



celebrating the bosom of the state. Through myriad millenniums, unspeakably beneficial and welcome, may this great, publicly enacted concordat, known and witnessed by the Three Jewels and by all gods and Nāgas of the universe, stand for all time unimpaired and firm. The subjects of the several kingdoms, by virtue of the thus enacted great concordat, consigning to oblivion their sufferings during the time of arms, and being united at one time in a situation of felicity, through the great merit thereof may His Divine Majesty, the honoured Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan and the great councillors of State, successful in righteous achievement, the Great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ and the rest, together with their retinue of High Councillors of Tibet, and all beings, cleansed from the double darkness, and fulfilling their store of merit and wisdom, finally in supreme, perfected enlightenment attain to consummate Buddhahood.

In respect of the choice of this place as site for the foundation of the monastery erected on the there Turquoise-Wood Concordat Plain and for biennial convention of the three great kingdoms and for great foundations, the site being moreover one fully blessed by Āryas of old, may it furthermore, through a foundation in respect of such great good realized at one time, be even more manifestly of great merit and auspiciousness. And through the grandeur of those great merits may this monastery be perpetual in time, as long as sun and moon exist; and on the part of His Divine Majesty, the Btsan-po Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan, may there be long life, great dominion, and purposes accomplished according to his mind.

Whereas formerly, in the time when China and the Drug were not in accord and harmony with the State, the firm-helmeted prince and the wise, heroic councillors, in the ardour of their warlike skill, smote at the foe and by the mighty power of large armies laid low enemy cities, won battles, conquered countries, slew the people and so forth, may the sin of severing



the lives of numerous men and cattle and of taking what was not given be altogether dominated by the splendour and power of this great merit and be dissolved and washed away.

[91b, l. 1] In condevotion with the merit of this donation in honour of the Three Jewels and of the confession of sins and so forth supplication for insight, for tolerance, and for remission of the confessed is made equally with what is above set forth.

[91b, l. 2] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE GREAT CITY OF MKHAR-TSAN AT THE MONASTERY ERECTED IN THE THERE TURQUOISE-WOOD.

Whereas in the lifetime of the High Councillor of Tibet, the firm-helmeted Sgam-dkyel the Great,—for till then the three great kingdoms of China, the Drug, and the Hjañ were resolute in contending for dominion,—the firm-helmeted lord designed to issue command that by the heroic might of his jewel councillors the enemy should be made to come beneath his sway, in founding a monastery erected to celebrate, as long as tradition of human generations endures, that that design is willed to be dominated and is covered up by kind summons to righteousness, and in thereby setting a crown upon the state's supremacy, may the purpose in the mind of the prince Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan have been accomplished; and may the harm done to the enemy by Great Councillor Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ through great defeats of the hostile Chinese and Drug and other means great and small, and on the part of certain of the city of Mkharr-tsan, who, taking side with the stubborn heroic people of Tibet and being foremost of heroes in winning two great victories in a single year, on behalf of the venture for dominion on the part of the lord and people of Tibet went forward with a will to harm animate creatures, so that wounds were needs inflicted, may those wounds likewise be healed so that not a scar remains!—with this prayer the great city Khar-tsan has made donation.

[92b, l. 1] PRAYER OFFERED FROM THE GREAT CITY OF KVA-CU AT THE MONASTERY ERECTED AT THE THERE TURQUOISE-WOOD.

(*This repeats 91b, l. 2 as far "on behalf of the venture for dominion on the part of the lord and people of Tibet" and then continues*) were willing to proceed with force in harming the enemy, may that without a remainder be healed!—with this prayer the great city of Kva-cu has made donation.

[93a, l. 3] PRAYER OFFERED BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE PHYUG-TSAMS THOUSAND, HIMSELF AND HIS SUBORDINATES.

Hail to the Three Jewels! Hail to the Buddha, to the Omniscient! Hail to the Dharma, to the Path without superior! Hail to the Saṃgha, to the Bodhisattvas who do not regress! Honouring the Three Jewels in order to the success of the efforts of ourselves and others, having dismissed all sins and consenting to what is meritorious, we turn and cleave to the Three Jewels. That by inspired design in the mind of the firm-helmeted High Councillor Thugs-skam the Chinese, the Drug, the Hjañ and others, until then heedless of commands, were set at rest equally with the native people and bidden to seek a shelter both firm-helmeted and great; that a concordat was framed and inscribed upon a stone pillar; that after foundation of the monastery here erected the border cities are at peace and in the interior of the great countries happiness has been made to flourish—forasmuch as there has been no greater kindness than this, in token of reverential and kind commemoration donation has been made to the Three Jewels: through the merit whereof may the lord of Tibet with his retinue of councillors enjoy long life and authority on all sides, and in the Tibetan realm, while foreign enemy and strife are unmentioned and the year's wealth is perpetually assured in accordance with rightful ordinance, may there be mundane and super-mundane happiness and felicity in perfection.



PRAYER OFFERED BY THE DISTRICT *H*BROM-KHOÑ.

The lord stationed on high a god ; the councillors of the state inspired ; the rift of heaven through divinely inspired High Councillors embroidered with divine blessing ; the cloven earth, knitted by the influence of the councillors, a heaven realized ; enemies held fast by concord ; on the frontier no hostile venture ; in the interior<sup>1</sup> the yak not beaten (?)—not enough that thus merely the people of Tibet should be enjoying happiness and felicity : in the realms beneath the sun whatever lesser kings there are, uneasy though they were and apprehensive of loss of state, not being lowered in state are happy. Great kindness such as this having come from the lords councillors, divinely inspired benefactors, a time of universal happiness for the people of Tibet has risen like a sun. Like a flower abloom in the country of the Luck-Summer plain (*Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-thañ*), in the there Turquoise-Wood (*G-yu-tshal*), a monastery has been erected by Great Councillor Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ and their subordinates and ourselves and others, and furnished with means for the instalment of a brotherhood ; through which benefaction may the lord prince Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan be of long life and firm helmet, may great Councillor, Uncle Khri-sum-rje and Great Uncle Lha-bzañ attain their purposed ends, may the monastery of the lords councillors of Tibet be imperishable, like the sun, and of firm foundation, and may<sup>1</sup> we ourselves and<sup>2</sup> all creatures, cleansed from the darkness of generations, be born in the courts of the supreme god of gods, the Buddha, the holy Maitreya."

From this remarkable record, which by its elevated magniloquence<sup>3</sup> and the no less exalted integrity of its sentiment would have done honour to any religious foundation, we may derive an enlarged conception of what

<sup>1</sup> I read *nañ* for *byañ* ("north").

<sup>2</sup> Erased in the original.

<sup>3</sup> The rather frequent occurrence of the word "great" is a noticeable feature of similar oratory elsewhere !



was possible to the Tibetan people, and its language, during their period of greatness. While the background is the rigorous intellect of India, we note an accent reminding us that dogmatic systems, when planted among fresh peoples, may be capable of a certain refflorescence. What, however, more appropriately here attracts our attention is the circumstance that the great religious and historic occasion should have been greeted by "messages" not merely from princes and ministers, but from cities and local bodies. This invites a readjustment of our notions of life in north-eastern Tibet and Chinese Turkestan during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.

The occasion was the famous concordat whereby the Tibetans and Chinese sought to terminate a struggle of nearly (A.D. 783), or more than (A.D. 822), a century and a half. An account of these treaties has been given from Chinese sources by Bushell (*JRAS.* 1880, pp. 487 sqq.), and the Lha-sa inscriptions relating to them have been published with translations and discussions by Col. Waddell. This is not the place for an examination of the question whether the treaty inscriptions are two parts of a single document, or the question of the Tibetan dynastic lists; and consequently we do not here decide whether the date of our document is about A.D. 783 or about A.D. 822.<sup>1</sup> What is important for us to note is that the Btsan-po-Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan of the document is certainly identical with the Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan of the treaty inscription. The fact that in the document he is once styled "prince" (*lha-sras*) is connected with certain dynastic circumstances which may become clearer hereafter. The two ministers named in the document, Khri-sum-rje and Lha-bzan, are not obviously identifiable with any of

<sup>1</sup> Provisionally it seems to me that the edict edited in 1909 is only the first, or preliminary, part of the treaty of 783 A.D., reciting the previous history. The translations, highly meritorious at the time of their publication, require a thorough revision. We may, however, await the publication of MM. Pelliot and Bacot, who are, it is understood, in possession of new facsimiles of the text.

those whose signatures are appended to the treaty. A probably earlier Councillor Khri-sum-rje is frequently mentioned in the *Chronicle* (ll. 147-85, years 44-54 = A.D. 715-25).

Another person mentioned as having initiated a war movement against China is a certain "Skam-skyel (or dkyel) the Great", also designated *Thugs-skam*. In the Lha-sa inscriptions (1919, l. 44, 1910, B l. 42) he has hitherto escaped notice as an adviser of the Btsan-po Khri-lde-btsan (= Chinese Ch'ilitsan, c. 780?).

The monastery having been erected on the site of the treaty conference, and both the treaties of A.D. 783 and A.D. 821-2 having been concluded at a spot in Tibetan territory near the Chinese frontier and in the region of the Koko-nor lake, it is there that we must locate the "Turquoise-Wood" (*G-yu-tshal*), in the "Luck-summer open pass" (*Bkra-sis-dbyar-mo-thaṅ*), in the "Phyug-tsams Thousand-District", in "Hbrom-khoṅ territory", forming part of the realm of Mdo-gams. The Dbyar-mo-thaṅ is mentioned in a Lha-sa inscription (*JRAS.* 1910, pp. 1255-67, l. 33 of text); but of the other names none can be identified with the Chinese name (*Ch'ing-shui*) of the place of the A.D. 783 treaty. The *Tsoṅ-kha* named in adjacency to Dbyar-mo-thaṅ in the inscription may very likely be the birth-place of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, who was born near the Kum-bum monastery. In the *Chronicle* also a place Tsoṅ-ka is mentioned (l. 74). The fact that "messages" are received from the towns of Kva-cu and Mkhar-tsan illustrates the natural connexion which we have already (pp. 72, 78, 82) found between the Koko-Nor region and that part of Chinese Turkestan. The name of the monastery does not transpire; but it is, no doubt, the place referred to in the *Bkaḥ-hgyur* (Beckh, *Catalogue*, p. 74) and *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, i, p. 96) as Phyug-mtshams. Hbrom-khoṅ is not known; but cf. *Hbrom-stod*, M.I., xiv, 96.

Of the parties to the treaty, the Chinese, the Drug, the Hjaṅ, and the Tibetans, who are, no doubt, meant by the



"four exalted kings" (*mtsho-bzhi-rgyal-po*) of the treaty inscription (*JRAS.* 1910, p. 951, l. 47 of text), the Chinese and Tibetans demand no comment, and concerning the Drug something has already been said (pp. 68, 80, 85) and it is proposed to return to them later. Of the *Hjañ* we have hitherto had no printed mention beyond the occurrence of the name in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan* (ed. S. C. Das, p. 4) and an entry in S. C. Das' Dictionary, where *Hjañ-sa* is explained as a "place-name in N.W. (read N.E.) Tibet". But we may learn from the *Rgyal-rabs . . . me-loñ* (India Office Xylograph, fol. 31a) that the person *Hjañ-tsha-Lha-dbañ* "son of king Khri Lde-gtsug-brtan" (S. C. Das' Dictionary, s.v.), was so named, "*Hjañ* grandson," because the queen, his mother, Khri-btsun, was a *Hjañ-mo*, a *Hjañ* woman; and from the same history we may ascertain more of this people.<sup>1</sup> Since their frontier was probably adjacent to the site of the conference, we are tempted to identify them with the Tang-hsiang kingdom, which according to Bushell (*JRAS.* 1880, pp. 450 and 528, n. 12) was east of the Tibetans and south of the Koko-nor. We know that this kingdom was conquered by the Tibetans, whose aggressions extended not only to the north-east, but also to the east and south-east, as well as in other directions. How far the designation *Hjañ* may have reached, it would be premature to speculate; but it has been observed by M. Bacot (*Les Mo-so*, p. 13) that "le nom des mo-so, *Djung* (*Hdjang*), est relaté dans l'épopée du roi Gésar (Gésar) et designe un pays situé entre le *Ling* (*Gling*) et la Chine". It is possible that the Mo-so in their southern migrations took with them the name *Hjañ*.<sup>2</sup>

The extent of the document may not have been as great as might be indicated by the fact that the first surviving

<sup>1</sup> The *Hjañ* country *Hjañ-yul* is mentioned also in the *Chronicle* (II, 22, 92).

<sup>2</sup> The *Hjatsa-sa-tham* of a Tibetan *gsañ-gbum* ("n. of a place in Kham", acc. to S. C. Das' Dictionary) is perhaps the *Sa-dam* of the Mo-so (*Les Mo-so*, pp. 3, 118, 164).



folio is numbered 35. But we naturally incline to believe that the "message" from Mdo-gams was preceded at least by one from the Tibetan Btsan-po himself and perhaps by others. (See No. 21 *infra*.) Of the first "message" we have only the conclusion, and its source is for us therefore unknown.

The language of the document, in accord with its literary character, is regular and intelligible in a measure quite different from the fragmentary and business records with which we have hitherto for the most part been dealing. It presents many resemblances to the Lha-sa inscriptions, which in several passages may by its aid be emended or completed. The introductory account of the legendary king Hol-lde Spu-rgyal in the inscription at 1909, pp. 948-52, ll. 5-16 of the text, might almost be an extract from our document, which, however, is here, as everywhere, far more expansive and elaborate. The following notes include the analogies in the inscriptions published in Col. Waddell's articles :—

88 A, l. 1, etc., etc. : *mjal-dum*, cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 3, 54, 63, etc., etc.

88 A, l. 3 : "here (there) erected monastery." It would be possible to take *de-ga* "there" as a proper name ; but upon the whole the other view seems preferable.

88 B, l. 1 : *hgag-la* "abide in their station", "remain at a standstill".

88 B, l. 2 : *sku-bla*. On this phrase, see above, p. 66.

88 B, l. 3 : *yul-byun-sa-dod*. So complete Lha-sa, 1909, l. 18.

88 B, l. 2 : *lha-las-myihi-rjer-gsëgs-te*. Cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 21-2.

89 A, l. 1 : *hphrul* "theophany". The word means "magic" or "magical manifestation", and was probably a pre-Buddhistic term for the divine.

89 A, l. 2 : *sa-gtsaṅ*, etc. Cf. Lha-sa, 1909, ll. 20-1.

89 A, l. 1 : *Hgreṅ-myi*. Note that this definitely locates

the Hgreñ people in the Koko-Nor region, or perhaps makes them include the people of Mdo-gams as a whole.

88 B, l. 4: *hphral-du* "in the present". So correct p. 76 above.

89 B, l. 4: *gzah-gsañ* "friends and enemies".

91 A, l. 6: *skyems*, literally "thirst".

91 A, l. 4: *srog-chags* . . . The reference is to the two Buddhist prohibitions of killing and of appropriating what is not given (all *adattādāna* being "theft").

91 B, l. 3: *Sgam-dkyel-chen-po* is below (92 B 2, 93 B 1), styled Skam-skyel and Thugs-skam (see above, p. 84). Both names recur Lha-sa, 1909, l. 44, and 1910, B l. 42.

92 A, l. 1: *khebs-te-brjod*. This is a good instance of the use of the form with *te* as a sort of infinitive after a word of saying.

92 A, l. 1: *zin-to-htshal* "will to grasp", literally "wish grasped". The use of the past form with *to* after *htshal* is frequent in the documents.

92 A, l. 1: *la-ltod* = *la-thod* "turban" (S. C. Das)? I correct *kye* to *kyi* in accordance with the passage below.

92 A, l. 4: *g-yul-zlog-gñis*. The two great victories are perhaps not identifiable. Concerning the part played by the city of Mkhar-tsan, see above, p. 82.

94 A, l. 4: *srid-la-myi-dbab-ciñ*. The phrase occurs Lha-sa, 1911, C l. 64.

94 B, l. 2: *rkyen* "means"; see above, p. 837.

94 B, l. 3: *nam-zar* recurs in Lha-sa, 1910, C l. 48.

## ADDENDUM

20. Ch. 75, xii, 5 (vol. liii, fol. 20; 31.5 × 17 cm.; *recto* ll. 6, *verso* ll. 11 + 1 inserted, of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ༄ || glañ . gi . loñi . dpyid . sla . hbrñ . po . tshes . bž[i] . la || lha . sras . ky[i] . sku . yon . bla . skyes . nar . ma || Śa . cu . gtsug . [2] lag . khañ . du . žugs . mar . bltam . ste | gtsug . lag . khañ . Pho . kvañ . sir | tshes . bžih . n[u]b . mo | lha . hbañs | 'I[m] . [3] Dam . then . hdo . gis . | yu . mar .



phul . lña . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes .  
 l[ā]aḥi . nub . mo . 'Im [4] Dam . then . ḥdo . gis | yu . mar .  
 phul . lña . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams ||  
 tshes . [dru]g . gi . nub . mo . 'Im . Dam [5] [then . ḥdo] .  
 gis . yu . mar . phul . dgu . phul . the || žugs . mar . kha .  
 brgyaḥ . brgyad . cu . bltams || tshes . [b]cuḥi . nub . mo .  
 'Im . Dam [6] then . [ḥ]do . gis . yu . mar . phul . phyed .  
 dañ . lña . phul . the | žugs . mar . kha <sup>1</sup> . dgu . bcu . bltams .  
 . . . [verso].

[B 1] žugs . mar . kha . drug . cu . bltams || Li . Kim .  
 kañ . gis . yu . mar . phul . bdun . phul . te | žugs . mar .  
 kha . brgyaḥ . bži . bchu [B 2] bltams || tshes . ñi . śu .  
 brgyad . gyi . nub . mo . blon . Gthug . bžre <sup>2</sup> . gyis . yu .  
 mar . phul . bdun . dañ | khyor . phyed . dañ . do . phul . te ||  
 žugs . [3] mar . kha . brgya <sup>3</sup> . bži . bcu . rtsa . bdun . bltams |  
 . . . <sup>4</sup> dgun . sla . tha . chuñs . tshes . lñaḥi . nub . mo . Wañ .  
 Cvan . cvan . gyis . yu [4] mar . phul . bdun . phul . te |  
 žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bži . bchu . bltams || tshes . bcu .  
 bžiḥi . nub . mo | blon . Lho . bzañ . [5] gi . yu . mar . 'An .  
 Zen . tses . yu . phul . bcu . dañ | khyor . do . phul . te |  
 žugs . mar . kha . ñis . brgyaḥ . rtsa . bcu . bltams || [6] tshes .  
 bco . lñaḥi . nub . mo | lha . ḥbañs . Hag . Khi . šeḥu . yu .  
 mar . phul . bdun . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bži .  
 cu . bltams | [7] tshes . ñi . śu . nub . mo | Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ .  
 gis ] <sup>5</sup> . yu . mar . phul . bcu . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha .  
 ñis . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes . ñi . śu . gñis . kyi . nub . mo  
 [9] Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ . gis <sup>6</sup> . phul . bcu . phul . te || žugs .  
 mar . kha . ñis . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes . ñi <sup>7</sup> . śu <sup>7</sup> . gsum  
 [10] gyi . nub . mo . | Cañ . Kvañ . gis . yu . phul . bcu . phul .

<sup>1</sup> *brgyad . cu* here erased.

<sup>2</sup> Compendious for *bžer*.

<sup>3</sup> *ḥ* here erased.

<sup>4</sup> *dbya* here erased.

<sup>5</sup> *yu . mar . phul . lña . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . brgyaḥ . bltams || tshes .*  
*ñi . śu . cig . (8) gi . nu* here erased.

<sup>6</sup> *phul . te* here erased.

<sup>7</sup> Added below line.



te | žugs . mar<sup>1</sup> . kha . ŋis . brgya . bltam . [11] tshes . ŋi .  
 šu . bži . hi . nub . mo . Cañ . Kvañ . thoñ . yu . mar . phul .  
 bcu . phul . te | žugs . mar . kha . ŋis . brgyaḥ . bltam |

[Inverted] . . . n . . . | Keḥu . Lyañ (Syañ ?) . kañ .  
 žog . . .

[1-2] " On the fourth day of the middle spring month of the Ox year, the prince (*lha-sras*) having become an exalted donor in perpetuity, lamp-oil was provided in the monastery(ies) of Śa-cu. [2-6] In the monastery Pho-kvañ-si on the evening of the fourth day the god's servant 'Im<sup>2</sup> Dam-then-ḥdo presented five *phul*<sup>3</sup> of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day 'Im<sup>2</sup> Dam-then-ḥdo presented five *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred portions of lamp-oil. (*So on the sixth and tenth days 9 and 4½ phul, resulting in 180 and 90 lamp-lights respectively.*)

[B 1] . . . resulting in sixty portions of lamp-oil. Li Kim-kañ presented seven *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the twenty-eighth day Councillor Gtshug-bžer presented seven *phul* and with a half two *khyor*, resulting in one hundred and forty-seven portions of lamp-oil. On the evening of the fifth day of the last winter month Wañ Cvan-cvan presented seven *phul* of *yu* oil, resulting in one hundred and forty portions of lamp-oil. (*The remainder of the document, B ll. 4-11, reports similar donations by 'An Žen-tse (for Councillor Lho-bzañ), the God's servant Hag Khi-šeḥu, and Cañ Kvañ-thoñ.*) "

The facts ascertainable from this record of donations to provide illuminations in honour of the prince becoming patron of the Śa-cu monastery seem to be the following:—

(a) *Pho-kvañ-si* is a monastery, and the word *si* (Chinese, as suggested above) may represent, as Professor Pelliot has kindly suggested to me, the Chinese *ssü* "temple".

(b) *lha-ḥbañs* is, no doubt, "god's servant", not "king's servant".

<sup>1</sup> *zu* here erased.

<sup>2</sup> Erased.

<sup>3</sup> A measure defined as a "handful".

(c) As the number of lamps is consistently proportional to the number of *phul* presented, namely in the proportion of 20 to 1, and as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 *khyor* provide for 7 and 10 lamps respectively, it follows that 1 *khyor* =  $\frac{1}{4}$  *phul*, which latter measure is defined as "a handful".

(d) The phrase "with a half two" (*phyed-dañ-do*) means not "two and a half", but "one and a half", corresponding to Sanskrit *ardha-dvitiya*, German *halb-zwei*, etc. (and analogously in the case of other units?). Correct accordingly the renderings on pp. 809, 811-2, 814 (but not 843) above?

The expression "*yu* oil" has not elsewhere been found. Possibly *yu* is for *rgyu* "material", so that "*yu* oil" would be raw or unpurified oil.

21. (Vol. liii, fol. 1; 28 + 26 cm.; ll. 15 of good, cursive *dbu-can* writing; very fragmentary.)

[1] . . . . d . . . . [2] . . dpah | . . [3] . . . pah | || h  
[4] . . . | lha-sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde . btsan . gy[i] . . . .  
[5] . . bzin . bg[yi]s . te || dge . hdun . sde . gn̄is . dañ . . . .  
[6] . . s stsogs . pa || skye . bo . smos . mañ . po . tshe . dpag .  
d[u] . myed . . . . [7] . . [l]ha . sras . Khri . Gtsug . lde<sup>1</sup> | .  
btsan<sup>1</sup> | . gi . za . s̄na . nas . || sku . la . s̄nun . nad . myi .  
m̄na[h] . . . . . [8] bar . che || chab . srid . rtseg<sup>2</sup> . mar .  
mtho . zin . || byin . rlabs . yañ . bas . hph . . . . . [9]  
phyogs . [g]yi . gnod . byed . kyi . bgegs . dañ . || bsam . ba .  
log . par . hdabs . . . . . s[ts]og[s] . . . . [10] rab . tu . zi .  
nas || sku . la . sdo . b . . . . dbañ . du . hdus . par . gyur .  
chig [1] | lha . sra[s] . kyi . za . [s̄na] . . . [11] rnam .  
gn̄i[s] . [s]in . [b] l—s . par . byañ | . . . gse . ch . . . s . ni .  
yons . su . rdzogs . nas || sañ[s] . . . [12] —u . [n]i . yon .  
tan . sku . tshe . hdi . ñid . kyis . bzes . par . gyur . c[i]g || lha .  
s[r]as . kyi . za . s̄na . nas . ji . lta . s . . . . [13] chag . dkyil .  
hkhor . tu . žugs . pa . rnam . kyañ || tshe . riñ . nad . myed .  
nas || bsam . ba . yi . . . . [14] cig || [m]thah . yas . pah | .  
sems . can . dañ . Bod . kham . phyogs . su . yañ . da[l] .

<sup>1</sup> Added below the line.

<sup>2</sup> g below line.



hbyor . dañ . bd[e] . . . . [15] tshogs . nas || myi . nad .  
 phyugs . nad . myed . ciñ . lo . phyugs . rtag . du . legs . par .  
 [smon] . to ||

This passage is clearly a portion of another copy, or version, of the long document No. 19 above. Though it is for the most part too fragmentary for a connected rendering, the general sense is evident. It prays that in virtue of the action of the prince (*lha-sras*) Khri Gtsug-lde-btsan the Samghas of both sexes and all creatures may enjoy happiness and unlimited life; that the prince himself, free from sickness, exalted in dominion, rid of all opposition and so forth, may attain to Buddhahood in his present life; that all those under his sway may have long life and freedom from disease; and that "innumerable living beings and all throughout the realm of Tibet, in complete felicity and happiness, free from disease in man and beast, may be perpetually prosperous in the produce of the year".

## INDEX

### A

List of clan-names contained in the documents 1-21, together with the accompanying personal names. N.B.—Names which seem to be Tibetan are *italicized*.

**'An** : *Dge-lam* 17, *Dzañ-tse* 15 (B 11), *Dze-hiñ* 12, *Guh-legs* 15 (D 20), *Lha-legs* 15 (D 10), *Phab-dzañ* 15 (C 13), *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 18), *Weñ-tse* 15 (B 11), *Žen-tse* 20. **Bah** : *Kun-kun* 12. **Bam** : *Chehu-hdo* 18 (B 3), *He-he* 13, *Hya-hdo* 15 (D 14), *Hyen-tse* 15 (B 14-5), *Ju-ju* 15 (D 7), 18 (C 4), *Koñ-cu* 13, *Kun-tse* 12, *Li-hvag* 18 (C 5), *Li-tshen* 18 (C 5), *Log-log* 3, *Šib-lug-ñañ* 13, *Si-ka* 18 (B 16), *Stag-legs* 18 (B 17), *Stag-slebs* 2, 15 (C 12), *Stag-zigs* 18 (A 13), *Tig-tse* 13, *Tsheñ* 18 (B 2), *Yiñ* 13. **Bañ** : *Dzin-jehu* 15 (D 3), *Goh-legs* 15 (C 25), *'I-tse* 15 (D 11), *Legs-ma* 15 (C 24). **Beg** : *Hye-wi* 13, *Khe-šehu* 15 (B 21), *Ti-phor* 13. **Boñ** : *La-ku* 9. **Bor** : *Yon-tse* 10. **Buñ** : *Šun-šun* 18 (B 13), *Hiñ-šeñ* 18 (B 19).



**Cañ** : Beñ-ñañ 13, *Bstan-bzañ* 15 (C 15), Cin-hañ 13, Ciñ-hñi 15 (B 5), Dig-ḥdo 18 (A 12), *Dpal-legs* 15 (C 15), Dze-tse 12, Gen-tse 12, Gu-gu 5, Hbye-tig 12, Hgem-tse 13, Hig-tse 15 (B 1), *Hphan-legs* 18 (C 9-10), Hva-hva 12, Hye-na 15 (C 1), 'I-tse 15 (D 13), Ka-cin 18 (B 12), Ka-dzo 2, 12, 15 (C 7), 18 (C 2, 6), Keḥu-keḥu 13, *Klu-legs* 2, Kun-tse 2, 12, Kvañ-thoñ 20, Kyin-tshe 15 (D 11, 13), La-tshir 12, *Legs-stsan* 15 (C 9), Leḥu-cin 12, *Lha-khri* 15 (C 5), *Lha-legs* 18 (A 6-7), Lyañ-ḥgi 15 (C 17), Peḥu-peḥu 12, *Rma-legs* 15 (D 9), Rya-ḥdo 18 (A 1), Śañ-ñañ 13, Seḥu-seḥu 12, 15 (C 4), Śeñ-ñañ 13, Si-ka 18 (B 6), Śim-ḥgo 13, Śiñ-man 13, Śiñ-ñañ 13, *Stag-snañ* 15 (C 14), *Stagu* 15 (C 4), Theḥu-cuñ 12, Tsheñ-tsheñ 12, Tshe-śiñ 3, Tsin-tse 18 (A 11), Tsin-tsin 18 (B 5), Yeḥu-yeḥu 13, Žañ-tse 12, Žun-žun 18 (A 2). **Cheg** : Beñ-ñañ 13, Bo-de-sim 13 (a woman), Žir-cin 13. **Cin** : Tam-ñañ 13. **Dañ** : Kheñ-kheñ 15 (B 19). **Dar** : *Rgyal-ma* 2. **Dbah** : *Ye-śes-dbañ-po* 17, *Dpal-dbyaṅs* 17. **Dbas** : *Byaṅ-cub-rin-cen* 17. **Den** : *Stag-legs* 15 (D 12), *Tshar-tiñ* 15 (D 18). **Do** : *Stag-cuñ* 15 (B 3), Syañ-ḥdo 18 (B 11), Theḥi-beñ 18 (B 12). **Dvan** : Bur-ži 15 (C 25), Hig-tse 15 (C 8), Hiñ-dar 12, Keḥu-ži 12. **Dzeḥu** : Cu-cu 18 (B 26), Cvan-cvan 15 (D 22), Gog-tsheñ 2, Kve-kve 12, Lañ-tshe 15 (D 22), Mun-ba 15 (D 24), Śib-tig 12, Śiñ-śiñ 15 (D 24), Tsin 18 (B 2). **Glehu** : *Gzo-nu-sñiñ-po* 17. **Gño** : *Dge-ldem* 17. **Gños** : Ho-se, p. 818. **Ha** : *Stag-slebs* 15 (D 7). **Hag** : Dzeḥu-śun 12, Khi-šeḥu 20. **Han** : Then-tig 18 (A 12). **Hba** : Ko-lon 15 (B 13). **Hbah** : Bur-ḥdo 18 (B 23), Ji-tsañ (woman) 13. **Hbeg** : Deḥu 18 (B 6). **Hbu** : *Bstan-legs* 15 (D 1), Kvañ-ži 18 (B 4). **Hdan-ma** : *Bkun-dgaḥ-dpal* 17. **Hehu** : *Legs-koñ* 15 (D 9). **Hgo** : Kañ-gañ 15 (C 21), Śeḥu-han 15 (D 12), Śiñ-tse 13, *Stag-po* 15 (B 9), *Stag-tse* 15 (C 20), Yem-ñañ 13. **Hgreñ-ro** : *Dgeḥi-blo-gros* 17. **Hva** : *Stag-legs* 15 (B 1). **Im** : Bur-ḥdo 15 (D 15), Dam-then-ḥdo 20, Dzi-hvan 15 (D 6), 'Eñ-tse 15 (D 6), *Gtsug-legs* 15 (C 10, 11), Hbi-ñañ 13, Him-tse 15 (D 17, 21), Hiñ-hun 18 (A 9), Hiñ-rneḥu 18 (A 10), Hi-yir-yañ 13, Ka-tsin 18 (B 24), Kvañ-wen 13,

Kveh-señ 13, Pho-cin (a woman), 13. **Jehu** : *Br̄tan-koñ* 15, *Kog-tsheñ* 15 (C 25), *Tshe-tshe* 12, *Tsin-thoñ* 18 (B 18), *Zi-ñañ* 12. **Jeñ** : *Deñ-h̄do* 18 (B 4), *H̄go-h̄go* 15 (C 23), *Gsal-rab-rin-po-che* 17, 'I-tse 15 (B 18), *Legs-rt̄san* 15 (C 22), 'On-tse 15 (B 20), **Jiñ** : *H̄do-tse* 15 (C 27), *Hig-tse* 15 (C 3), *Ho-ho* 15 (C 19), **Keñu** : *Dras-koñ* 18 (B 26), *Ko-lon* 15 (D 15), *L* (S) *yañ-koñ* 20, *Rgyal-slebs* 15 (B 6), *Śib-tig* 15 (B 7), *Smon-legs* 15 (B 16), *Stag-cuñ* 15 (D 23), **Khañ** : *Bstan-legs* 15 (D 4), *Bstan-slebs* 15 (B 4), *Dpal-legs* 15 (C 2), *Stag-slebs* 15 (D 3), *Stag-tshab* 15 (D 1), *Ten-h̄ba* 18 (B 25), *Tsin-khvañ* 18 (A 29), *Weñ-ñañ* 13. **Kheñu** : *Bzañ-goñ* 5, *Yem-ñañ* 13. **Khoñ** : *Man-tse* 3, *Rtsan-tse* 15 (C 10), *Sbañ-tse* 1, *Smon-legs* 15 (C 11), *Theñi-ñañ* 13. **Khyuñ-po** : *Stag-legs* 4, 10 (?). **Koñ** : *Tseñi-tseñi* 18 (B 30). **Kvag** : *Ji-lim* (a woman), 13, *Keñu-zi* 15 (C 16), *Tam-tam* 13. **Kyer** : *Chañ-kog* 15 (B 13). **La** : *Legs-lod* 5. **Lbe** (**Hbe** ? **Lce** ?) -**zi** : *Rnal-hbyor-skyor* 17. **Lbehi** : *Kvañ-h̄do* 18 (B 9). **Len** : *Hva-sim* (a woman), 13. **Leñ** : *Señu-señu* 13, *Siñu-siñu* 13, *Theñi-cin* 13. **Leñ-ho** : 'An-zi 18 (B 21), *Don-tshe* 15 (B 1), *Khrom-stañ* 15 (D 17), *Hva-hva* 18 (B 1), *Liñ-lug* 5, *Señu-chon* 15 (B 19), *Śib-bir* 5, *Śib-tig* 5, *Siñu-lañ* 18 (A 4), *Yehu-yehu* 13, *Žun-žun* 18 (B 20-1). **Li** : 'An-tshe 15 (D 26), *G-yu-legs* 15 (B 9), *He-he* 13, *Hva-kog* 18 (B 31), *Jiñ-'an* 12, *Kañ-tse* 4, *Lha-skyes* 15 (D 5), *Mcñehu-za* *Siñu-h̄ju* 13, *Señu-lañ* 18 (B 12), *Señu-señu* 18 (C 1), *Stag-skyes* 15 (D 2), *Tsin-dar* 15 (B 13), *Tsun-h̄do* 18 (B 10), *Wañ-jehu* 15 (C 2), *Yen-h̄do* 18 (B 10). **Lihu** : *Bun-h̄de* 18 (B 8), *Man-tse* 18 (B 8), *Stag-sña* 18 (B 19). **Lne** : *Hva-cañ* (a woman) 13. **Lyañ** : *H̄go-h̄go* 18 (C 2). **Mcñehu** : *Siñu-h̄ju* 13. **Mog** : *Kyem-po* 9. **Myañ** : *Gśa-myi-go-cha* 17, *Mchog-ro-gzo-nu* 17, *Rin-cen-byañ-cub* 17, *Žañ-snañ* 10. **Nem** : *Dgañ-ldan-byañ-cub* 17. **Phag** : *Stag-l[egs]* 7. **Phu** : *Tan-myin* 15 (D 16). **Phuñ** : *Dge-rgyas* 17. **Sag** : 'Añ-sab 13, *Dge-legs* 15 (C 19, D 10), *Dpañ-br̄tsan* 15 (B 13), *H̄be* 18 (C 3), *Heñi-jehu* 18 (C 12), *H̄gven-h̄gven* 18 (C 8), 'In-tse 15 (C 26), 'I-tse 13, *Jehu-jehu* 18 (C 7). *Keñu-ce* 13, *Kog-tsheñ* 18 (C 14), *Kun-tse* 15 (C 26), *Kvañ-wen*



18 (C 11), *Legs-skyes* 15 (B 14, 15), *Lha-bzer* 15 (C 6), Pa-tshe 18 (C 13), Tsin-beñ 18 (C 13), Weñ-kog 18 (A 8). **Šaṅ** : Dza-rga 13. **Seg** : *Lha-ton* 15 (B 18). **Šeg** : *Dge-brtsan* 15 (B 5), *Lha-ston* 15 (B 4). Hyen-hyen 15 (B 7), Tsheñ-tsheñ 14 (B 15, 20). **Ser** : Dzin-'in 12, Kheñ-kheñ 12, Kun 12, *Legs-ma* 15 (D 8, 28), *Mdo-skyes* 18 (B 14). **Ser-sbyoṅ** : *G-yu-bzer* 11. **Šig** : *Dge-brtan* 15 (D 19), *Hgi-tig* 15 (B 6). **So** : *Legs-tsan* 15 (D 29). **Son** : Hyen-tse 15 (B 16), Šin-ḥdo 15 (D 27). **Soñ** : *Bstan* 15 (B 17), *G-yu-legs* 15 (C 1), Hgin-ḥgin 13, Rñeḥu-tshe 18 (A 11), Sam-ñāñ<sup>1</sup> | (a woman) 5, Šin 12, *Stag-ma* 15 (C 10), Tsin-hvi 18 (A 9). **Taṅ** : Pho-briñ (a woman) 13. **Then** : Ben-'em 13. **Toñ** : Phug-man 12, *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 7), Thoñ-thoñ 12, Wañ-ḥdo 12, Yu-tsheñ 18 (B 10). **Tre** : *Mye-slebs* 2, 3, 4. **Tsah** : Bur-ḥdo 18 (B 22). **Tsehi** : Hig-tse 15 (D 7). **Tsoñ** : Dze-šin 12, Dze-tsheñ 12, Tsheñ-tsheñ 12. **Tsyañ** : *Legs-ḥdus* 15 (C 12). **Wañ** : Beñ-ñāñ 13, Bun-tsoñ 1, Chaḥ 13, Cvana 15 (B 15), Cvan-cvan 20, Deñ-tse 15 (B 18), Dzin-šen 12, Hig-tse 15 (B 12), Hiñ-tse 15 (C 16), Hva-kun 18 (B 28), Hyen-hyen 15 (B 5), Kog-ne 12, Kun-tse 12, Kvañ-hiñ 18 (A 5), Kvañ-cheḥu 18 (B 17), Kyen-man 13, Kyva-yin 18 (B 29), *Legs-brtan* 15 (D 24, 25), Man-tse 13, Sa-ḥdo 18 (B 29), *Šes-rab-sla-ba* 17, Šib-ñāñ 13, Šib-si-ñāñ 13, Šib-tig 18 (B 7), Šin-si-ñāñ 13, *Stag-cuñ* 15 (C 16), *Stagu* 18 (B 27), *Stag-zigs* 15 (D 26), Šun-thoñ 15 (B 10), Tsheñ-tsheñ 12, Tyam-si 13, Weñ-jeḥu 15 (B 11). **Wehi** : Ciñ-ñāñ 13. **Yam** : *Hgi-ñāñ* 13. **Yañ** : *G-yu-tshe* 12, Kog-buñ 15 (B 18), Phu-cu 13, *Stag-legs* 12. **Yehu** : Lañ-lañ 15 (D 8). **Yem** : Šim-si-ñāñ 13. **Yun** : 'An-tse 15 (B 20). **Zen** : Khyam-tse 15 (C 23). **Zim** : Hiñ-tse 12, Ju-ju 12, Kvon-hiñ 12, Li-theḥu 12. **Za-sna**<sup>2</sup> : *Hjam-dpal-sñiñ-po* 17.

These names, if we omit those in italics, which are Tibetan (perhaps translations), seem to be in the main Chinese, and in many cases their meanings are certain or probable. A careful scrutiny from a Sinologist standpoint may explain

<sup>1</sup> So read in text (in place of *Sam-ñāñ*).

<sup>2</sup> This phrase usually means "presence".



the majority and indicate those, if any (e.g. some under **Beg** and **Šaŋ** ?), which may be extraneous. It seems probable that the **Im** clan gave its name to the town 'Im-ka-cin, mentioned above (pp. 67-8). The natural suggestion that the **Li** clan consisted of people from Khotan is not confirmed by the personal names of its members.

## B

List of names of women (mainly from document No. 13) :—

|                        |                      |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| Behu-žan 5.            | Hyen-cher 13.        |
| Bode-sim (Cheg-za) 13. | „ -tig 13.           |
| Byan-cehu 13.          |                      |
| Ceñ-señ 13.            | Ji-hvañhi-man 13.    |
| „ -sin 13.             | „ -'iñ 13.           |
| Cin-ḡgo 13.            | „ -lim (Kvag-za) 13. |
|                        | „ -tsaŋ 13 (Hbañ).   |
| Deñ-ci 13.             | Jin-hyeñhi 13.       |
| „ -man 13.             |                      |
| „ -tseñhu 13.          | Kag-hbyiñhu 13.      |
|                        | Khye-wen 13.         |
| Hbu-nem 13.            | Kim-hyen 13.         |
| Hbyeñhu-ḡdzi 13.       | Kvag-hyeñhi 13.      |
| „ -kag 13.             | Kvañ-ḡgam 13.        |
| „ -nañ 13.             | Kyen-ḡgi 13.         |
| „ -sin 13.             | Kyeñ-ḡgo 13.         |
| „ -tsheñ 13.           |                      |
| „ -wen 13.             | Lañ-cañhu 13.        |
| „ -yuñ 13.             | Leñhu-cin 13.        |
| Hbyiñhu-ḡgi 13         |                      |
| „ -ji 13.              | Meñ-ge 13.           |
| „ -meñ 13.             | „ -hin 13.           |
| Hḡim-šīñ 13.           | „ -hyveñhi 13.       |
| Hva-cañ (Lne) 13.      | „ -kag 13.           |
| „ -ḡgem 13.            | „ -lur 13.           |
| „ -sim (Len) 13.       | „ -tig 13.           |

|                       |                |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| Pho-briñ (Tañ-za) 13. | Śiñ-tsañ 13.   |
| „ -ci 13.             | Śvan-kvañ 13.  |
| „ -cin ('Im) 13.      |                |
| Phu-za-sim 13.        | Theḥi-cin 13.  |
| Phyañ-ceñ 13.         | „ -ciñ 13.     |
| Po-śvan 13.           | Thoñ-ceḥu 13.  |
|                       | Tig-ḥbyihu 13. |
| Sam-ñañ (Soñ) 5.      | „ -nem 13.     |
| Siñ-ḥgeḥi 13.         | „ -śiñ 13.     |
| Śiñ-ci 13.            |                |
| „ -cin 13.            | Wen-ḥgo 13.    |
| „ -ḥgo 13.            |                |
| „ -kag 13.            | Zu-señ 13.     |

## C

List of places, peoples, and countries mentioned in documents Nos. 1-21 and in connexion therewith :—

|                                      |                                      |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Bde-gams 11, 14 (B 18).              | Gro-pur, p. 816.                     |
| Bkra-śis-dbyar-mo-thañ 19 (94, B 1). | G-yu-tshal 19 (90 B 2, etc.).        |
| Bog-yas 7.                           | Ḥa-za 8, 11.                         |
| Bra-ma-thañ p. 816.                  | Ḥbrog-Shuñs 9.                       |
| Bsam-yas 17.                         | Ḥbrom-khoñ 19 (94 A 2).              |
| Byar-liñs-tshal, p. 816.             | Ḥgo-bom 17.                          |
|                                      | Ḥgreñ-ro 17, 19 (89 A 1, etc.).      |
| Cog-ro 17.                           | Hi-ma-te 11.                         |
|                                      | Ḥjañ 19 (89 B. 2, etc.).             |
| Dañ-to-kun 7, 8.                     | Ḥon-cañ-do 6.                        |
| Dbyar-mo-thañ 19 (94 B 1).           | Ḥphrul-snañ 17.                      |
| Dra-tshal, p. 816.                   |                                      |
| Drug 19 (89 B 2, etc.).              | Kam-beu 17.                          |
| Drug-chun 1.                         | Khri-boms 10.                        |
|                                      | Khar-tsan 9, 19 (91 B 2, etc.).      |
| Gir-kis 7.                           | Kva-cu 1, 7, 9, 11, 14, 19 (92 B 1). |
| Gliñ-riñs-tshal, p. 816.             |                                      |
| Go-cu 17.                            |                                      |

|                                 |                              |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Lañ-hgro 17.                    | Rgya 1, 19 (89 B 2, etc.).   |
| Leñ-cu 7.                       | Rgyod 5.                     |
| Leñ-ho 5.                       |                              |
| Lha-huñ 17.                     | Śa-cu 1, 6, 7, 14 (B 15-18). |
| Lhas-gaṇ-tshal, p. 816.         | Sag-cur 7.                   |
|                                 | Śi-goñ-bu 17.                |
| Ma-hdri-ba 10.                  | Skyi, p. 816.                |
| Mdo-gams 11, 17, 19 (88 A 1)    | Sluñs 9.                     |
| Mgar-yul 10.                    | Sñiñ-tsom(s), p. 808.        |
| Mkhar-tsan 9, 19 (91 B 2, etc.) | Śo-ma-ra, p. 816.            |
|                                 | Spyi-tshogs 4.               |
| Ñan-lam 17.                     | Stoñ-sar 1, 15 (B 1, etc.).  |
| Ñan-rma 9.                      |                              |
| Nob-chuñu 9.                    | To-yo-chas-la 10.            |
|                                 | Tsog(Cog)-ro 17.             |
| Pho-kvañ 12.                    | Tsog-stod 9.                 |
| Phyug-tsams 19 (93 A 2).        | Tshal-byi 9.                 |
|                                 |                              |
| Rgod-gyuñ, p. 816.              | Zaṇ-žuñ 10.                  |
| Rgod-sar 1, 2, 12.              | Zar-phur, p. 816.            |

## ADDITIONAL NOTES

p. 813. *Sam-ñuñ*. Since *ñu* is hardly distinguishable in the writing from *ña*, this name should doubtless be read *Sam-ñañ*, thus falling into line with the other names in *ñañ* preceded by a numeral (pp. 831-2), in this case 3 (*Sam*).

p. 817. *tshi-śi* = Chinese *ts'e-che*. Professor Pelliot has kindly favoured me with the observation that the latter is an ancient *ts'ik-śi* = Turgur *čigši*. *Tshi-śi* also may be for *tshig-si*, since we have had evidence of weakness of *g* at the end of a syllable (*a-nog-a-la* = *anuttara*, 1926, p. 508, and Thehñ-*...* = Chinese *Tu-k'i-she*, i.e. Turgäsh, supra (p. 2233)).

p. 816 and p. 840. *To-dog*. Professor Pelliot points out that this will be *tu-tu* "governor", originally *tu-tuk*, and borrowed by the Turks of the Orkhon in the form *tutuq*.

p. 829. *Pho-kvañ-si* and *Leñ-ho-si*. Professor Pelliot



proposes to understand the former as *P'u-kuang-ssü*, i.e. "P'u-kuang temple". Some difficulty arises, however, as he points out, since this sense of *si* does not perhaps quite suit with *Leñ-ho*, which he finds to be "the 'double surname' *Ling-hu*, fairly common in Northern China in the Middle Ages".

pp. 831-2. *ñāñ*. Professor Pelliot suggests that in the feminine names this represents Chinese *niang* "daughter", "(unmarried) woman."

p. 65: *Mdo-gams* is the name transcribed *To-kan* (i.e. *Do-gam*) under the Mongols and the Ming; see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, ii, pp. 203, 224 (Professor Pelliot).

p. 84. *zañ Khri-sum-rje*. This is the name transcribed *Shang Ch'i-hsin-êrh* in Chinese texts of the T'ang (Professor Pelliot).

p. 87. *Hgreñ*. This may be the native name represented by the *Ch'iang* (*K'iang*), which the Chinese apply to the Tibetans of Kan-su, SSü-chuan and Koko-Nor (Professor Pelliot).

p. 92. 'Im. This is the Chinese *Yin* (*Yim*), a family name common at Tun-huang, though rare elsewhere (Professor Pelliot).

# A Hitherto Unknown Turkish Manuscript in "Uighur" Characters

By G. L. M. CLAUSON

(PLATES II AND III)

BRITISH Museum MS. Or. 8193 was presented to the Museum on the 18th July, 1918, by one of our members, Mr. R. S. Greenshields (I.C.S., retd.). It had been purchased by him at a sale held on behalf of the British Red Cross Society in London on 22nd April, 1918. I understand that the MS. was presented to the British Red Cross Society by Sir Douglas Seton Stuart, in whose family it had been for many years. It was no doubt brought from India by one of the donors' ancestors, whose name, "The Honble. A. Seton, Esq.," is written on the fly-leaf in a hand which recalls the late eighteenth century. A note in the same hand on the first folio of the MS. states that it is in the "ancient pehlawee character" (a statement apparently founded on a similar note in Persian on the margin of the *recto* of the second folio) and that "according to another information . . . a certain religious person, Mohummud Moostukeem of Nornawl, intimated that this book had been presented to him by one of his pupils in the reign of Mohummud Shah (i.e. between A.D. 1719 and 1748), but no one can read it. Also in the time of the Nawab Feiz Gullub Khan it had been presented to the inspection of a learned Molawee of Delhie, who could not read it, but judged the writing to be in the ancient Cuffic character." The only other evidence of the history of the MS. which appears to survive is a note in Persian written in the field of the miniature on folio 87<sup>v</sup>, as follows:—

مولود فرزندی اغری طواله (sic) عمرها زینب سلطان خانم شب  
شبه یست وینجم شنبه نه الف يك انشا الله تعالى قدمش  
بر جمع دوستان ants who are

"Birth of a daughter, may God <sup>han</sup> in the life, Zeinab Sultan <sup>han</sup> on the night of Sunday, the <sup>ants</sup> of of Safar, A.H. 1001 (=A.D. 1593). If God pleases, may her step <sup>ants</sup> blessed among all the friends in the righteousness of Muhammad and his most glorious family."



The nature of the MS., but not its contents, was known to the original owner and since it reached the Museum it has been examined by Professor Barthold, who confirmed the statement that the MS. was in the "Uighur" script, and neither "pehlawee" nor "Cuffic" and wrote a note of the contents (with certain minor omissions and inaccuracies) which is now attached to the fly-leaf.

The MS. is now, however, in a very different state from that in which it was when it left the scribe's hands. The first stage in its decline and fall was the destruction of the original binding, so that a number of leaves were lost or misplaced, and the whole book turned inside out. It is also possible that at this stage two folios from a completely different MS., written, however, by the same scribe, now numbered folios 179 and 180, found their way into this volume.

The next stage was when it was rebound, more or less in its present order, and used not as a Turkish MS. but as a book containing various suitable expanses of bare paper, on which were written the poems, in Persian, of one Kamāl Isma'il.

I have not examined this later text in any way, and shall therefore not refer to it again.

The third stage was in more recent times, when the book was again taken to pieces, and each leaf was mounted carefully in the centre of a larger leaf of comparatively modern oriental paper, a good deal thicker and coarser than the original. It seems probable that after this, the book again fell into disrepair, as one of the series of numerations referred to immediately below, which is repeated both on the inner and the outer leaves, shows certain gaps. Since the MS. reached the Museum it has been rebound in the original covers.

In its present state the MS. contains 182 folios, of which the first bears the title "English referred to above, and is entirely of the late 18th century."

There are two series of numerations in the MS., both in Indian Arabic hands. The shorter series is in black



ink in the inner upper corner of the recto of certain folios ; the longer series is in red ink in the outer upper corner of the recto of the original folios, and in part repeated in the outer upper corner of the leaves in which they are mounted. Neither series represents anything like the original order of the folios.

It will be convenient to divide the description of the MS. into three sections : (1) the paper ; (2) the illuminations ; and (3) the text.

The paper is a good oriental paper with a slightly glossy surface. It was originally arranged in quires of eight, but has since fallen into considerable disorder. As each leaf is mounted separately, it is fortunate that the leaves are in some cases slightly tinted, so that the arrangement in quires can largely be reconstructed. The great majority of the leaves are a more or less yellowish white ; a few are brown, buff, or pink of various shades. In their present state the original leaves measure about 8 in. by  $4\frac{3}{4}$  in., in some cases a little less. Most leaves have been slightly wormed, in some cases before they lost their original order. A certain number bear pricked designs, which appear to have been something in the nature of primitive tracing for the purpose of ensuring identity of outline between two designs. In all cases the pricking is accidental so far as our leaves are concerned, and was done before they fell into disorder, probably indeed before the text was written. As will be shown below, the illuminations are for the most part inserted on a systematic plan. By using all these items of evidence, therefore, (1) colour of paper, (2) worm-holes, (3) prickings, (4) arrangement of illuminations, and (5) the text, it has been possible to establish an order of leaves which is probably correct. I understand that the Museum authorities propose to reassemble the leaves in this order, but the original numeration will have to be preserved also for those students who are more interested in the works of Kamāl Isma'il than in the Turkish text.

Though the MS. presents other points of great interest, the illuminations are perhaps the most remarkable feature. As

far as I am aware only one other MS. in the late "Uighur" character is illuminated, that of the Mi'rāj Nāma in Paris,<sup>1</sup> but there is no resemblance between the styles of illumination of the two MSS. If we examine the Persian MSS. of the Timurid School, parallels to details of ornament can be found, but there appears to be no close parallel either to the general arrangement or to the chromatic scale of the illuminations. The four MSS. known to me, which provide parallels of detail are the following: (1) B.M. MS. Add 27261, a Persian MS. of mixed contents written and illuminated for a Timurid Governor of Fars in A.H. 813-14 (A.D. 1410-11). An account of this unusually fine and famous MS. will be found in Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the B.M., pp. 868-71. Reproductions of pages will be found:—

(a) At No. 49 in the Oriental Series of the Palæographical Society.

(b) In F. R. Martin's *The Miniature Painting of Persia, India, and Turkey* (London: Quaritch, 1912), vol. ii, plates 53 and 240. See also vol. i, p. 30.

(2) A MS., the ownership of which appears to be divided between Dr. Martin and M. V. Goloubew, of Paris, of about A.D. 1410, described as of the Herat school. Reproductions of pages will be found:—

(a) In Martin, op. cit., vol. ii, plate 240.

(b) In P. W. Schulz's *Die Persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1914), plate 35.

(3) A MS. in Dr. Martin's collection dated A.D. 1436, of which a page is reproduced in Martin, op. cit., vol. ii, plate 53.

(4) A MS. in M. V. Goloubew's collection dated about the end of the fifteenth century A.D., and described as of the Samarqand school, of which a page is reproduced in Schulz, op. cit., plate 35. In this case the resemblance is less close.

Although there is admittedly a variation in the practice of the scribes there can be no doubt that in the case of our MS.

<sup>1</sup> A reproduction of a miniature from this MS. is to be found in Pavet de Courteille's *Mi'rāj Nāma*; Paris, Leroux, 1888.



the illuminations were executed before the text, and have no reference to its contents. Indeed, it seems likely that they were executed by a different hand, for

(1) the speed with which the MS. was written, as shown by the dates in the colophons, seems to leave little time for preparing the illuminations, and

(2) on certain pages, e.g. 122<sup>v</sup> and 123<sup>r</sup>, a line of text is written actually on the miniature and not in the margin round it, an outrage unlikely to have been perpetrated by the artist himself.

The gilding of certain words in the text appears to have been done by the scribe himself.

However, whether or not the illuminator was the same as the scribe, he was a remarkable artist, and in particular he was a master of the difficult *technique* of illumination in gold.

The procedure was clearly as follows: The paper was first of all arranged in quires of eight folios, and elaborate frames were drawn on each page.

The frame is constructed of narrow lines with boundary-lines of black ink, the centre being filled with gold, or, occasionally, silver, which has now tarnished to a dull grey. The whole line is no more than half a millimetre broad.

First of all a rectangle was drawn about 194 by 119 millimetres. This is almost exactly the present size of the leaves, and in many cases this outer rectangle is wholly or partially cut away.

Next an inner frame was drawn to contain the text. The inner side of this frame, i.e. the side nearest the back of the book is the same as that of the outer frame, but the outer side, the top and the bottom are formed by two lines, about five millimetres apart parallel to the outer rectangle. This inner rectangle measures about 141 by 87 millimetres outside, and 130 by 81 millimetres inside. Single lines were then drawn,

(a) from the points where the outer line of the inner rectangle joins the outer rectangle, bisecting the angle so formed, to



the top and bottom lines of the outer rectangle respectively ;

(b) parallel to these two lines from the centre of the outer side of the inner rectangle to the outer rectangle.

The effect of two pages together, if the book is opened at any given place, is that of an inner rectangle bounded by double lines poised within an outer rectangle on the apices of four triangles based on the centres of the top, bottom and sides of an outer rectangle. The base of the triangles measures about 55 millimetres.

Apart from title-pages, which received special treatment, a frame of this kind lends itself to three alternative methods of treatment :—

(1) The whole of the space within the inner frame may be covered with a design, the triangles in the margin sometimes being decorated in harmony with the design ; or

(2) the centre space may be left free for the text, and the design confined to the margin, i.e. the space between the outer and the inner frame ; or,

(3) the spaces in the triangles and between the inner and outer lines of the inner frame may be decorated and the centre and the rest of the margin left blank.

The arrangement of illuminations within the quire is systematic, the number of double page illuminations in each quire varying from two to four. The commonest schemes of illumination are the following (the dots representing the leaves and the x's double page illuminations or the verso of the preceding and the recto of the following leaf) :—

. x . . . x . . . x . ; . . x . . x . . x . . and . . x . . . . x . .

A peculiarity of the MS. is that, as will appear below, the same design is used several times, sometimes with the same, and sometimes with different colouring.

Coming now to the colours used by the artist it will be convenient to refer separately to the outlines of the drawings, the backgrounds and the designs superimposed on the backgrounds.

The outlines are normally drawn in gold, sometimes in red or black ink, occasionally in silver.

Backgrounds are either in metal (gold or silver) or in colour (mauve, crimson, orange, brown, various shades of pink, and a much faded colour, which was probably originally green). It will be noticed that the choice of colours is peculiar, they might almost be described in modern phraseology as "lingerie tints". That the choice was deliberate and did not represent the full range of the artist's palette is shown by the fact that the geometric designs of gold lines on folios 87<sup>v</sup>-88<sup>r</sup> and 159<sup>v</sup>-160<sup>r</sup> are picked out with dots of blue and red. Another curious feature is that the colours are not laid on in flat washes but with a stippled effect, which makes them look as if they had been imperfectly ground.

The designs superimposed on the background are normally in colour, and not metal. Metal is, however, occasionally used for small *motifs* of conventional foliage, particularly when superimposed on a larger design.

In the case of folios 180 and 179, which appear to come from a different MS., the outline of the marginal decoration on the inner side of the two leaves is identical with that on folios 105<sup>v</sup> and 106<sup>r</sup> and the background is gold in both cases. On folio 179<sup>r</sup> the design is uncoloured, but on folio 180<sup>v</sup> the design is tinted green, blue, pink, and purple of shades not found elsewhere, and the colours are put on flat and not stippled, as if they had been prepared with a different medium from that used elsewhere.

We now come to the description of the principal types of illumination of the four classes referred to above.

A. Title pages. These are two :—

(1) Folio 159<sup>v</sup>-160<sup>r</sup>, the Muḥabbat Nāma. In this case a broad label of the usual type surrounded by a very delicate frame in black and blue ink with bands of gold and green, the centre being left free for the title, is set at the top of the page, and the whole of the rest of the page and of 160<sup>r</sup> is decorated with a repetitive design of gold lines in bands. Each



band consists of a series of squares standing on their corners, the adjacent corners of each pair of squares being joined by a line. Bands consist alternatively of four squares and three *plus* two three-quarter squares, the squares of each band lying under the connecting lines of the band above and vice versa so that a blank space of zig-zag shape is left in which the text is written also in zig-zags. A small rosette of gold picked out with spots of red and blue is set in the middle of each square.

(2) Folio 173<sup>v</sup>. *Qoshuqlar*. The label designed to contain the title is of similar type, but without the band of green. The title, however, is written above the label, which contains the first *qoshuq* (quatrain). The rest of the page is occupied by an elaborate "all-over" pattern of interlaced gold lines centred upon one complete and three half hexagons; six lines of text (three quatrains) meander round these lines. The next leaf, which presumably bore similar decorations, is lost.

#### See Plate II.

B. Designs covering the centre panel. These are of three main classes: (1) geometrical, (2) free-hand repetitive designs, (3) pictorial representations more or less conventionalized.

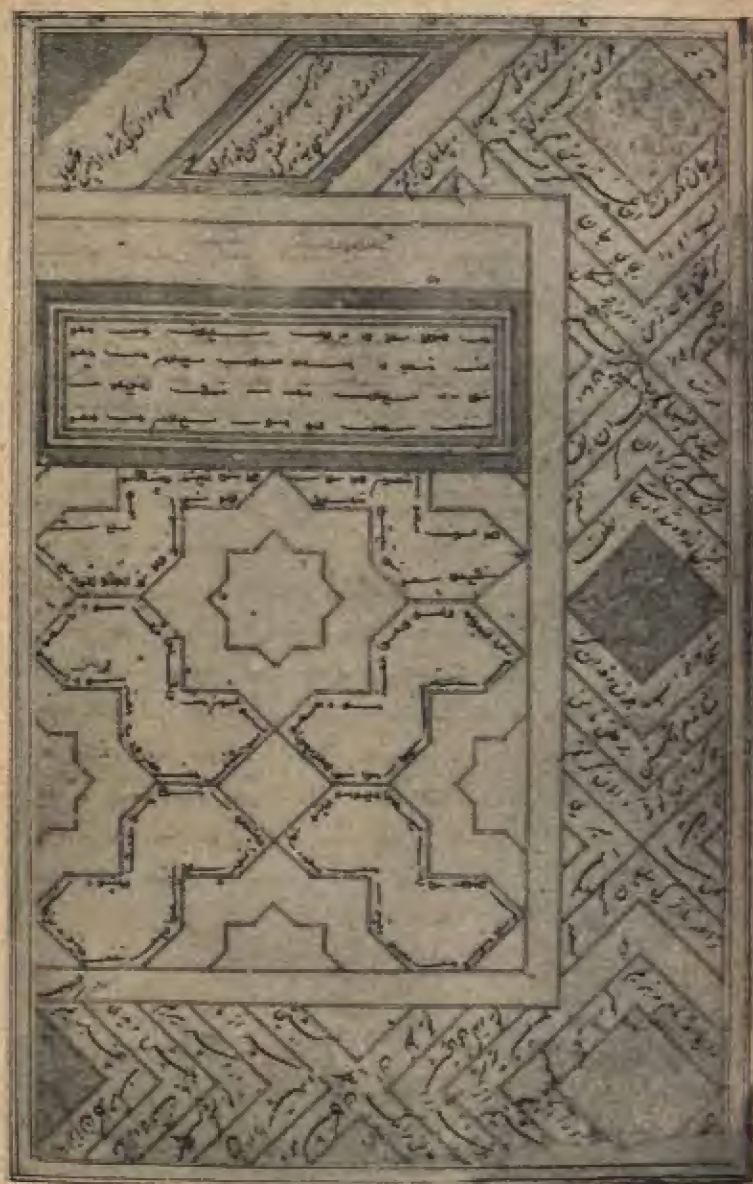
(1) Geometrical designs. There are six varieties:—

(a) A simple repetitive design of gold lines in bands, similar to those on A. (1) but based on linked hexagons (alternately three complete and two *plus* two three-quarter hexagons) instead of squares; folios 87<sup>v</sup>–88<sup>r</sup>.

(b) A similar but more open design of squares on their corners with connecting lines, with an intervening grille of diagonals parallel to the sides of the squares, eight complete squares arranged 2, 1, 2, 1, 2, with six half and four quarter-squares in the margin, the squares tinted contrasting colours and surmounted with gold *motifs*, the triangles in the margin similarly decorated; folios 167<sup>v</sup>–168<sup>r</sup>.

(c) A similar but more complicated repetitive design of eight-pointed stars with encircling lines, four complete and





Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8193 ; folio 173v.

[To face p. 100.]



four half stars to the page, with a cross with pointed arms between each four stars, the stars, crosses and intervening bands being tinted with two contrasting colours and left uncoloured respectively, and the former surmounted with small *motifs* in both metals; folios 34<sup>v</sup>-35<sup>r</sup> and 38<sup>v</sup>-39<sup>r</sup>.

(d) A similar design of six-pointed stars (five complete and two half stars) with hexagons (eight complete and twelve half hexagons) between them; folios 47<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>r</sup> and 65<sup>v</sup>-66<sup>r</sup>.

(e) A central band of two complete and two half diamonds joined by lines with six zig-zag lines above and six below, parallel to the sides of the diamonds, the diamonds and the spaces between the zig-zag lines being tinted in contrasting colours; folios 16<sup>v</sup>-17<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>, 101<sup>v</sup>-102<sup>r</sup>.

(f) A central design in a square on its corner of an Arabic phrase in " quadrangular Cufic " script of the type illustrated in Bresnier's *Cours pratique et theorique de Langue Arabe* (Alger, 1855), p. 154, surrounded by a network of lines in geometrical patterns, the spaces between them and the triangles in the margin being tinted in contrasting colours; folios 95<sup>v</sup>-96<sup>r</sup> and 163<sup>v</sup>-164<sup>r</sup>. [In the latter case the phrase is على 'Ali four times repeated, in the former two different phrases which have so far resisted decipherment.]

(2) Free-hand repetitive designs. There are three varieties:—

(a) Symmetrical curling floriated foliage covering the whole field, two varieties, one on folios 44<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>r</sup>, the other on folios 81<sup>v</sup>-82<sup>r</sup> and 109<sup>v</sup>-110<sup>r</sup>.

(b) Symmetrical curling floriated foliage in one diamond-shaped mass in the centre with subsidiary masses in each corner, the edge of these being roughly parallel to the edges of the central design, three contrasting colours being used for the central mass, the corner masses and the background, two varieties very similar to one another, one on folios 50<sup>v</sup>-51<sup>r</sup>, 92<sup>v</sup>-93<sup>r</sup>, 121<sup>v</sup>-122<sup>r</sup>, and 133<sup>v</sup>-134<sup>r</sup>, the other on folios 69<sup>v</sup>-70<sup>r</sup>, 90<sup>v</sup>-91<sup>r</sup>, and 98<sup>v</sup>-99<sup>r</sup>.



(c) A most curious and interesting design of conventional foliage with human and animal heads springing from it, the background green, the outlines gold and the foliage and heads uncoloured. This seems to have been a favourite Timurid theme. Examples will be found in :—

(1) B.M. MS. Add. 27261, folio 10<sup>b</sup>.

(2) MS. of about A.D. 1410, Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, plate 240, upper row, Schulz, *op. cit.*, plate 35, bottom right-hand corner.

(3) MS. dated A.D. 1436, Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, plate 53.

(4) MS. of end of fifteenth century A.D. Schulz, *op. cit.*, plate 35 (less close).

In the present case the design, which is identical in form on folios 14<sup>v</sup>–15<sup>r</sup>, is a single panel four times repeated, the lower two panels being inverted. In the inner corner of each panel is a human head of Sino-Mongol appearance, full face, and wearing a cap, cap to the centre ; next come two half human heads, with caps, full face (making four similar heads for the whole design) with two wings springing from under the chin, which is pointed to the centre ; next a wolf's head in profile, a bird's head in profile (cock or parrot ?) and a fish in profile, head to the centre ; next half a monster's head full face (the other half being cut off by the frame) a human head full face, and half a monster's head full face (making two complete faces for the whole design) ; next a wolf's head in profile, and a typical Chinese dragon's head, part profile part full face, both eyes being shown ; in the outer corner a human head with cap full face, chin to the centre. The triangles are coloured pink and decorated with gold scroll work. **See Plate III.**

(3) Pictorial representations. There are three principal varieties :—

(a) A highly conventionalized flower-pot in silhouette, two varieties, one decorated with two fishes in profile, head upwards on a metal background on folios 6<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>r</sup> and 22<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>,



Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8193 ; folio 14v.





the other without this decoration on a plain background on folios 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>r</sup>.

(b) Several similar designs of which the central figure is a rose-bush with ten flowers on it :—

(i) A single rose-bush, folios 86<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>r</sup> (in the latter case two deer on a much smaller scale coloured mauve, are shown running up the trunk and five mauve or crimson birds sit in the branches.)

(ii) A rose-bush with a feathery plant at its foot, and two cypresses on a smaller scale beside it, folios 12<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>.

(iii) A rose-bush between two cypresses with a feathery plant at the foot, folio 25<sup>r</sup>.

(iv) An exactly similar design except that the centre piece is not a rose-bush, but a conventionalized tall brown tree (? a pine or cedar) with a straight trunk dividing at the top into three curling branches with a few needle-like leaves, folio 24<sup>v</sup>.

(c) A highly conventionalized landscape, in the centre a bird's eye view of a hexagonal lake with a stream running through it, a meander pattern of Chinese appearance being repeated all over the surface. The subsidiary details vary :—

(i) Two cypresses and a conventional flower-pot, on the surface of the lake three gold ducks, folio 3<sup>v</sup>.

(ii) The same but five gold fishes instead of the ducks, folio 4<sup>r</sup>.

(iii) Three crimson shrubs and one faded green tree with a long trunk, on the lake two large white fish in profile, folio 178<sup>v</sup> (the accompanying leaf is missing).

C. Designs covering the margin. The basis in all cases except one is conventional floriated foliage.

Two varieties of pure foliage occur. In one which appears on folios 27<sup>v</sup>-28<sup>r</sup>, 61<sup>v</sup>-62<sup>r</sup>, 73<sup>v</sup>-74<sup>r</sup>, 84<sup>v</sup>-85<sup>r</sup>, and 177<sup>v</sup> (accompanying leaf missing) the triangles are coloured in contrast to the design, in the other on folios 105<sup>v</sup>-106<sup>r</sup> and 180<sup>v</sup>-179<sup>r</sup> (from the different MS.) the triangles are obliterated by the design. Another variety has bodies of birds in flight, growing from the foliage, a design which appears also on folio 406<sup>r</sup> of B.M.

MS. Add. 27261, the triangles being coloured to contrast, folios 53<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>r</sup> and 113<sup>v</sup>-114<sup>r</sup>.

In the remaining variety the scroll work though reminiscent of foliage resembles rather a Chinese conventionalized cloud design, the triangles being coloured to contrast, folios 77<sup>v</sup>-78<sup>r</sup>, 117<sup>v</sup>-118<sup>r</sup> and 181<sup>v</sup>-170<sup>r</sup>. A similar design is found on folio 418<sup>r</sup> of B.M. MS. Add. 27261, reproduced in Martin, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, plate 239, bottom right-hand corner.

D. Decorations of the triangles and the margin of the inner frame only. The spaces in question are tinted and in the case of one pair of leaves adorned with a spray of conventional foliage in gold, folios 58<sup>v</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>, 111<sup>v</sup>-112<sup>r</sup>, 161<sup>v</sup>-162<sup>r</sup>.

The quire consisting of folios 76-83 is unique in that both sides of the two outer leaves, 76 and 83, are decorated with conventional sprays of foliage in gold in the triangles.

We now come to the text. The script is that variety of the " Uighur " script which appears to have been used in Persia (including Afghanistan) in the fifteenth century A.D. It is only a little less removed from the prototype than the South Russian-Anatolian (?) variety represented by the MS. of the *Makhzenu'l-Esrar* from which extracts with a facsimile were published by M. Pavet de Courteille (*op. cit.*) and the MS. of the *Hibatu'l-Haqā'iq* published in facsimile by Nejib Eff. Asim (Constantinople, 1334 Turkish Civil Era). It closely resembles the script of the Bodleian MS. of the *Bakhtiyār Nāma* and the Paris MS. of the *Mi'rāj Nama* and *Tezkere-i Evliyā* published by M. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, Leroux, 1882, and Imprimerie Nationale, 1889-90 respectively).

The actual hand is particularly clear, symmetrical, and, of its kind, calligraphic, but the alphabet is the most inconvenient ever tolerated by man. It contains no more than thirteen letters: three vowels-cum-semi-vowels (1) *a*, *e*; (2) *ī*, *ı*, *y*; (3) *o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*, *w*, and ten consonants, (4) *b*, *p*, *f*; (5) *ch*, *j*; (6) *t*, *d*, *dh*, *ṭ*, and *ḍ*; (7) *s*, *sh*, *th*, *z*, and *ẓ*; (8) *h*, *ḥ*, *kḥ*, *qḥ*, *q*, 'ayn; (9) *k*, *g*; (10) *l*; (11) *m*; (12) *n*; (13) *r*. In three



of these cases the confusion is purely gratuitous; two signs which originally represented *t* and *d* respectively are used indifferently for any letter in (6), two signs which originally represented *s* and *z* respectively are used indifferently for any letter in (7) and the diacritical marks which were originally used to distinguish *q* from *kh* and *gh* are here used nearly always over the medial or final letter representing this group and hardly ever over the initial. To add to our difficulties it is often hard to distinguish between (i) initial (1) and initial (8), (ii) final (9) and final (13), (iii) medial (7) and an undotted medial (8) and (iv) medial (6), medial *wa/we* and medial *un/ün*. On the other hand we do get some help. *Sh* is nearly always distinguished by two subscript dots, and *h*, *h*, *kh*, and *'ayn* are frequently and *gh* (in Arabic words only) occasionally distinguished by writing the Arabic letters *س*, *ح*, *ع*, *ع*, and *غ* respectively under the character representing them. Even with this intermittent help, however, conundrums constantly occur. It is not easy to recognize *zulf* in a word which at first sight looks like *sulb*, nor *kāfir* in a word which might just as well be *kabīr*. Professor Barthold himself was so disconcerted by the script that he read *Bāqīr* for *faqīr* and failed to recognize the town of Yezd in "Yast (?)". I cannot therefore guarantee that in the texts transcribed below I have always made the right guess. In some cases, e.g. as between the Persian words *pas* and *bāz* only personal preference, or a second text in Arabic characters, can decide.

In order to darken counsel as little as possible, I have generally spelt all Arabic and Persian words with full diacritical marks, including those over long vowels. In the case of pure Turkish words I have been in considerable doubt whether to use the voiced consonants *d*, *g*, *b*, *q*, etc., or the unvoiced *t*, *k*, *p*, *gh*, etc., particularly at the beginning of words, since we do not know to what extent these consonants had become voiced in the fifteenth century. In general I have attempted to follow the practice of the British Museum MS. Add. 7914 (dated A.H. 914 = A.D. 1508-9) referred to below, as this seems



likely to be the best guide ; but that MS. is itself shaky in distinguishing between *b* and *p* and *j* and *ch*, and cannot distinguish between *g* and *k*.

Similarly I have been in great doubt as to the extent to which " soft " or " modified " vowels should be introduced into Arabic and Persian words. As the Dative of دنیا is دنیاکا we may be sure that it was pronounced *dunye*, perhaps even *dūnye* ; but the form دشمنلیق shows that دشمن was pronounced *dushman* not *düşmen*. I cannot, however, I fear hope to be entirely consistent since the practice of the period was probably fundamentally arbitrary and inconsistent. I have consistently refrained from using the " hard " Turkish *ı* in non-Turkish words, other than those containing a " hard " guttural, except in the suffixes.

It should perhaps be remarked that the practice of writing *ö/ü* in the first syllables of words as *oi/üi*, which prevailed in the earlier period in Chinese Turkestan, and still intermittently survived in that area as late as the fourteenth century A.D., is entirely unknown in our MS.

In prose passages the text is written sixteen lines to the page, in verse generally eighteen half-couplets to the page. These figures do not, of course, hold for all the illuminated pages.

So much for the script, we now come to the contents of the texts.

There are three dated colophons in the MS., as follows :—  
Folio 129<sup>v</sup>, l. 5.

*Tamām boldı Sirāju'l-Qulüb kitābı. Qutluğh bolsun. Tārīkh* [i.e. *tārīkh*] *sekiz yüz otuz bishde, Chīchqan yıl Rajab ayınıñ yigirmi toquzıda, Yezd shahrıda Manşūr Bakhshı bitidi.*<sup>1</sup>

" Here ends the book *Sirāju'l-Qulüb*. May it be auspicious. *Manşūr Bakhshı* wrote it in the town of *Yezd* on the 29th

<sup>1</sup> The form is curious. Perhaps *bititti* " caused to be written " should be read.

of Rajab, A.H. 835, Mouse Year [= 29th November, A.D. 1431]."

Folio 135<sup>v</sup>, l. 8.

*Tamām boldī Mathalā kitābī. Tīrīkh sekiz yüz otuz bishde, Chīchqan yīl, Sha'ban ayīnīng törtide Yezd shahrīda Mīr Jalāl Dīnnīng suhbatīnda bu faqīr Manşūr Bakhshī bitidi.*

Here ends the book *Mathalā* ("For example"). This poor Manşūr Bakhshī, of the entourage of Mīr Jalāl[u'd-] Dīn, wrote it on the 4th of *Sha'ban* A.H. 835, Mouse Year [= 4th December, A.D. 1431].

Folio 178<sup>s</sup>, l. 13.

*Tamām boldī Muḥabbat Nāma kitābī. Qutluḡ bolsun. Tīrīkh sekiz yüz otuz bishde, Chīchqan yīl, Rajab ayīnīng altīsında Yezd shahrīnda Mīr Jalāl Dīn buyurḡhan üchün bu faqīr Manşūr Bakhshī bitidi.*

"Here ends the book *Muḥabbat Nāma*. May it be auspicious! This poor Manşūr Bakhshī wrote it on the 6th of Rajab A.H. 835, Mouse Year [= 6th November, A.D. 1431] in the town of Yezd at the order of Mīr Jalāl[u'd-] Dīn."

It will be observed that the last colophon is dated about three weeks before the first, and it is on this fact that the main outline of the rearrangement of the *disjecta membra* of the MS. set out above is based.

The retention in the date of the year of the old Turkish twelve-year cycle is to be noted.

I regret that I have found no further information about the two personages mentioned in this colophon. If his own client can find no higher title for him than "Mīr", Jalāl[u'd-] Dīn is not likely to have been very important. Manşūr was a bit of a poet and two quite good poems by him, transcribed from this MS., will be found in the Appendix. Both names were very common at this period.

As these colophons indicate, we have a MS. of distinctly mixed contents. With folio 174, the earliest surviving folio of the MS., we are plunged into the middle of a series of fifty moral maxims, the earliest one surviving being the eighth.



The moral level, however, cannot be described as particularly exalted, we commence :—

" 8th. The work which is rightly yours do well, in order that God, exalted be He, may make your work good among men.

9th. Be chaste (*parhīzgār*) that you may be respected ('azīz) " . . . and so on.

This section is followed by a few detached maxims of the Prophet on sumptuary questions and other similar matters. The whole ends on folio 159a with the colophon :—*Kātibu'l-faqīr Manşūr Bakḥshī*.

Folio 159<sup>v</sup> is the title-page, described above, of the Muḥabbat Nāma. The text is, with the exception of the gap noted below, complete and covers the following folios : 159<sup>v</sup>, 160, after which two folios containing approximately 36 couplets are missing, 161–169, 181, 171, and 178<sup>r</sup>, ending with the colophon quoted above. Another text of this work by *Khorezmi* written in a clear *nasta'liq* hand and dated A.H. 916 is one of the items of B.M. MS. Add. 7914 and it is described at some length in Rieu's *Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the B.M.*, page 290. The present text is very definitely superior to that of the later MS. In particular it omits the fourth *Nāma* in the latter MS. which is clearly spurious as it is in Persian (while the whole point of the work is that the author wrote it in response to his patron's request for a poetical composition in that patron's own Turkish dialect), and raises the number of *Nāmas* to eleven as against the number ten mentioned in the Introduction. It also omits the Persian *Mathnawī* at the end. Elsewhere single couplets are omitted and other variant readings occur. One variant of some interest is in the first couplet of the poet's panegyric of his patron. Our MS. (folio 161<sup>v</sup>, ll. 4 and 5) reads :—

*Aya arslan yūrekliḡ kḥan uruḡhī.*

*Kichik yashdīn uluḡhlarnīḡ uluḡhī.*

Add. 7914 (folio 293<sup>v</sup>, l. 7) reads :—

*Zehī arslan yūrek Qongrat uruḡhī, etc.*



Our MS. no doubt preserves the original reading, *arslan yïrek* is hardly grammatical; *Qongrat* was probably introduced at a time when the identity of the Muḥammad Khoja Beg addressed was beginning to be forgotten and a tribal name had to be inserted to give the necessary clue.

The folio following 178 and containing the counterpart of the miniature on the *verso* of that folio is lost, but it seems probable that there next followed a short anthology of which folios 172, 182, 177, 175, and 173 are surviving leaves. Folios 172 and 182 are consecutive and as they are both on pink paper it seems likely that they formed the centre of a quire. Folio 173, as its *recto* bears the text of a *ghazal* while its *verso* bears the title and commencement of a collection of *qoshuqs* (*quatrains*) is likely to have followed the other leaves. The contents of these leaves which are reproduced in the Appendix are as follows:—

(a) a *ghazal* and *bait* by Manṣūr Bakhshī and the latter part of a third poem by him.

(b) three and a half *ghazals* by Luṭfi.

(c) two *ghazals* by Qambar *oghlu*.

(d) one *ghazal* each by Qāsim and Jauhari.

(e) four *quatrains* of the type called *qoshuq*.

Manṣūr Bakhshī is, of course, the scribe of our MS.

Luṭfi is a poet of whom something is known. An incomplete copy of his *Dīvān* is another of the items contained in B.M. MS. Add. 7914, and a notice of him will be found in Rieu's Catalogue, p. 286. As he was personally known to Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī he must have been alive after A.H. 844, and the present MS. was therefore written in his lifetime. The three complete poems, but not, unfortunately, the incomplete one, appear also in Add. 7914, and, as is shown by the collation in the Appendix, there are substantial divergences between the two texts.

I regret that I am not in a position to give any information regarding the other three poets mentioned. Their names do

not appear in Rieu's Catalogue, and time did not permit me to make my way into the uncharted seas of Nawā'ī's *Majālisu'n-Nafā'is* where the information may be forthcoming.

The *Qoshuqs* are of great interest. As far as I am aware, these are the only specimens surviving, but my researches have admittedly been incomplete and others may be known.

The word *qoshuq* is translated by Pavet de Courteille [*Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*: Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1870, p. 432] " a sort of poetic composition or drinking song sung according to the principles of the *orghushtek* ". He quotes three passages containing the word, two from the *Abushqa* and one from the *Bābur-Nāma*. One describes someone as not understanding the metre of the *tuyuq* or even of the *qoshuq*. The same quotation is given by Radloff [Opyt ii, 640].

The *tuyuq* or *tuyugh* was a quatrain verse-form based on the old Turkish system of *parmaq hisābi*, i.e. counting the syllables but disregarding the quality of vowels. Twenty *tuyughs* written by Qaḍi Burhānu'd-Dīn survive, see Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry* [London, Luzac and Co., 1900], vol. i, p. 211.

Pavet de Courteille [op. cit., p. 55, s.v. *orghushtek*] quotes a passage stating that the *qoshuq* metre was *ramal murabba' mahdhūf* and giving a couplet in that metre, a catalectic tetrameter of the measure — — — —. As will be seen from the Appendix, however, our *qoshuqs* are trimeters, and appear to be rather of the "*parmaq hisābi*" nature than strictly metrical.

The next part of the MS. in order of date is folios 2-129. The colophon on folio 129<sup>v</sup>, quoted above, gives the name as Sirāju'l-Qulūb, " The Lamp of Hearts," but mentions no author's name. The work was no doubt translated from a foreign language, presumably Persian, possibly by Mansur Bakhshī himself.

It is a kind of catechism, dealing with various points of Moslem theology and eschatology. Each section is introduced by a short question, to which a reply, generally lengthy, is



given. The words *sawāl* and *jawāb* ("Question" and "Answer") are gilded, and so too are some names of prophets, holy personages, etc. The name of God *ḥaqq* (or *tengri*) *ta'ālā* is not gilded, but is normally put at the commencement of a new line, the remainder of the preceding line being left blank or filled by one, or two, ornamental flourishes.

As the beginning of the work is lost, the identity of the questioners (there was more than one since they say "tell us") cannot be determined. The respondent is Muḥammad himself (see folio 104<sup>r</sup>, l. 14, where a reply begins "The Prophet peace be upon Him, said . . .").

The title *Sirāju'l-Qulūb* is not uncommon. One, in the form of a catechism, is mentioned by Hājī Khalifa, see Fluegel's edition (London, Oriental Translation Fund, 1842) vol. iii, p. 588), *سراج القلوب فارسی علی طریق الجواب والسؤال*. Another, or possibly the same work, although the opening words are different, is contained in B.M. MSS. Or. 1231 and Add. 23,581, see Rieu's Persian Catalogue, p. 17, where reference is made to a similar work, with a different commencement, at Vienna, see Fluegel, Vienna Catalogue, vol. iii, p. 453.

The author of the work represented by the two B.M. MSS., of which Or. 1231 is an ancient copy dated A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519), is given in the former MS. as Imām Abū Mānṣūr Sa'id ibn Muḥammadi'l-Qaṭṭānu'l-Ghaznawī and in the latter as Imām Abū Naṣr ibn Sa'd ibn Muḥammad. The title Ghaznawī indicates a connexion with the Turkish dynasty of Ghazna, and it is possible, indeed probable, that this *Sirāju'l-Qulūb* formed the foundation of our work. The order of sections is more or less the same and the contents of the various sections are more or less identical, but the translation is by no means close or exact and in particular the frequent Arabic quotations in the Persian text are completely omitted in the Turkish version.

The following is a summary of the contents with references to the Persian text of Or. 1231, here designated P.; in the first



two or three cases I have quoted the question in full, so as to give an idea of the general form.

Folio 2<sup>r</sup>, l. 1-14. The end of a description of the Throne of God = P. 10<sup>r</sup> middle—10<sup>v</sup>, l. 1.

Folio 2<sup>r</sup>, l. 15. " Tell us how many Prophets (*payghambar*) God created; how many were Apostles (*mursal*), and how many books came down from heaven to the Prophets " = P. 10<sup>v</sup>, l. 2.

Folio 4<sup>v</sup>, l. 2. " Tell us who Azrayil is." The reply includes an extract from the Prophet's account of his journey to Heaven = P. 11<sup>v</sup>, l. 3.

Folio 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 14. " Tell us who Munkar and Nakir are." The reply includes an account of the interrogation of the dead = P. 12<sup>v</sup>, l. 2.

Folio 11<sup>r</sup>, l. 15. An account of the Baitu'l-Ma'mūr = P. 14<sup>v</sup>, l. 7.

Folio 13<sup>v</sup>, l. 6. An account of Jabal Qāf = P. 15<sup>v</sup>, l. 4.

Folio 16<sup>r</sup>, l. 8. Şur and Asrafil = P. 19<sup>r</sup>, l. 1.

Folio 18<sup>v</sup>, l. 2. The end of the world = P. 16<sup>r</sup>, l. 12.

(Note that these two sections are in reverse order.)

Folio 33<sup>v</sup>, k l. 3. The fastenings of the door of heaven and the lock (*qufl*), P. 20<sup>r</sup>, l. 12.

Folio 33<sup>v</sup>, l. 12. The key of heaven = P. 20<sup>v</sup>, l. 5.

Folio 31<sup>r</sup>, l. 2. The Prophet Yūnus = P. 20<sup>v</sup>, l. 9.

Folio 28<sup>v</sup>, l. 2. The destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea = P. 26<sup>r</sup>, l. 7.

The order of P. is slightly different here. The end of this story is lost.

Folio 32 starts near the beginning of the story of Suleimān. 32<sup>r</sup>, l. 1 = P. 28<sup>r</sup>, l. 3; the question is put in P. 27<sup>v</sup>, last line.

Folio 37<sup>r</sup>, l. 6. The five beings who had no father or mother, but walked on the earth = P. 21<sup>v</sup>, l. 2. The stories are those of (1) Adam and Eve (folio 37<sup>r</sup>, l. 7); (2) the Prophet Şālih's camel (folio 39<sup>r</sup>, l. 5); (3) the ram which Gabriel gave to the Prophet Isma'il to be sacrificed in his place (folio 40<sup>r</sup>, l. 8);

and (4) Moses' rod which became a serpent. The end of (3) and beginning of (4) are lost.

Folio 43<sup>r</sup>, l. 5. A pious interpretation of the cries of various birds = P. 30<sup>r</sup>, l. 9.

Folio 44<sup>r</sup>, l. 9. The Baitu'l-Ma'mūr again = P. 30<sup>v</sup>, l. 4.

Folio 46<sup>v</sup>, l. 4. The highest building in the world (i.e. the one built for Pharaoh by Haman!) = P. 31<sup>r</sup>, l. 6.

Folio 48<sup>v</sup>, l. 4. The table sent down to the Prophet 'Isā = P. 31<sup>v</sup>, l. 7.

Folio 54<sup>v</sup>, l. 4. The visit of Shaddād ibn 'Ad, while still alive, to Paradise and Hell. Apparently not in P., the end is lost.

Folio 58<sup>r</sup> commences in the middle of the story of the Prophet Jirjis which starts at P. 35<sup>r</sup>, l. 2.

Folio 72<sup>v</sup>, l. 9. The Prophet 'Uzair (the father 40 years old, with a black beard, and the son 120 years old with a white beard) = P. 39<sup>v</sup>, l. 10.

Folio 75<sup>v</sup>, l. 7. Noah's flood and the fate of the sea on the Day of Resurrection = P. 33<sup>v</sup>, l. 7.

Folio 78<sup>r</sup>, l. 13. Dhū'l-Kifl. Mentioned in P.'s table of contents, 2<sup>r</sup>, l. 7, but apparently omitted from the text.

Folio 83<sup>v</sup>, l. 6. Speech of the Prophet 'Isā in his mother's womb. Not in P.?

Folio 84<sup>r</sup>, l. 3. The rock which Moses struck = P. folio 49<sup>r</sup>, l. 5.

Folio 86<sup>r</sup>, l. 1. The Aṣḥābu'r-Rass = P. 51<sup>r</sup>, l. 4.

Folio 91<sup>v</sup>, l. 8. The Aṣḥābu Ukhdūd = P. 53<sup>v</sup>, l. 3.

Folio 100<sup>r</sup>, l. 1. The Prophet Ayyub. Not in P.?

Folio 104<sup>r</sup>, l. 10. Suleimān's hidden sepulchre and Bulūqiyā = P. 60<sup>v</sup>, l. 10. This is the last section both in our MS. and in P.

The Sirāju'l-Qulūb ends on folio 129<sup>v</sup>, the last folio of a quire, with the colophon quoted above.

Folio 130 begins most abruptly but appears to be the beginning of the next work which is called the Mathalā Kitābī, "the Book of For Example." It starts: "Do no



evil, for God, exalted be He, keeps you," and then plunges into a series of sentences each of identical form. All, except the first, begin with the word *mathalā* "for example" in gold and continue "if a man says . . . he is an infidel (*kāfir*)."

It ends on folio 135<sup>v</sup> with the colophon quoted above.

Folio 136<sup>r</sup> is completely blank except for the frame, and the late Persian text.

Folio 136<sup>v</sup> is not illuminated, but the whole of the text inscribed on it is in gold and is unusually large script. Were it not for the fact that it is undoubtedly the last and not the first page of a quire, folio 136 might have been regarded as the commencement of the MS. The text begins:—

Fol. 136<sup>v</sup>. <sup>1</sup> *Al ḥamdu lillāhi rabbī'l 'ālamīn* <sup>2</sup> *us-salātu us-salāmu 'alā* <sup>3</sup> *ḫaīri ḫalqihī Muḥammadin* <sup>4</sup> *wa ālihī ajmī'in.* <sup>5</sup> *Bilgīl kim bir neche* <sup>6</sup> *ḥikāyatlar Raḥatul-Qulūb* <sup>7</sup> *kitābīdīn iḫtiyār* <sup>8</sup> *qilīp bitidir*, and continues on the following pages.

The introduction to this section of the MS. may be translated as follows:—

"In the name of God etc. Know that certain stories selected from the book entitled *Raḥatu'l Qulūb* are written here; also certain stories of prophets and sages, the questions put to the Prophet, upon Him be peace, by the king of the Yemen who came to him, and a few profitable words which the daughter of the King of China obtained by inquiry from the son of the King of the West have been collected and are written here in order that they may be profitable to those who read them. May it be that by the grace of God, exalted be He!, the book may be written to its end, if God, exalted be He!, pleases."

It will be seen, therefore, that this section of the MS. is a medley. It begins with the last item on the list:—

"The maiden said 'Who first in the world spilt innocent blood?' The youth said, 'The first man in the world who spilt innocent blood was Qābil, who killed Ḥābil, and their story is as follows . . .'"

Folio 141<sup>r</sup>, l. 8. The story of the Prophet Şālih's camel.

Folio 144<sup>r</sup>, l. 15. " The maiden said ' What are the two dead things which may be eaten (*halal turur*) ? ' The prince said, ' One is the fish, the other is the locust (*chekürtke*). ' "

A number of shorter questions follow, some in the nature of riddles rather than religious questions.

Folio 145<sup>v</sup>, l. 1. An anecdote of Loqman the sage.

Folio 146<sup>r</sup>, l. 1. " The Companion named Wahb ibn Munabbih, may God be satisfied with him, says, ' In the Old Testament I found twenty sayings which are wise. ' " The twenty are quoted.

Folio 147<sup>r</sup>, l. 3. " Again the Prophet, peace be upon Him, says ' There are twenty things which, if anyone does them, alleviate poverty, distress and misery ' . . . "

Folio 148<sup>r</sup>, l. 1. " The rules for eating food. "

Folio 149<sup>v</sup>, l. 9. " Aristotle the sage says that four things will make the eyes bright . . . and so on. "

Folio 150<sup>r</sup>, l. 6. " Again a Companion named Khālid Walid relates that one of the kings of the people of the Yemen came into the presence of the Prophet, peace be upon Him, and said ' Oh Prophet of God, I have come to ask you a few questions and to learn '. The Prophet, peace be upon Him, said ' Very good '. That person said ' Oh Prophet of God, I seek to be wiser than the people '. The Prophet, peace be upon Him, said ' Fear God ' . . . ", and so on.

Folio 153<sup>v</sup>, l. 17. " A Companion named ' Āmir-i Majnūn (?) asked the Commander of the Faithful ' Ali ' Who is wise (*sirek*) ? ' . . . "

Folio 155<sup>v</sup>, l. 2. " Again, they asked a sage named Yahyā-i Mu'ād-i Rāzi, may the mercy of God be upon him . . . " and so the MS. ends in the middle of a story.

There remain to be described only folios 179 and 180, which belong to a work not represented elsewhere in the MS. The script is the same, and the illuminations are clearly by the same hand, since the outline of the design which decorates the margins of one side of each leaf is identical with the



outline of the designs on folios 105<sup>v</sup>-106<sup>r</sup>; the colour scheme, however, is, as stated above, different, and it is therefore probable that the leaves belong to a different book.

The text is continuous, but the two leaves in their present position are reversed, i.e. folio 180 precedes folio 179. The principal text is part of a *Mi'rāj Nāma* which presents extraordinary coincidences with and divergencies from the text printed by Pavet de Courteille in his edition of the Paris "Uighur" MS. [*Mi'rādj-Nāme*h, Paris, Leroux, 1882]. The surviving fragment commences in the middle of p. ٢٨, l. 7, of Pavet de Courteille's text with the description of the Prophet's visit to the lake of *Kauthar* [*Kevser*]. The first two sentences are almost word for word the same, the next contains the same sense in rather different words, and the next is identical. Our text then skips out a page and a half of the Paris text, rejoins it for a short time, and then departs once more and so on. The explanation of these phenomena is perhaps to be found in the fact that the four persons sitting round *Kauthar* distributing the water are stated in our text to be *Muḥammad*, 'Ali, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain, while in the Paris text they are stated to be *Abu Bakr*, *Omar*, *Osman*, and 'Ali; in other words our text is *Shi'i*, while the Paris text is *Sunni*.

As the Prophet could hardly have visited *Kauthar* and found himself sitting beside it, the assumption is that the *Sunni* version is the original one.

The text in the margin of the two unilluminated pages is even more interesting, as it belongs to a class of text hitherto unknown in "Uighur" script. It is part of a series of Arabic proverbs in gold, each proverb being followed by a paraphrase in Persian prose, and a Persian distich enlarging upon the theme. As may be imagined the decipherment of Arabic and Persian texts in this script was extremely difficult and I am much obliged to Mr. Fulton of the British Museum for his assistance. The full text will be found in the Appendix.

This article is already too long and there is therefore no

space to enlarge further on the many interesting points raised by this MS. I should, however, like to make one or two observations on the dialect employed. In so far as the texts are native to the Yezd district and not imported from Turkistan (as the Muḥabbat Nāma presumably was) they have a fair claim to represent the fifteenth century ancestor of the Azerbaijani dialect. The shibboleths which I have noticed point, as might be expected, to relationship with Kashgari's Ghuzz group rather than his Türki group. "White," for instance, is *aq* not *ürüng*; but the morphology is primitive rather than modern. Note, for instance, such forms as *turur*, *tileben*, *aytmaq* "to say", the future in *qhay*, *gey* and the imperative in *ghil*, *gil*.

The poems of Qambar ogli contain one or two distinctively "Western" forms like *qılan* (for *qılqhan*), *menüm* (for *mening*) and the verb *eylemek*.

Some individual words are of particular interest. For instance *sirek* "wise" is quoted by Radloff [Opyt iv, 702] from the Baraba dialect only, and *chekürte* "locust" corresponds neither to Kashgari's *chekürke* nor to Osmanli *chegirge*. No doubt a careful study would disclose many other points of interest.

I should not like to close this paper without expressing to Dr. Barnett and Mr. Edwards of the British Museum my gratitude for the many kindnesses which I received from them in the course of my studies on the MS.

## APPENDIX

### (a) The shorter poems

Folio 172<sup>r</sup>, l. 1.

*Lutfi*

*Ay latāfat bostānī ichre serw-i khosh khirām,  
Tapti rukhsarīng gülündin husn-i bāgh-i ihtirām.  
Ay yüzüŋni küŋge okhshatsam, muwajjahdur datil;  
Ab-i haywān disem irningni, irür mā lā kalam.  
Bolsa düzakhta khayālīng, tangha köymeklik halāl;  
Bolmasa jannatta yādīng, jāŋgha āsāyish ḥarām.*



*Zar waraq teg bolmisham simin saqagning shauqidin,  
 Korki ne zard-u nizār itti meni saudāyī kham.  
 Wa'd-duhā wa'l-layl oqurmen yüz-ü zulfungnī körüp  
 Kechti 'umrum barcha-u wardim irür bu subh-u sham.  
 Garchi mahrum dur raqibning haqqdin ozmazmen umid,  
 Birdi kâfirning muradin birmegeymü bizge kām ;  
 İtlarängiz birle boldi Lutfi yārim ishine,  
 Jān qadamları fidāsī qilsalar ishni tamām.*

**Apparatus Criticus.** Or. 7914 has this *ghazal* at folio 202<sup>r</sup> lines 11 following. The order here is 1, 2, 4, x, 3, 6, 5., v. 7 is absent, x is as follows:—

*Qāmating töbi nihāli dur labbing Kauthar suyu  
 Yüzüng öl hür-i bihishti tuttī bu 'ālī maqām.*

The following variants occur :

1. 2. *gülindin* for *gülündin*.
  1. 4. *aghzīngnī* (?) for *irningnī*.
  1. 5. *tenge* for *tangha*.
  1. 9. *zulf-u nūrungnī* for *yüz-ü zulfungnī*.
  1. 10. *Lutfi 'umri-u wardi* for *'umrum barcha-u wardim*.
- Folio 172<sup>r</sup>, l. 16.

### *Lutfi*

*Ay āyat-i rahmat yüzüngüz shānīda nāzil  
 Bolghay qacharing birle qachan mihr muqbil.  
 Sizdin kerek ökrense parī ādamlīqnī  
 Yusuf daghī ta'tim kerek alsa' shamāyil.  
 Yalghuz men imezmen hausing bile giriftār  
 Husnunggha irür hür-u malik jān bile māyil.  
 Hārūt közüng sihrini kördi khajil oldi,  
 Andin yashunub ikhtiyār itti jah-i Bābil.  
 Ol sach mu turur subha yaqin yākhōd uzun ton  
 Yā ghātiyadin dil-ü köngüllerge salānil ?  
 Jān muṣhafī sīpāra bolur qayghuda her dam  
 Haikal iligi boynuma tabuldī hamāyil.  
 Hijringde tiler Lutfi qulung öz ajalini  
 Sansiz kechüren 'umurdin ay dostni ḥāşil.*

**Apparatus Criticus.** Or. 7914 has this *ghazal* at folio 199<sup>r</sup> lines 4 following in the order 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7.

1. 6. *turur* for *irür*.
1. 9. *dur* for *turur*.
1. 11. *jān* omitted.

- l. 12. *boymuna* for *boynuma*.  
 l. 13. reads *Hijringde tiler her dam ajal Lutfi-yi meskin*.  
 l. 14. *sinsiz* for *sansiz*.

Folio 172<sup>r</sup>, l. 13.

*Lutfi sözi*

*Sening üsrük közungge ne khabar bar ?*  
*Kim andin 'aql-u jân-gha küp khatar bar.*  
*Munajjim qash-u közung körgech aytur*  
*Kim oshbu ay bashında fitnalar bar.*  
*Qashim köz bahri üzre köprüküng dur.*

Folio 182<sup>r</sup>, l. 1.

*Senge her neche kim mundin gudhar bar.*  
*Qiran güldi közüng ay teg yüzüngde*  
*Qiran dur anda ari kim nazar bar.*  
*Qada kelgende Lutfi öz halakin*  
*Tiler alningda kami bu qadar bar.*

**Apparatus Criticus.** Or. 7914 has this *ghazal* at folio 175<sup>r</sup> lines 3 and following in the order 1, 3, 2, 4, 5.

Line 5 reads *Yolungda qash irür köz bahrina pul*.

- l. 8 *kim ari* for *ari kim*.  
 l. 9. *kilgende* for *kelgende*.  
 l. 10. *qashingda* for *alningda*.

Folio 182<sup>r</sup>, l. 6.

*Qambar oghli*

*Kök ichinde sizleyin bir sauk-i dilber bolmaghay,*  
*Sachı sumbul yüzi gül qaddi senüber bolmaghay.*  
*Chin-u Māchin-u Qitayda bolmaghay mānandingiz.*  
*Sizleyin bir qaddi sarkash zulfı jambar bolmaghay.*  
*Ghamza-yi ghammājingiz (?) teg tideyi nargis imez,*  
*T[ur]ra-yi tarrāringiz (?) teg mushk-u 'anbar bolmaghay.*  
*Yanmaghaymen 'ishqingizdin gar meni yantursalar.*  
*Khaira barghanlar 'ajab kim ahl-i Khaibar bolmaghay.*  
*Şuratıng wasfin qılanlar körmegen dūr husnungı.*  
*Sizge okshish raudada bir hūr-i paikar bolmaghay.*  
*Teki tekrār eyledim khub şuratıng majmū'asın*  
*Khātirında mundin artuq nirse az bar bolmaghay.*

Folio 182<sup>v</sup>, l. 1.

*Gar sening terking qılursam, ay dilārāmum menüm,*  
*Pas mening adim chīganda Ibn-i Qambar bolmaghay.*



## Qambar oghlī

Dilbarā zenjir-i zulfung shāna qılding ; qılmaghıl !  
 Sad hazārān 'āqilī fitna qılding ; qılmaghıl !  
 Chīn köngül shahrīn musakhkhar qılding ; ay Türk-i khatā (?),<sup>1</sup>  
Khüttayī ma'mūrumī wayrāna qılding ; qılmaghıl !  
 Gij-u (?) bahrayn oldī chashmīm, khūnī dildin mauj orar,  
 Qatra qatra ashkümi dur-dāna qılding ; qılmaghıl !  
 Ashnā qılding mence 'ishq-i haqīqīnī majā[r (?),  
 'Aqlīm-i yekpāragī paykāna qılding ; qılmaghıl !  
 Bī tahashshī jān-i may nūsh eyleding akhyār ile,  
 Garchi sen bu shifānī rindāna qılding ; qılmaghıl !  
Sham-i rukhsārīng qatında yüz tümen parvāna bar,  
 Men da'if-i yanghuchī parvāna qılding ; qılmaghıl.  
 Qambar oghlīn bulbul-i dil qasda taksar ayleding,  
 Gül yüzüngde sumbulī dardāna qılding ; qılmaghıl !

Fol. 177<sup>r</sup>.

## Qambar oghlī

Te kim <sup>2</sup> ol serw-i sahī sumbulnī gül bosh eyledi,  
 Sad hazārān bulbulī gulshān madhūsh eyledi.  
 Ghayrat ildürmen ki sahhār (?) ne ichün öpti labbların,  
 Baghrumīng qanī mayi qumqāna teg josh eyledi.  
 Her niche faryād idermen yād olur yād eylemez,  
 Dilbar-i paymān-shikan 'ahdīn farāmūsh eyledi.  
 Yanmīsham bashdīn ayagga sham' teg ichi otīna,  
 Bilmezim (?) bu 'ishq otīn qaydīn mence tosh eyledi.  
 Qasd-i jānīm qıldi dilbar nāwāk-i michken (?) bile,  
 Niche-kim nīsh ordī ol bu qasdā dil nūsh eyledi.  
 Yārumung aqdām qashında mäh-i nau kördi felek,  
 Shol sababdīn dur hilāl-i halqa dar gūsh eyledi.  
 Bulbul ayru tūshse güldin, lāl olur hich sözlemez ;  
 Qambar oghlīn yār firāqī bile <sup>3</sup> khāmūsh eyledi.

## Jauharī

Qasdā könglüm ol sheker ırnīn tileb jān tarta dur.  
 Arsuluq bīchārānī yā rīzq yā qan tarta dur.

Fol. 177<sup>v</sup>.

Dūnyede men dur men-u (?) yalghuz köngül wāy anī ham.  
 Zulfi wu közi qashī her biri bir yan tarta dur.

<sup>1</sup> The edge of this folio is clipped and the last letter of this and other lines is partly or entirely lost.

<sup>2</sup> The first letter of this and some other lines is lost.

<sup>3</sup> Text reads *bayle*, presumably in error.

Khūsh qashīning yasīnī kirbik oqī birle kōzi  
Garchi ūsrūk tūr kōrüngni yanglu esen tarta dur.  
 Te khayālī, keldi mihmān kōz essiz mihmānīgha,  
Gāh durr-i 'Ummān-u gāh la'l-i Badakhshan tarta dur.  
 Ay kishi tarttı madā'in (sic) dīlbarīning alnīda  
Hich neme lāyīq yoghūdīn Jauharī jān tarta dur.

## Lutfī

Ghamzangiz khūnī wu her dam kōnglūm ol yan tarta dur.  
Barmasam qashīn chun meni qan tarta dur.  
 Tat kōzungdīn ki dīngha (?) niče yüz orsam meni,  
Kufr zar-i zulmīle ol ne musulman tarta dur.  
Khāk-i pāy-i kim anga zulfī teger kūp ihtirām,  
Yā meni topraq yā rīzq-i parīshān tarta dur.  
 Alnīda jān tarta durmen, te meger tūshgei qabūl  
Hich nazar qılmaz bu miskīn zar-i kim jān tarta dur.  
Qashlarī yasīn qolaqqa yūlküre tartar kōzi.

Fol. 175<sup>r</sup>.

## Manşūr Bakhshī sözi

Ay khudāy-i lam yazal, ay pādshāh-i lā yazāl,  
Barcha 'ālamnīng khudāwandī irürsen bī-zawāl.  
Mithl-u mānandīng senīng yoqtur, yana bolghusī yoq.  
Kimse okshamaz senge perverdigār-i bī-mithāl.  
Mülketingge yoq zawāl, ay hayy-u qayyūm-u ahād,  
Khālīqu'l 'arsh-u samāwāt, ay kerīm-i bā-kamāl.  
Yā ghīyāth-al mustaghīthīn, barchagha faryād rās,  
'Alimu'l asrār-i 'ālam, yā 'alīm-i dhū'l jalāl,  
Qudratīng birle yarattīng 'arsh-u kürsī wu qalam.  
Hikmetingning ökmīne yitmek turur 'aql-u khayāl.  
Jinn-u ins-u wahsh-u tayr-u mūr-u mākī rīzqīnī  
Yetkürersen jumlagha qudrat bile bī qıl-u qāl.  
Kim ki ichti rahmatīng daryāsīdīn bir jur'ayī,  
Barcha 'ālamdīn munazzah boldī wu boldī zulāl.  
Kim fanā boldī muhabbat baħrīna, jāndīn kechib  
Wazīfiyat mülkide bāqī bolup taptī nawāl.  
Kimge kim qıldīng nazar, ħird-u hawādīn boldī şāf,

Fol. 175<sup>v</sup>.

Dünye-din kechdi, kōrünmez kōzige māl-u manāl.  
Mülk-ü māl aulād-u qatundīn munazzah qıl kōngül.  
Chūn ħijāb irmish senge haqq yolīda ahl-u 'ayāl.



*Mashu'callahdīn (?) kōngül mülkini khālī qılmaqhan,  
 'Āqibat mardūd olup tekti anga sansız malāl.  
 Yā ilāhī! ol irenlarning haqqı kim şıdqıla  
 Waşl genjini tileben taptilar sendin wişāl.  
 Barcha mu'mınlar gunāhın qıl kerem birle 'afū,  
 Hashr küninde alargha birmegil sen in'f'āl.  
 Bu faqır Manşūr bakhshīning du'āsın qıl qabūl,  
 Akhīratta haqq Muḥammad birle birgıl ittişāl.*

*Bayt*

*Sening dardıng mence ter mendin artuq.  
 Senge qul bolduḡhum sultāndin artuq.  
 Sening dhikringni aysam chol ichinde,  
 Bolur ol chol mence bostāndin artuq.*  
 Fol. 173<sup>r</sup>.

*Ahsanu'l taqwīmī kören chūn Anāl-Haqq dimesün.  
 Pas nedin bartar oluptur Manşūr-i diwānāsī?  
 Sham'-i wahdat dur jamāling suhbat-i rūshan qılır.  
 Qarshuda khosh khosh yanadur Saiyidiung parwānāsī.*

*Qāsım sözi*

*Ay şanam! Tengring üçhün dardımgha qılghıl chāranī,  
 Ghamza oqınī atıp qıldıng yürekke yāranī.  
 Ishıcalar qılmaq bile baḡrımın pāra eyleding.  
 Ne ziyān qılghay senge sorsang bu baḡrī pāranī?  
 Terk-i dünje tawba (?) qıldım, 'āshīq oldum ḡusnunga,  
 Qıldım erse men sening ay yüzünge nazzarānī.  
 Ol kāḡhadh (?) teg iki yüzlüg mudda'inī, ay şanam,  
 Bashīnī kesgil qalam teg. Sortayın (?) men qhāranī.  
 Qāsım-ı bichāra ger ölse ishigingde, bigim,  
 Öz qulung birle kötergıl sen oshol bichāranī.*  
 Fol. 173<sup>v</sup>.

*Qoshuqlar*

*Te kōngül ol bī-wafā iliginde dur.  
 Jān qushī dayım jafā iliginde dur.  
 Nola? Iligin goysa gasda kōnglüme,  
 Anıng üçhün kim dawā iliginde dur.*

*Ker chaman ichre khīrāmān boyle;  
 Gulshanī qılghıl mu'aṭtar boyle;*

'*Andalīb-u hūrnī qūlghīl khajīl ;*  
*Birni oyan-u birni kötū koyile.*

*İki chashmīm bir biri rukhsārī dur.*  
*Her (?) chamanda fitnay-ī rukhsārī dur.*  
*Te sanaqdīn (?) almāsīnī körgeli*  
*Akhratīngdīn chūn bihī rukhsārī dur.*

*Te köngülge saldı dilbar mihriñi ;*  
*Mihriñme qūldī ziyāda mihriñi.*  
*Ol qamar teg yüzü, zuhra teg jafā,*  
*Munfa'ıl qūldī felekning mihriñi.*

(b) The Arabic and Persian texts in the margins  
of folios 180<sup>r</sup> and 179<sup>r</sup>

*Bayt*

*Her ki bar haqq buwad bā arā-u-jahān*  
*Hāşıl ārad bā jumlag-i a'rād.*  
*Pas dar wartha-yi halak aftād<sup>1</sup>*  
*Ān ki az rāh-i haqq kunad i'rād.*

*Tisa'a thamānūn*

**Idha amlaqtum (?) fa-tājirū wallāhi bi's-ṣadaqāti**

*Ṣadaqa sabab-i ziyādat-i māl ast wa sa'ādat-i hāl ast wa her*  
*ki ṣadaqa dihad tawcāngar ast wa hāl-i farāhat.*

*Bayt*

*Hīch chizī ma-dān tu chūn ṣadaqa*  
*Hast az ū māl chahra pīshī*  
*Ū rasānad kasān ba-istighnā*  
*Ū rahānad sarranj-i (?) darwīshī.*

*Tis'in*

**Man lāna 'ūduhu kathurat akhṣānuhu**

*Ar narm bāshad wa siyāsāt ba-waqt na kunad wa marāsīm-i*  
*adab-rā muhmal gudharad sar dastān-i ū kardan kashī (?)*  
*kunand wa ūrā ḥurmat na dārand wa bā murūd-i ū na rawand.*

<sup>1</sup> Sic here and in the Persian prose translation of Proverb 93 for *aftād*.



*Bayt*

*Her ki bā kihtarān kunad narm*  
*Mānad andar balīyat-i īshān*  
*Na na andash (?) ba dastī kardan<sup>1</sup>*  
*Na barandash ba-wājib-i firmān.*

*Ihdā tis'in***Qalbu'l aḥmaqi fī fammihi**

*Her chi dīl-i aḥmaq bāshad ba-zabān bi-gūyad wa khalq-rā*  
*az sirr-i khīsh ibhā kardā nad.*

*Bayt*

*Her ki ū hast bā hamāqut juft*  
*Jūygāh-i dīlash dahān-i vay ast*  
*Her chi dārad zi nīk-u bad dar dīl*  
*Ān hama bar sar-i zabān-i vay ast.*

*Ithnā-tis'in***Lisānu'l 'āqili fī qalbihi**

*Her ki khīrad bāshad sirr-i khīsh dar dīl nigāh dārad wa bā*  
*hīch kas nagūyad.*

*Bayt*

*Her ki ū hast bā-kamāl u khīrad*  
*Hast panhān zabān-i ū dar dīl*  
*Na shawad hīch sirr-i ū paydā*  
*Na buwad hīch guft-i ū bāṭil.*

*Thalātha-tis'in***Man jarra fī 'ināni amalihi 'aṭhara bi-ajalihi**

*Her ki 'inān ba-dast-i amal dihad wa bar mojib-i hawā-yi*  
*nafs rawad zūd bāshad ki dar mughār-i halāk aftād.*

*Bayt*

*Dar hama kārhā ba-gufti hawā*  
*Her ki bi-dihad 'inān ba-dast-i amal*  
*Bīm bāshad ki ān amal nagāh*  
*Andar andāzadash bi-jā-yi ajal.*

*Arba'a-tis'in***Idhā wasalat 'alaykum atrāfi'n-ni'ami falā tanfaru**

<sup>1</sup> The reading is uncertain owing to worm-holes.

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### NOTES ON THE TEXT OF ASVAGHOSA'S SAUNDARA-NANDA

The text of Aśvaghoṣa's Saundara-nanda <sup>1</sup> has been rather less worked over than that of the Buddha-carita; and is, indeed, to begin with, in a much better condition. The following note is a contribution towards clearing up passages in which there is room for conjecture. I must apologize if inaccessibility of books of reference has led to my repeating suggestions made by other scholars.

I, 54, d.—*ālānam bāhuśālinām*, editor (from variants in P.L.M. and P.M.). Read *āsthānam* "audience-hall". Cf. *ānartam* in c.

II, 28, d.—*rātrisatrān avivapat. rātrisatrūn* is an obvious conjecture; but perhaps A. used *rātritrāsān* in sense of *rātricarān*. Cf. Amara-k°. *cariṣṇu jaṅgamacaram trasam*, etc.

IV, 3, c.—*dīptyā ca mānena ca bhāminīti*. Clearly *bhāmena* in much the same sense as *dīptyā*. *Māna* is disposed of in a, b.

IV, 4, c. — *svakulodītena*. Inapplicable. Probably *sakalodītena*, with the usual play on *kalā*.

IV, 14, c.—*nīśvāsavātena ca darpaṇasya cikitsayitvā nijaghāna nandaḥ*. The corruption *cik°* destroys the central incident. Read *kiñcic chucitvam* "he spoilt the clearness of the mirror". Raghu-v°. VII, 68 (possibly a reminiscence) suggests *bāṣpeṇa* for *vātena*.

IV, 16, c.—*patrāṅgulim*. Read *patrāṅjalim*.

VI, 43, b.—*svasthaḥ phalasthaḥ. svastho'phalasthaḥ* seems inevitable.

VII, 20, c.—*śaktaḥ*. Read *saktaḥ*: "he is not attached (to the senses) as I am". The two words are almost interchangeable; cf. Buddha-car°. III, 50, VI, 18, etc.

VIII, 35, a.—*vacanena haranti varṇanā*. Read *valgunā*.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Haraprasad Sastri, Calcutta (*Bibliotheca Indica*), 1910.



*Haranti* "charm",  $a : b :: c : d$ . Cf. Bhartṛhari, Śṛṅg°. 60, which practically quotes *c, d*.

IX, 34, *c*.—*karavān*. Read *balavān*. Cf. S. XV, 60.

X, 3, *d*.—*malam jāle sādhu ivojjihīṣuḥ*. Read *magham*.

XI, 51, *b*.—*dhīmatām yan mumūrṣatām*. P.M. *hīmatāvat*. The latter suggests *iha tāvan mumūrṣatām* (in contrast to *patatām svargād* of *c, d*). For *devānta* read *devātta* in *d*.

XII, 3.—*parihāsasamo*. Read °*saho*.

XIII, 22, *c*.—*saṃvegah*. Read *saṃvedah*, anticipating *saṃvit*.

XIV, 48, *d*.—*kṛṣṭodakā gaur iva sasyamadhyāt*, i.e. the animal drawing up water strays into the crops? But I would suggest *kṛṣṭodgatā* "straying into the cultivated field". For *ud-* in this sense cf. *utpatha*.

XVI, 38, *d*.—*lokapravṛttā ca ratih kṣamā ca*. Read °*pravṛttāv aratih*.

XVII, 5, *a*.—*cikīṛṣuḥ*. Read *tīṛṣuḥ* (*cik*° occurs, in place, in *b*).

XVIII, 36, *a, b*. — *unmīlitasyāpi janasya madhye nīmīlitasyāpi tathaiva cakṣuḥ*. This is one of two instances in the text of A. of a harsh use of *madhye* in a predicative sense without a verb. The other is Buddha-car°. IV, 91, *māhātmyaṁ na ca tanmadhye*. Both disappear with the correction to *manye*, a word intrinsically appropriate and common in the Rāmāyaṇa, which has great influence over A.

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## AMITRAGHATA

The son and successor of Candragupta Maurya is known to Buddhist lore by the name of *Bindusāra*<sup>1</sup>; the Purāṇic

<sup>1</sup> The names beginning or ending with *bindu* seem to present an extraordinary difficulty, inasmuch as the ordinary sense of the word, viz. "a drop", does not seem to fit here. *Ajabindu*, king of the Sauvīra, in the *Kauṭīliya*, i, 6, looks suspiciously like *Ajabandhu* in the *Kāśikā* on P. iv, 1, 96 (cf. *VOJ.* xxviii, 234). But we find *Kuśabindu*, *Kusurubindu*, *Tṛṣabindu*,

forms *Nandasāra* and *Bhadrasāra* are probably quite valueless attempts to explain, in one way or other, a name which was unintelligible to the composers of the Purāṇas. But the Greeks knew nothing of either of these names. They called him by a name which has been retransliterated into Sanskrit as *Amitraghāta* "the slayer of foes", which, on the other hand, does not occur in Hindu lore. For it is only a guess that the word *amitrāghāta* in the Bhāṣya on Pāṇini iii, 2, 88, is quoted with reference to the ruler of Pāṭaliputra.<sup>1</sup> If, however, it is in reality not a name but a title, it certainly gains some support from the expression *amitrāṇām hantā* used among the titles bestowed upon the king at the Rājasūya; cf. *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 19, etc.

Since the time of Lassen<sup>2</sup> and Weber<sup>3</sup> it seems to have been taken for granted that the Sanskrit equivalent of the Greek name should be *Amitraghāta* and nothing else.<sup>4</sup> And this has been considered so obvious that no one has even taken the care to sift the Greek evidence, scanty as it is. When dealt with, however, it seems to point in another direction.

*Amitraghāta* is the retransliteration of the form *Ἀμιτροχάρης* found in a passage of the work of Athenæus,<sup>5</sup> a well-known author belonging to the early third century A.D. He tells the well-known story of how this Indian monarch wanted to purchase from the then king of Syria<sup>6</sup> sweet wine, figs, and

*Dvibindu*, *Śaśabindu*, and, on the other hand, *Bindunātha*, *Bindumatī*, *Bindurekhā*, *Bindusena*, etc. Sometimes *bindu* (like *indu*, with which it has, of course, no etymological connexion) may mean "the moon", though the dictionaries do not seem to give this sense; cf. *Bindudeva* as a name of Śiva.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *CHI.*, vol. i, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> *Indische Altertumskunde*,<sup>2</sup> ii, 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Indische Studien*, xiii, 331.

<sup>4</sup> Only after this had gone to print I became aware of the remarks by Fleet, *JRAS.* 1909, pp. 24, 426 sq., which are mainly quite correct. The contradictory opinion of Professor Keith, *ibid.*, 1909, p. 423 sq., is not well founded and contains some apparent mistakes.

<sup>5</sup> xiv, 67.

<sup>6</sup> Either Seleucus I (d. 280 B.C.) or his successor, Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.). Concerning this there is a slight discrepancy in the *CHI.*, vol. i, pp. 433 and 495.



a philosopher. The story may have seemed witty to the Greeks as branding the utter insipidity and lack of decorum of the barbarians; but, as already Lassen<sup>1</sup> remarked, it can scarcely be true. However, we are not concerned with that here. It is, I believe, generally assumed that Athenæus got his story from the recollections of Dēimachus, the envoy of the Syrian king to the court of Pāṭaliputra. Thus the form of the name originating from Dēimachus would be *Ἀμιτροχάτης* = *Amitraghāta*. This, however, is obviously very uncertain.

But a writer of greater authority than Athenæus and living some two and a half centuries before him has left us another form of the name of this Indian king. Strabo in one passage<sup>2</sup> tells us the following: *ἐπέμψθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμποδρα, ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοτον, ὁ δὲ Δηίμαχος πρὸς Ἀλλιτροχάδην τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν*. Here we have the oldest form of the name attested, viz. *Ἀλλιτροχάδης*.<sup>3</sup> But at any time the reading *ΑΛΛΙΤΡΟ*<sup>ο</sup> could of course arise out of *AMITPO*<sup>ο</sup>; and we have consequently to presuppose as the oldest form preserved by Greek literature *Ἀμιτροχάδης*.

But this *Ἀμιτροχάδης* can scarcely render a Sanskrit *Amitraghāta*. As has been suggested already long ago, it is far more easily explained out of a form *Amitrakhāda*. Sufficient stress, in my opinion, has not been laid on the fact that *amitrakhādā* is an epithet of Indra in RV. x, 152, 1:—

*Śāsā itthā mahāñ asy amitrakhādó ádbhutah |*  
*ná yásya hanyáte sákhā ná jñyate kádā caná ||*

For the great god not only hunts down and kills (*han*) foes and friends, he even chews them, crushes them completely (*khād*) just as Dante makes the Prince of Darkness crush between his teeth the disciple who betrayed Jesus and the

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit., ii, 223.

<sup>2</sup> ii, 1, 9 (C. 70); ed. Kramer, vol. i, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> By a strange coincidence Lassen, loc. cit. ii, p. 222, n. 7, and the *CHI.*, vol. i, p. 495, n. 1, have both the slightly misspelt form *Ἀλλιτροχάδως*.

murderers of Cæsar. In the same sense he is the *vytrakhādā* "the crusher of fiends (*vytrāṇi*)" in *RV.*, iii, 45, 2 and 51, 9; and the same epithet, in *RV.*, x, 65, 10, is bestowed upon Bṛhaspati, the *purohita*, who accompanies Indra, his king and protector, in the battles and hurls down the fiends by his magic and powerful incantations. And, to keep only to the *R̥gveda*, in vi, 65, 1, Sarasvatī, a mighty goddess, is said to have totally crushed the Paṇi (*ācakhāda . . . paṇim*), the niggardly barbarian who does not bring sacrifice to the gods of the Aryans.

Indra, the king of the gods, is the prototype of the earthly monarch. Just as Indra chews, crushes, annihilates his foes, so does his earthly counterpart, the king, an idea which is, of course, not foreign to the post-Vedic literature either. In face of this, and as the oldest Greek form of the name undoubtedly points to *Amitrakhāda*, I venture to think that this—and not *Amitraghāta*—should be the title of Candragupta's son. Thus he was known as Bindusāra, "the annihilator of his foes." But of his warlike exploits we unfortunately know nothing.<sup>1</sup>

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#### DATE OF THE SUBHASITAVALI

Dr. S. K. De's note on the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (*ante*, pp. 471-7) calls forth a few queries before we can accept his contention. The date A.D. 1160 (= 4260 Kaliyuga era) cited in the *Ṭikāsarvasva* of Sarvānanda (p. 91) is not his own, but that of a contemporary work named *Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi* by Śrinivāsa, whom he quotes as his authority: *kalisandhyāyāḥ khasamaya-kara-kṛta-varṣāṇi*. Sarvānanda refers to this date as *idānīm . . . bhūtāni* (recently past); his work must

<sup>1</sup> The article, by Professor Gawroński, in the *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, ii (1925), p. 21 seq., on Bindusāra and his suggested conquests is an able piece of work, but wholly hypothetical. Jain evidence—if so it can be styled—rather points to Candragupta having conquered the South. However, nothing but finds of inscriptions older than those of Aśoka will throw light on this dark period of Indian history.



therefore have been written soon after, say, within a decade or two after A.D. 1160. This only improves Dr. De's position, for, relying on a single reference in Sarvānanda, the learned Doctor was inclined in rather a sweeping manner to consider all later verses in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* as interpolations, and was forced to place the date of the work itself within a period of not more than a decade (A.D. 1150–60) at the greatest possible stretch, though Sarvānanda was citing the Kasmirian from far-off Bengal. The learned Professor ignores the most pertinent fact bearing on the question: besides the compiler of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, there was another Vallabhadeva, of whom no less than seventeen verses are given in this *Subhāṣitāvalī*, and eight of these verses are in *āryā* metre, like the verse cited in the *Ṭikāsarvasva*. This earlier Vallabhadeva is also cited in the *Saduktikarṇāmrta* (the *āryā* verse No. 481 of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, for instance, is given in the Skm. under Vallabhadeva). The *Sārṅgadhara-paddhati* has seven verses, all in *āryā* metre, ascribed to Vallabhadeva, none of which are to be found in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Peterson's Intr., p. 113). This latter fact is important, as showing that the printed *Subhāṣitāvalī* does not exhaust the verses of Vallabhadeva. Moreover, in the newly published commentary of the *Nītivākyaṃṛta* (Bombay, 1923) a good many verses, mostly very well known, are ascribed to Vallabhadeva. Thus the famous verses beginning *udyamena hi siddhyanti* (p. 19 of the *Nīti*.), *udyoginam purusasimham* (ib., p. 312), and *siṃho vyākaraṇasya* (ib., p. 397) are ascribed to him. Only a few of them are given either anonymously (vide Nos. 458, 2803, and 2894) or under a different name (vide No. 507, ascribed here to Vikramāditya) in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*. One of his verses, *guṇānām eva daurjanyāt*, etc. (p. 114 of *Nīti*.), reappears in the *Kāvyaṇṣa* (Ullāsa X); this would place Vallabhadeva earlier still (say about A.D. 1000). He may, therefore, be identical with the famous commentator, as Peterson surmised (*Subh.* Intr., p. 114). Sarvānanda's reference to him as an authority also presupposes a fair distance

of time between them. One of the *āryā* verses of this Vallabhadeva (No. 150 of the *Subh.*) modestly observes how bad verses turn into *subhāṣitas* when read at leisure: *avasara-paṭhitam*, etc. It is, therefore, quite probable that this earlier Vallabhadeva *composed* (cf. the word *racita* used in the *Tikāsarv.*) a book of verses named *Subhāṣitāvalī*, probably in the *āryā* metre, quite distinct from the anthology before us. It is to this earlier work that Sarvānanda evidently refers, and the later anthologies borrow its verses quite independently, with all the possible errors common to such works. It is not necessary, therefore, to mark as interpolations the verses of Śrī-Baka or to question the identity of Jonarāja. For there are several other verses of the *Subh.* which have to be similarly dealt with before we can accept Dr. De's date. Verses Nos. 1980 and 1981, given anonymously, are from the *Prasannarāghava* of Jayadeva, a distinctly late writer. No. 27 is from the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala, and No. 2540 is from Śrīvara's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Besides, no work quoting Śrīharṣa, the author of the *Naiṣadhīya*, can *prima facie* be placed before A.D. 1200. The printed *Subh.* not only cites Śrīharṣa extensively, but gives an interesting anonymous verse on the literary humbugs who dabble in his *Khaṇḍana*<sup>1</sup>: *sāvadyam khaṇḍakhādyaṃ paṭha*, etc. (line 3 of verse No. 2384 of the *Subh.*). The abstruse philosophical work of Śrīharṣa must, therefore, have attained a sufficient celebrity to be the theme of such popular verses of a poet, who again was evidently too far removed from the time of the compiler to be traced by him.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA.

#### NOTE ON A NEW TAXILA INSCRIPTION

During his excavations at Taxila in January and March, 1927, Sir John Marshall has again unearthed some interesting remains, comprising several Kharoshthī inscriptions. One

<sup>1</sup> *Khaṇḍakhādya* is also the name of a famous astronomical work of Brahmagupta.



of these records is of some importance, and we again have to record an increase in our indebtedness to Sir John for his masterly excavations.

The inscription has been found on a silver vase of duck shape. Some aksharas may have disappeared in the beginning and there is an effaced portion in the middle; in other respects the state of preservation seems to be good. Sir John has been good enough to send me a cast and some photographs, from which I derive my reading.

What remains can be read with comparative certainty as *ka 1 100 20 20 20 10 1 maharaja . . . [sa] putrasa Jihonika Cukhsasa kshatrapasa*.

I am not in a position to decide whether something is missing before the initial *ka*. If there should prove to be enough room left for four aksharas we might restore [*samvatsara*]*k[e]*; if not, *ka* is perhaps an abbreviation for *kale*, though that would be unexampled in Kharoshthi inscriptions.

The defaced portion seems to have contained six aksharas. The first one seems to have been *bhra* and the fourth one *ṇi*. With some confidence I therefore restore this portion as *bhrata-Maṇigulasa*.

This record teaches us that Jihonika, i.e. the ruler whom we knew from coins as Jihonika, Zeionises, the son of Maṇigula, was kshatrapa in Cukhsa, and not, as has sometimes been stated, in Pushkalāvati. Cukhsa, which also occurs on the Taxila copper plate of the year 78, has been identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the modern Chachh, and the government charge of Cukhsa must have comprised Taxila.

We further learn that Jihonika's father, Maṇigula, was the brother of some *mahārāja*. Now this new record is so little removed from the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 in time that it seems allowed to think of the same ruler in both records, the more so because the title *mahārāja* is only applied to quite few rulers in Kharoshthi records of the same period. In the Khalatse inscription the *mahārāja's* name is given as

*Uvimakav[thisa]*, which can hardly mean anything else than the common *Wima Kathphisa* (or, *Kaphthisa*), the well-known Kushāṇa ruler. The designation *maharaja-bhrata* is well-known from coins of the predecessors of the Kushāṇas, and as the succession not infrequently went from a ruler to his brother, and further to the brother's son, the new inscription seems to imply that in the year 191 of the old Saka era, i.e. according to my reckoning<sup>1</sup> in A.D. 103-4, Jihonika, the kshatrapa\* of the Taxila country, had some claim to the position as *mahārāja*, which was held four years previously by Wima Kadphises. Whether Maṇigula was the brother of Wima Kadphises or of an unknown successor of his we cannot say. It seems, however, necessary to infer that Wima Kadphises was no more alive and that Jihonika had set up as a practically independent ruler in Taxila.

This would mean a weakening of the strength and unity of the Kushāṇa empire, and in this connexion it is worth while bearing in mind that Wima Kadphises does not seem to have paid so much attention to his Indian dominions as his predecessor. Chinese accounts state that he ruled through a viceroy, and the Indianization of the names and titles of the oldest of the Western Kshatrapas, his governors, and the use of the Vikrama era in Mathurā even before his accession point to an increasing influence of national Indian elements.

At all events we have no information to the effect that there was a Kushāṇa emperor between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, and if Sir John Marshall is right in assuming an interval between these two kings, the Jihonika inscription would belong to this interval, when there was no supreme ruler and individual governors claimed independent power.

The final outcome of this state of things was a new great expansion of Scythian power. The Sakas of India and of Turkestan joined hands, and a chief of the latter country, the famous Kanishka, became the leader of a great expedition,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, v, pp. 31 f.



through which the empire was extended eastwards to Eastern India.<sup>1</sup>

It is perhaps possible to interpret this development to mean that the Saka chiefs could not easily agree to submit to a suzerain among those who had already entered on the Indian stage, and that an energetic person like Kanishka, who had grown up outside of India, experienced little difficulty in pushing aside those who might have claimed the leading position in the empire. And he seems to have acted quickly and energetically. Already, in the first year of his era,<sup>2</sup> we find him on the north-western frontier of India, and two years later in Sārnāth. And soon he was the recognized ruler of the whole Kushāna empire, both in India and in Turkestan.

It is curious to see how the history of the Sakas in India repeats itself.

The inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion Capital introduces us to several Saka chiefs, gathered at Mathurā, and one of them, the local kshatrapa Śoḍāsa, dedicates the ground on which they had been encamped to a Buddhist monastery, the Guhāvihāra.

The former king of kings seems to have died during the expedition connected with these camps at Mathurā. For in l. 13 of the chief inscription I read *Muki-śri-ṛaya saśpa abhusaviṭa*, where *Muki* seems to be the same name as *Moga*, cf. *Śuḍasa* for *Śoḍāsa*, and the intervocalic *k* of the name *Mevaki* in the capital inscriptions. In *abhusaviṭa* I see the gerund of a denominative of Skr. *utsava* + *abhi*, and explain the passage as referring to funeral solemnities after the death of the king of kings, at which his horse, in Scythian fashion, was interred or cremated together with the king's corpse.

Now the Mathurā inscriptions twice mention a *yuvārāja* Kharaosta, who has been identified with a kshatrapa Kharahostes, the son of Arṭa or Orṭa, who is known from coins. The inscriptions have usually been interpreted to state that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acta Orientalia*, vi, pp. 93 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Kanishka casket is, so far as I can see, dated *sam* 1.

Kharaosta was the son of Ayasi Komusa, the chief queen of Śodāsa's father, the *mahākshatrapa* Rajula, and consequently a half-brother of Śodāsa. It has not, however, proved possible to interpret his title *yuvarāja* in a satisfactory way, for the person entitled to be styled *yuvarāja* in the province of the *mahākshatrapa* Rajula would naturally be his son Śodāsa. It is a priori likely that the *yuvarāja* was something more than the heir of a *mahākshatrapa*.

Now the reading *Ayasia Komusaa* in the first line of the Mathurā inscription, is, in my opinion, unwarranted. We must, I think, read *Ayasia Kamuia*. The same *Kamuia*, in the form *Kamuio*, is found under the words *Kharaosto yuvaraya* in inscription E, where I take it to be a designation of Kharaosta. If we bear in mind that *mb* becomes *m*, i.e. *mm*, in the dialect of the Kharoshthī Dhammapada, and that *u* is used for Skr. *o* in the name *Śudasa*, it becomes possible to explain *Kamuia* as corresponding to Skr. *Kāmbojika*, and, at all events, it seems clear that Rajula's chief queen was a *Kamuia*, just as was the case with Kharaosta. Such designations are naturally inherited from the father and not from the mother, and I draw the inference that Ayasia was the daughter of Kharaosta. The latter was evidently a person of some consequence. He had two brothers, the *kumāra* Khalamasa and the youngest brother Maja, and he is mentioned twice in the inscriptions, and in such a way that his name catches the eye. He can scarcely have been a young boy. Ayasia Kamuia, on the other hand, cannot have been an old lady. Her mother and her paternal grandmother both participate in the donations recorded in the inscriptions. And the word *dhitra* standing between *Ayasia Kamuia* and *Kharaostasa yucaraṇa* can hardly be an instrumental, because the akshara *tra* has the shape which regularly denotes an old uncompound intervocalic *t* in these records.

My interpretation is, therefore, to the following effect: Moga, the king of kings, was dead, but there was a *yuvarāja*, Kharaosta, who had certain claims to the position. He was



not the son of Moga, for his coin legends show that his father's name was Arṭa or Orṭa. If we bear in mind the fact that the succession sometimes passed to a brother and, further, to a brother's son, it becomes likely that Arṭa was a brother of Moga, and if Kharaosta was a Kāmbojika, we should perhaps draw the inference that Moga himself was descended from the old Sakas of Ki-pin and not directly from those Saka chiefs who originally came to Sindh from Seistān. After the overthrow of the Sakas in Mālava by Vikramāditya, the centre of the Indian Saka empire was transferred to the Panjab, and northern chiefs took the lead.

Kharaosta was not successful in claiming the imperial position. The Saka kshatrapas could not agree to submit to him as their suzerain, though there had arisen a common danger in the north-west through the advance of the Parthian Azes towards the Indus. The kshatrapa of Mathurā married Kharaosta's daughter, more in order to strengthen his own position than to embrace the case of his father-in-law. The Saka chiefs could not, however, agree about the selection of a king of kings. The most powerful ones, the kshatrapas of Taxila and Mathurā, set up as mahākahatrapas, a title which is found for the first time on the Lion Capital, and which, in my opinion, was not introduced before Moga's death.

That meant a distinct weakening of the unity within the Saka realm, the strength of the empire was declining, and gradually the Sakas were ousted by the Parthians.

It did not, however, last long before the Saka empire was re-established by a northern chief, Kujūla Kadphises, whose name seems to be found for the first time, as the *erjhuna* Kapa, in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription of the year 103. The old dominions were again brought under Saka rule by him and his son Wima Kadphises.

When the latter died, between the years 187 and 191, a new disintegration of Saka power seems to have set in. And, again, new strength came from outside, when Kanishka entered on the Indian stage.

I know that much of this is hypothetical, and I should cordially welcome any criticism, which might be utilized in the forthcoming edition of Kharoshthī inscriptions in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

STEN KONOW.

ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES

- (1) *GIR-PAD-DU* = *ḫursinnu* "leg bone, leg", *ešimtu* "bone"

The Semitic equivalent of the well-known Sumerian word *gīr-pad-du* (var. *da*) has not been determined, although it is certain that the word means "bone", of both humans and animals. The suggestion has been made by Fossey and Ungnad<sup>1</sup> that the Semitic is *ešmāti*, general term for human bones, plural of *ešmitu*,<sup>2</sup> *eššimtu*,<sup>2</sup> *ešmitum*,<sup>2</sup> *ešentu*,<sup>3</sup> *ešittu*.<sup>4</sup> The singular is employed as collective in all the known passages. The Hebrew cognate צִיָּב is used for both human and animal bones, and so is the Ethiopic 'adem. It must be supposed, therefore, that *ešimtu* should be used in Accadian for human and animal bones also. Since the Sumerian word *gīr* (written 𒄀𒀭𒄀) is explained in CT. 12, 13, A. 10, by *ešimtu*, the natural inference is that *gīr*(𒄀𒀭)-*pad*(𒀭𒄀)-*du* must be rendered by *ešimtu*, at least in those passages where the ideogram obviously means "human bones".

But it is clear from Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts*, K. 2500, 3, compared with K. 5415, A. 9, that *gīrpaddu*, when employed of quadrupeds, means *ḫursinnu*, Hebrew סֵרַפָּ "fore-leg, ankle-bone". In one passage we have *lipi gīr-pad-du šabūti*, and in the other, *lipi ḫur-sin-ni šabūti*,

<sup>1</sup> See Holma, *Körperteile*, 4.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Epic of Creation*, 164, and OECT. vi, 95, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 𒄀 (*ga-up*) = *ešentu*, RA. 11, 124, obv. 6; *gīr* = *ešentum*, *gag* = *ešentum*, [ . . . ] a = *ešentum*, Meissner, MAG. i, 2, 53, 26-8.

<sup>4</sup> Clay, YOS. i, 43, 5, and Meissner, *ibid.*, 30.



marrow of the fore-leg of a male goat. Again in K. 1845, 12, *lipi gir-pad-du immeri*, marrow of the fore-leg of a sheep. Again in K. 8349, 1 and 4, *gir-pad-du* 𐎶𐎶-*da*, i.e. *gūd-da* "short bone", is opposed to *gir-pad-du-gid-da* "long bone", where the *kursinnu* of the sheep or goat is probably meant. The sign 𐎶𐎶-*da* never means "long" as Thompson in his valuable study of these texts supposes.<sup>1</sup> That was a suggestion made by Jensen, ZK. ii, 421, and incorporated into Brünnow's sign list, No. 10170, without evidence. Kugler, *Sternkunde*, i, 49, proved, conclusively, that *LAGAB-da* means *kurû* "cut off, short", and omen texts repeatedly oppose *gūd-da* "short, brief" to *gid-da* "long", *arāku*,<sup>2</sup> concerning which no further argument is necessary. That *LAGAB-da* means "short" is proved again by *\*pisan nu-gid-da = garru* (= *karru*), i.e. "Basket not long", with *\*pisan-gūd-da = garru*, Rm. 2, 27, ll. 16-17, in Meissner's *Supplement*, restored by a Kish syllabary. In other words *nu-gid-da = LAGAB-da*.

The reading *gūd-da* is established by 𐎶𐎶 (*lu-gu-ud*) = *kurû*, *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXII, AO. 4489, obv. 20 = CT. 19, 32, Rm. 604, 19, and by *Voc. Scheil*, 64, *lu-gu-ud = kurû*; also CT. 12, 25, A. 47-50, *LAGAB (lu-gu-ud) = kurû, matû* (= *matû* of var. *Scheil*), *ispu* "hunch back, missbirth". Either *lugud* or *gud* is possible; cf. *uš-gū-da = šiddu kurû* "short side", opposed to *uš-gid-da = šiddu arku* "long side", *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, 14, 6, 22. Note especially the commentary on the *Epic of Creation*, vii, 113, *lik-ri = King*, *Creat.* ii, pl. liii, 43, and *zi-mu ma-da-gūd-da = ik-te-ru napīsti* "they have cut off my soul", *AJSL.* 28, 229, § 58. See also OECT. i, 19, 13; RA. 17, 68, 31. This old error, thus introduced into Assyriology, arose from the supposition that 𐎶𐎶-*da* and 𐎶𐎶-*da* are variants in omen texts,

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, xix, 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Babyloniaca*, iii, 298, 2 (his days will be shortened), *gūd*, but l. 5, *gid*, (they will be long); Virolleaud, *Astrologie*, Sin iv, 19-20, the night is *arik (ik)*, but in the opposite omen *gūd-da (kurû)*.

whereas they actually denote opposite and contrasted ideas.<sup>1</sup>

It is, therefore, certain that *gîr-pad-du* means *ḫursinnu*, when employed for the bones of quadrupeds, and has a special anatomical signification, i.e. the *fibula* or lower leg. Consequently *gîr* in this compound must mean *šēpu* "foot"; *gîr* is actually rendered by *ešentum* "human bone", as we have noted above. But what did the Sumerians—if this word *gîrpaddu* is of Sumerian origin and not a late Accadian invention—mean by describing the fore-leg (*ḫursinnu*) by "foot-pad-du"? (𒄀 (*pad*) usually means "to munch", *ḫarāšu*, MAG. i, 2, 50, 232, which by partial assimilation becomes *ḫarāzu* "knew at bones". So in iv, Raw. 56, B. 40 + 44, *gîrpaddu-ša la ḫarāši* "Their (*amēlūti*) bone which is not to be knawed" = Ebeling, KAR. 239, p. 176, 15 (here of men, hence *ešimtu*). The original meaning, said of animals, would then be "the edible part of the foot", lower leg, and cf. *ḫursinnu* as part of the sacrificial animal assigned to priests, v, R., 61, v, 14, etc. In fact, *ḫursinnu*<sup>2</sup> is most probably for *ḫursinnu*, from the root *ḫarāšu* > *ḫarāzu*, Hebrew כָּרַץ, and cf. late Hebrew כָּרְצִילָא "ankle", and Syr. *ḫūrṣēlā*, with *k̄rā'ā* (כָּרְעָא), where the diminutive ending *al*, *el* is omitted,<sup>3</sup> and the noun is formed from the root *ḫ-r-ṣ* > *k-r-'*. In Arabic *kursu'*(un), and the quadraliteral *karsa'* ("to cripple"), and Syriac *karsū'ā* "joint", are difficult to explain. In any case *ḫursinnu* contains the common Semitic diminutive ending *ān*. So in Assyrian we have *ḫāḫānu* beside *ḫāḫulu*, *ḫāḫullu*, diminutives of *ḫāḫū* "crow".



*gîr-pad-du*, therefore, means "foot + knew", or "edible foot-(bone)" and is clearly equivalent to *ḫursinnu*, when the

<sup>1</sup> The root *gud*, "to cut off, shorten," was entered in my *Vocabulary, Sumerian Grammar*, but not by Delitzsch in his *Glossar*.



<sup>2</sup> Spelled *k/ḫur-nin-nu*, *k/ḫur-ni-nu*.

<sup>3</sup> The diminutive ending *al* in Semitic languages is regarded as Indo-Germanic by Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, i, 402. But this cannot be assumed for Assyrian words, like *ḫāḫullu*, Arabic *ḫauḫul* "partridge", diminutive of *ḫāḫū*, or *nappillum* "a garment", diminutive of *nappū*.



word is connected with quadrupeds. On the other hand, a word *gir*, written both  (*gir*, usual word for "foot") and , is rendered by *ešimtu*, *ešentu*, general word for "bone" in the vocabularies. It is, therefore, probable that, in *girpaddu*, two roots must be assumed: (1) *gir-pad* = "foot-knaw" = *kursinnu*, and (2) *gir-pad* = "bone-knaw" = *ešentu*, *ešmāti*. There is no apparent reason for adding *pad* to *gir* to obtain a general word for "bone" in (2) and the only explanation which occurs to me is to invoke the principle of analogy here.

(2) *parú*, *varú* "to empty", vomere

Friedrich Kúchler in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin*, p. 111, undoubtedly established the meaning of *parú* "vomit". He suggested the Arabic  "to empty", which in the *istafa'al* form actually means vomit. At least both *parú*, and the suggested Arabic cognate, form the preterite and present respectively with vowel *u*, *ip-ru*, Kúchler, *ibid.*, 30, 40; *iafruḡ*. This meaning of *parú* is also proved by CT. 18, 35, B. 39, [ka]-è-dé = *parú* *ša pi* "to empty by the mouth", and by its synonym *zanāhu* "to have nausea", Kúchler, 30, 44, Arabic *zaniha* "be foul", Prs. *iaznah*; Heb. , Hiph. "stink"; *zinhu*, Syn. *zú* (= *stercus*), *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, i, 45, obv. 9 (Sum. *še* = *KU*). See Weidner, *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*, vii, 81. The root occurs as *šanāhu* in Prm. *ši-na-ah*, CT. 30, 43, 17. Note that Sumerian *šed* > *še-e*<sup>1</sup> = *zú*, and *šē-bar-ra* = *zanāhu*, Meissner, SAI. 8040. For another ideogram = *šanāhu*, v. Langdon, *Drehem*, p. 9, against Meissner's suggestion for K. 4177, rev. i, 19.

Therefore the meaning of *parú* is established. The *šaf'el* occurs in *ina ni-ši kappi* (ID) *iššuri*<sup>2</sup> *tu-šap-ra-šu* "thou shalt cause him to vomit by lifting (*sic*!) the wing (feather)

<sup>1</sup> Also *bē*, *bu* = *zú*, Clay, YOS. i, 53, 129, where var. CT. 35, 3, 29, has *KU(bi-e)* = *tezū*; *KU(bu)* = *zū*, RA. xi, 121, iv, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Or read simply *á-mušen* = *kappu*. Falsely transcribed by Kúchler, 24, 35.

of a bird", Kùchler, Taf. viii, 35; *ina kappi*<sup>1</sup> *tušapra-šu*, Taf. x, 36. To these examples Dr. Thompson then added a large number.<sup>2</sup>

But in Kùchler's texts (p. 42, 16; p. 50, 25) occurs *tu-ša'-ra-šu*, and in Thompson's *Assyrian Medical Texts*, *ina kappi tu-ša'-ra-šu*; both scholars assumed that this variant contains a verb *arû*, Kùchler, *ibid.*, 108, חרי, חרא, "خرى", *cacāre* (in spite of *h*), but Jensen, *ibid.*, 139, ערה, "to empty". Both suggestions are excluded by the present forms, *i-ár-ru(m)*, *ibid.*, 16, 28; 50, 23; I<sup>2</sup>, *it-tar-ru-ú*, *Babylonian Wisdom*, pl. ii, rev. 14; *i-ar-ram-ma*, AMT. 80, 1, 11; *i-ár-ru*, 36, 2, 10. ➤ (HAL) occurs as an ideogram for *arû* in Kùchler, *ibid.*, Taf. xv, 52, 54, 62, etc. But ➤ (*bu-ru*) = *a-ru-u* and *a-šu-u*, Zimolong, *Das sumerish-assyrische Vocabular*. Ass. 523, iv, 18-19, and cf. -𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (*bu-ur*) = *napāhu* "blaze, shine", *hamātu* "to be hot", CT. 12, 13, B. 36 + 34, and *izi-gar su-lim búr-búr-a-zu* = *šalummat ṭipari-ki šūpūtum* "the resplendent gleam of thy torch", RA. xi, 149, 35. Can there be any reason for assuming a connexion between *bu-ru* = *arû* "vomit", *ašû* "to be ill, in pain",<sup>3</sup> and *bur* "to shine, flame, be hot"?

Surely *parû* and *arû* are forms of the same verb, and hence the root of *arû* must be *varû*, and we have here *v > b > p*, as in the verb *vaḫû > paḫû*, *pāku* "wait for, observe". فوق, وقى; cf. Ethiopic *yalata > Arabic badala* = *mutāre*; *palāsu*, in Babylonian (iv,<sup>1</sup> to look upon) probably Arabic *vašala* "respect, reverence supplicate"; cf. *uptallis* (with *ana*), *Code Hammurabi*, § 159, with var. *utallis*, BE. 31, 50.

<sup>1</sup> Ebeling, *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, xiii, 11, n. 3, correctly read these passages and Dr. R. C. Thompson, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, xix, 61, n. 5, proved it by the variant [*ina*] *ga-pi tušapra-šu*. See also Ebeling, *Keilschriften aus Assur*, 17, obv. 5, *á-bi* = *kappa-ša*, and Geller, in Meissner's *Allorientalische Texte und Untereuchen*, i, 283, Tafel iii, 5. *á-and* = *kappu*, KBö. i, 42, i, 34; *á-mušen-na* = *kappu*, iv, B. 21, B. 10; *á-(sir-ra)* = *kappu*, RA. 13, 186, 43.

<sup>2</sup> Note 5 in PRSM, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Thompson, PRSM. xvii, 21, 10; AMT. 6, 9, 10-11; iv, B. 29\*, C. i, 9, etc., here = Sum. *bar-gul*.



The Arabic cognate of *arû*, *parû*, *i-ar-ru*, *ipirru*, *ipru*, should be *وَرَى*, *وَرَأَى*, "to set on fire", from which *وَرَى* "boil, ulcer" is derived. Here the method of reasoning seems comparable to Latin *vomere* and *vomica* "ulcer", boil, and Arabic *كاد* "to emit fire", said [of the implement for making fire, and also = *vomit*]. In the minds of Semitic races there was some connexion between internal consuming sores, internal heat, and vomiting. Surely an original verb *𐎠𐎵* or *𐎠𐎶* must be assumed to explain the variant *parû*.<sup>1</sup>

S. LANGDON.

#### THE EXCAVATIONS AT UR

When last season the Joint Expedition of the University Museum of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and the British Museum ceased work at Ur, a not inconsiderable part of the early cemetery with its treasure of gold weapons and early antiquities still remained to be dug. An early start was made this year by Mr. Woolley, in the middle of October, partly because Ramadan will fall early in 1928. The opening month of the season has proved that the depredations of illicit diggers have been prevented by the armed guard left on the site, thus justifying the not inconsiderable expenditure on that score. A mass of gold beads and pendants, ear-rings of gold and silver, and other types of jewellery, show that this present

<sup>1</sup> Thompson, PRSM. xix, 61, n. 5, suggested *𐎠𐎶* "to throw". Professor Margoliouth, who made a thorough investigation of the Arabic verb *ورى* for me, also thinks that, if a Babylonian verb *ward* (= *vomere*) exists, it may be *𐎠𐎶* "to throw". Against this derivation are: (1) the definite statement in the syllabary, *HAL* (*buru*) = *arû*, and *buru* in Sumerian most probably means "glow, be hot", and no Sumerian word *bur*, *buru* for "throw" exists; (2) no Semitic language has a verb for "throw", which was consequently employed for *vomere*. Professor Margoliouth, however, claims that Arabic *ṣarija* "to emit fire" is identical with *𐎠𐎶* "to throw". It is certain that in the passage *šammaḥu ša ina unṣi it-tar-ru-ú* "the great intestine which by hunger is consumed", the verb is actually employed in a sense identical with the Arabic *ṣarija* "to be consumed by an internal ulcer". My rendering in *Babylonian Wisdom*, 58a, should be corrected.

season's work will be as richly rewarded as was last year's, and a sensational discovery may be made at any time. Shell plaques, with engraved geometrical patterns, perhaps from a gaming board of the kind found last year, prove that the finds belong to the period of the First Dynasty of Ur, about 3000 B.C., or even earlier. A large gold tassel bead is of interest because the applied filigree work on it is yet but little known from other sources. An unusually fine set of cylinder seals, apparently of the Agade period, about 2500 B.C. has been recovered from the rather later graves.

The requisite for completing this cemetery excavation satisfactorily during the present season as it should be completed, is funds, and these must be provided by voluntary subscriptions. Those interested should send contributions, which are welcomed however small they may be, to Sir Frederic Kenyon, Director, British Museum.

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#### A GOLD COIN (DINAR) OF MUSTANJID

With reference to the communication of Professor Margoliouth in this *Journal* (October, 1927, p. 845) it may be of interest to record that a *dīnār* of Mustanjid has been found in Ceylon. The description given in *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 261, is as follows:—

Gold, similar to *British Museum Catalogue*, I, No. 479, of al-Mustadī, but with change of name and date, A.H. 558 (A.D. 1162/3). Legend on obverse in six lines; reverse, area in bead circle.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

BADULLA, CEYLON.

18th November, 1927.

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## FONDATION DE GOEJE

## COMMUNICATION

1. Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis le mois de novembre 1926, et est ainsi composé : C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, Tj. De Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Comme huitième publication de la fondation paraîtra prochainement l'édition du texte de deux traités arabes sur les chevaux (d'Ibn al-A'râbi et d'Ibn al-Kalbî) avec appareil critique et une introduction par M. G. Levi Della Vida de Rome.

3. Des sept publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués : 1. *Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la Hamâsah de al-Buhturî* (1909), fl. 96 ; 2. *Kutâb al-Fâkhir de al-Mufaḍḍal*, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; 3. *Streitschrift des Ġazâlî gegen die Bâtiniyya-Sekte*, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4, 50 ; 4. *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove*, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4, 50 ; 5. *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, par C. Van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6 ; 6. *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10 ; 7. *Die Epitome der Metaphysick des Averroes, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen*, par S. Van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7, 50.

Novembre, 1927.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

LE KOU-WEN CHINOIS : RECEUIL DE TEXTES AVEC INTRODUCTION ET NOTES par GEORGES MARGOULIÈS, Docteur Ès-lettres, Éleve Breveté de l'École L.O.V., Éleve Titulaire de l'École des H.E.S.S.R. 6 × 10 inches, pp. 464. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1926.

Some years ago I showed a Chinese scholar the compact little volume published in 1900 by Professor H. A. Giles, Doctor of Literature and Gold Medallist of the R.A.S., which is, as stated in the preface, "the first attempt made in any language, including Chinese, to produce a history of Chinese literature." The scholar made no direct reply, but with a set face remarked : "Yesterday I ascended the hill behind this house ; I looked down into the valley ; I could see that in the valley lay a city ; even the roofs were indistinct ; I could not see the houses ; I could not tell what sort of people lived in those houses ; I only knew that there *was* a city." Nor could my heated argument that in clearly indicating the existence of such a city, the city of Chinese literature, Professor Giles had rendered inestimable service to Western scholarship, relax the set muscles of the scholar one wit.

Now comes Dr. Margouliès, who leads us through the courtyards and into the inner chambers in one of the most important edifices of which the city is composed ; the edifice of the Chinese *ku wên*. As he himself points out, the term *ku wên* is untranslatable ; it applies to a certain sort of text, highly popular in China, noted for its brevity, concision, and unity of idea, moral or philosophical. No *ku wên* text is written for the mere pleasure of producing a beautiful description or recounting an incident be it never so curious or interesting ; a *ku wên* must contain a central thought elucidated, and stressed by the composition.

As Dr. Margouliès' volume is unfortunately lacking in a general index an analysis of the contents is necessary for



instantaneous appreciation of its great value. It opens with an introduction, a hundred pages in length, wherein are discussed the characteristics, the different species, and the peculiar qualities of the *ku wên*; parenthetically I may remark on two or three important passages which show unusually sensitive reaction to the content of the Chinese ideograph on the part of the author. A repertory of *ku wên* writing from the Chou through the Ch'ing dynasties; and biographical descriptions of the principal masters of *ku wên* from the Chou through the Ming dynasties, are given, and the introduction closes with an interesting note on the method pursued by the author in translation. Three appendices follow: (1) *Le Kou-wen sous les Ts'ing*; (2) *L'origine de l'acceptation actuelle de l'expression Kou-wên*; (3) *Notes Bibliographiques sur les différens recueils de Kou-wên*; these give place to the exceedingly illuminating *Index des Textes*; and then follow the texts themselves. Very useful and carefully compiled Chinese-French Geographical and Historical Indices bring the volume to a close.

The *Index des Textes* is especially illuminating as, in addition to giving the provenance of each text, Dr. Margouliès has been careful to note where, and by whom, it has been translated before. The extracts given number 120. Of these sixty-nine appear in Père Zottoli's monumental work, *Cursus Litterature Sinicae*, a few have also been translated by German scholars, and forty-eight stand to the credit of Professor Giles, the only English scholar who has seriously turned his attention to *ku wên* texts. Twenty-three fascinating passages appear for the first time in Dr. Margouliès' lucid translation.

It is admittedly difficult to draw the line, when only a certain number of Chinese ideographs are printed in an Occidental work, and while gratitude is due to Dr. Margouliès for those he has supplied, it seems a pity that he did not stretch his net a little wider. For instance, the characters would be very useful if added to the list of the thirteen main categories of *ku wên* on p. 7, where not even a transliteration of the terms

*hsü* 序, *lun* 論, and so on appear; the French names given to the groups in this list are necessarily arbitrary. Again, on p. 271, the characters for the name Su Shih 蘇軾, and the "fancy name" Tzū-chan 子瞻 are given, but not those for Tung-p'o 東坡, the "fancy name" of the poet most generally used.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of Dr. Margouliès' work; not only has he performed a service to the cause of literature, both Oriental and Occidental, but in making available a number of the texts which have played a major part in the evolution of the Chinese social structure, he has given the West the master key to an important mansion in the "city". I have already mentioned the "city" which anyone who desires the least psychological comprehension of China must explore; the "city" where dwell the spirits of men responsible for the great past of the Central Flowery State.

FLORENCE AYS COUGH.

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INSCRIPTIONS DU CAMBODGE. Publiées sous les auspices de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Tomes i, ii, iii. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. viii, vii, v, and cxlv plates. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926, 1926, 1927.

Scholars are indebted to the Académie des Inscriptions, the École française de l'Extrême-Orient, M. George Groslier of the Art School of Phnom Penh, and various other persons and authorities, for this large collection of inscriptions, which is a fine supplement to those published many years ago by Barth and Bergaigne. Apart from a preface in the first volume and titles and a table of contents in each volume, the present instalment contains merely the reduced, but quite legible, facsimiles of ink-impressions of the inscriptions, some of which are in Sanskrit and others in Cambodian or in both languages. It is intended to add transcripts and translations



at a future date. In the meantime, those who are interested in either of these languages can study the texts for themselves, for the reproductions are for the most part admirably clear.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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ISLANDS OF QUEEN WILHELMINA. By VIOLET CLIFTON.  
8 $\frac{1}{4}$   $\times$  5 $\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xv + 288, 56 illustrations, 1 map. London :  
Constable and Co., Ltd., 1927. 18s. net.

This is a very readable account of two voyages (1912 and 1921) in the Malay Archipelago, the narrative being vivid with first impressions and local colour. Very wisely, the author has passed lightly over well-known places and enlarged on the more outlying ones off the beaten track. After crossing the relatively familiar Minangkabau and Batak regions of Sumatra, we are led in the first voyage to Nias and the Mentawai islands. The second one takes us from Bali to Minahasa and the far-off Sangi and Talaud group, then overland across Central Celebes (a real piece of hard pioneering, this), and finally on a tour through Sumbawa and Lombok, to all of which places European (and especially British) travellers seldom come.

It all makes very good reading, and it would be pedantic to lay much stress on occasional little errors in terminology, etc. Still, even the best books of travel are usually not quite free from these, and I would point out that the people of Minahasa and Sangi are no more Malays than the Icelanders are Englishmen, and likewise that the Malay term *babi rusa* grammatically means not "pig-deer" but "deer-pig", i.e. a pig that bears some outward resemblance to a deer, as in fact it does. There are a few other trifles of this sort; but they do not affect the real value of the book. The photographic illustrations are mostly very good, and there is a useful index.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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BRITISH MALAYA, 1824-1867. By L. A. MILLS. (= Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii, part ii.)  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , pp. viii + 340. Singapore, 1925.

This is a sober and well-balanced piece of historical work, based on documentary evidence, including contemporary unpublished official records, carefully studied and digested, of which a full bibliography is appended. It gives us more than is promised by the title, for several of its chapters deal with events that occurred long before the year 1824. Its greatest value lies in its contributions to local history; but the sections dealing with our political relations with the Dutch and the Siamese have a wider scope, and the chapters on piracy and the Chinese in Malaya will also interest readers who are not specially concerned with the Malay region. The list of errata by no means includes all the misprints, but this must be attributed to the fact that the author, being far away from the press, had no opportunity of giving the final touches to the correction of the proofs.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ÜBER DIE SEMITISCHEN UND NICHT INDISCHEN GRUNDLAGEN DER MALAIISCH-POLYNESISCHEN KULTUR. Von E. E. W. GS. SCHRÖDER. Buch. I. Der Ursprung des ältesten Elementes der austronesischen Alphabete.  $11\frac{1}{4} \times 9$ , pp. 88. Medan: Köhler & Co., 1927.

The first thing to be said about this work is that in comparing modern Batak (and other Indonesian) writing with Semitic scripts of the seventh century B.C. it pursues a radically wrong method. Sound palæography goes to work by tracing systematically the gradual changes that have taken place in the forms of an alphabet, not by leaping over twenty-five centuries to find superficial resemblances.

This fundamental error has led the author to mishandle his materials in a very arbitrary manner. It is well known that letters often change their positions, e.g. from upright



to reclining, but one is not entitled to shift them about as one pleases in order to suit one's line of argument. For example in Table 1 (p. 27) the "square Pali" letters are tilted on to their left sides and it is suggested (pp. 18, 26) that that was their original position. But it is demonstrable that these letters are derived from a Southern variety of Brahmi, traceable to the Asoka forms. Nor is the "square Pali" type itself a particularly ancient one, for it is merely a variant of the alphabet used in Burma for Burmese and Mon. The eleventh century epigraphic form of this is a rounded and more archaic one and can be traced with absolute certainty to its Deccan ancestry.

With equally little reason the Batak letters have been similarly tilted. In their normal positions the affiliation of many of them to the Deccan scripts is still quite obvious. Set on end, some of them bear, no doubt, some resemblance to early Semitic letters. Accordingly, the author equates the Batak *h* with its opposite number in "square Pali", Phœnician, etc. Unfortunately it happens to be known from the comparative study of Batak and the cognate languages that the sound represented in Batak by this letter was originally *k*; and the letter itself, in its normal position, is plainly a *k*, showing clear affinity to the one in "square Pali" and Burmese. The modern Batak *k* is the same symbol with diacritics added to make a new *k*, after the sound represented by the original one had become changed to *h*.

There is no space here to pursue this criticism in detail through the whole alphabet, and I must let the one case I have cited serve for the whole. Having regard to the undoubtedly prolonged and intensive Indian influence which prevailed in the Malay Archipelago from about the beginning of the Christian era onwards, and to the fact that all the epigraphic material extant there from the fourth to the fourteenth century is plainly of Indian derivation, the author's thesis seems to me to be quite unarguable.

I must add a word on another branch of his argument, not fully developed in this fasciculus but apparently to be dealt with at greater length hereafter, viz. the influence of the early Semitic languages on the Indonesian forms of speech. Such "etymologies" as that of the Indonesian words for "ship", *pěrahu*, *parao*, etc. (which may, however, be suspected to be of Dravidian origin), from a Chaldaean word *'ārēbāh*, and so on, do not inspire confidence. There are a good many more of the like sort.

So far as it has gone, this is not, in my opinion, a very happy example of the now fashionable efforts to trace things in general to the countries bordering the Eastern end of the Mediterranean and thereabouts without bothering much about the links in the chain. But though in absolute disagreement with the author's theories, methods, and conclusions, I cannot but admire the ingenuity of his arguments. The work is well printed and the illustration tables are extremely clear.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MELANESIAN ISLAND LANGUAGES. By SIDNEY HERBERT RAY. 9½ × 6¼, pp. xvi + 598, 6 maps. Cambridge: University Press (for the University of Melbourne in association with the Melbourne University Press), 1926.

It is not yet certain whether the Melanesian languages, as a whole, can fairly be brought within the scope of our Society's activities. It depends on whether they can be rightly classed as being genealogically akin to the Indonesian family, which is of Asiatic affinity. The point is left more or less uncertain for the time being by the author of this excellent work, who is the leading authority on the subject of Melanesian forms of speech. After many years of collecting and sifting a very large amount of material, he gives us in this book a long series of grammars of different languages



(and their differences are often very striking), together with a number of chapters serving to introduce the reader to the problems involved, and a brief summary of his more or less provisional conclusions. Many of the grammars are prefaced by tables giving the comparison of the Melanesian with the Indonesian forms on sound phonetic lines, and the problem of their relation to one another is fairly stated.

It is impossible to discuss these matters in detail here, but it seemed desirable to mention them. The book deals with Central Melanesia, from the Northern Solomon Islands to the Loyalty Islands (inclusive); and it is a great contribution to knowledge, to be studied in conjunction with Codrington's *The Melanesian Languages* (1885) and Kern's *De Fidjitaal* (1886, and revised and reprinted in his *Verspreide Geschriften*, vols. iv and v, 1916). The bibliographical information given in the work under review is very valuable and deserves special mention.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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NOTES SUR DES AMULETTES SIAMOISES. By M. PIERRE LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS. 7½ × 5½. Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibl. de Vulgarization, T. 45. Paris, 1926.

A very interesting pamphlet of 49 pp. fully illustrated by numerous photogravure plates of various types of Siamese charms and amulets.

The wearing of talismans is very widespread among the natives of Siam, especially those which are supposed to confer invulnerability on the wearer, although as the writer remarks, on page 31, the spread of the amenities of civilization is tending largely to cause a weakening of the beliefs in the powers of malignant *Phis* or spirits against whose evil influences, the wearing of some form of talisman was popularly supposed to be efficient. M. Lefèvre-Pontalis gives illustrations of amulets which are mostly in the form of little solid figures, he does not mention or illustrate the commonest

form of amulet, the *Takrut*, which consists of a thin plate of silver or gold upon which are scratched sundry magical formulæ, the plate being rolled up and strung on a small chain or cord, and worn as a rule on the wrist, chiefly by women. The author must be congratulated, however, on having produced a work of great interest and originality.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT.

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A HISTORY OF SIAM. By W. A. R. WOOD. 9 × 6.  
London, n.d.

This book deals with the History of Siam in great detail from the earliest times down to the accession of King Rama I, the founder of the present dynasty, who was proclaimed King in 1781. At the end of the volume there is a brief summary of the chief events occurring during the reigns of the kings of the present dynasty down to the accession of H.M. King Prajadhipok, the present monarch of Siam.

This is the first connected history of that most interesting country that has ever been compiled. Other historical accounts of Siam have been written in the past, but they refer to certain periods only.

The author must be warmly congratulated on having produced a work of great excellence and a highly readable account of the vicissitudes of the country, more especially as the records extant of early Siam are very fragmentary owing to the destruction of practically everything in the shape of native records by the Burmese in 1767. The book is illustrated by several plates of interest.

The author remarks in his preface that he may, at some future date, undertake the detailed history of Modern Siam. It is greatly to be hoped that he will do so, and thus form the complementary volume to his present excellent work.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT.

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AN ASIAN ARCADEY. By REGINALD LE MAY. 10 × 6½.  
Cambridge, 1926.

This most interesting book deals with the peoples and districts of North-Western Siam. The author divides the work into three parts, (a) Historical; giving a concise narration of the happenings in the Laos country from the earliest times down to the present day; (b) Topographical and Ethnological; in which he describes the journey from Bangkok to Chiengmai and gives an interesting summary of the life and customs, religion and other matters pertaining to the inhabitants; (c) Travel; being an account of the author's journey from Chiengmai to Chiengsen, a town in the extreme north of Siam, and returning to Chiengmai by way of Nan and Prae. This latter section is the finest part of the book, and each chapter is supplemented by folk-lore tales of the Laos people which are here related with singular charm of style.

The author must be congratulated on having produced a work of deep interest about a little-known land. He has resided for very many years in Siam, and is therefore in a position to give results of accurate knowledge and observation.

The book is splendidly illustrated by many excellent photogravures, and a very charming reproduction in colours of a view of Chiengmai, painted by the author's wife.

It is also very pleasing to note how the author lays stress on the correct pronunciation of the word "Laos", which so many of our American friends habitually mispronounce in a sadly barbaric manner. In fine, "An Asian Arcady" can be confidently recommended to all those who are interested in matters pertaining to Siam and her neighbours.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT.

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MY JOURNEY TO LHASA. By ALEXANDRA DAVID-NEEL.  
Demy 8vo. Illustrated with many photographs taken by the author. London: William Heinemann, 1927.

In her introduction Madame David-Neel informs her readers that what mainly decided her to go to Lhasa was not

research, but "the absurd prohibition, which closes Thibet" to foreigners, and which had on a previous occasion in 1921 led to her being turned back into Chinese territory after she had successfully crossed the border from Jakyendo, the Jyekundo of the Indian Survey map. This remarkable journey through south-east Tibet to Lhasa, dealt with in her book, was her fifth into Tibet. Before it she had for many years pursued her researches in the "literature, philosophy, and secret lore of Thibet". She had met the Dalai Lama in exile at Kalimpong and had been the welcome guest of the Penchen or Tashi Lama at Tashilhumpo. For more than two years she had studied in the celebrated Kum-Bum monastery in Amdo, where Huc and Gabet spent three months in 1845. She had even been initiated by hermit-masters of *yōga* into their mystic lore, including the strange art whereby naked anchorites preserve their bodily heat, while sitting motionless through the night out on the snow of their high mountain retreats exposed to the piercing winter blasts.

So, when in 1923-4, under the guise of poor pilgrims, she and her adopted son Yongden, a young Red Cap lama, with nothing but what they could themselves carry, tramped their way through a little known part of Tibet and stayed two months in Lhasa without being detected, about a year after Dr. McGovern's visit, she was exceptionally well qualified to observe and describe the many aspects and incidents of everyday Tibetan life with which her narrative abounds. A special feature of this book is her delightfully intimate and humorous presentation, often in the form of dialogue between her and Yongden, of encounters on the road with other wayfarers, villagers, robbers, and petty officials; and at Lhasa with humble inhabitants and pilgrims. On occasions the risk of discovery was great, but her beggar's rôle served her well, and her presence of mind always carried her through. When a Lhasa policeman hit her with his truncheon, she was delighted at this fresh evidence of the security of her incognito. Once only did she as a last resort have to use her automatic



pistol, when attacked by robbers. On another occasion her invocation of terrific deities effected the immediate restoration of a few rupees stolen from Yongden by a robber band, and it was her resource, determination, and endurance, rather than good luck, that brought her dangerous venture to a successful issue.

Geographically the achievement was no mean one, but the reader would more easily be able to appreciate this, had even a sketch map been provided. A general indication of the route may be of interest. The place names are spelt as in the book. The journey started from the Mekong valley, over the Kha Karpo range by the Dokar pass, about 230 miles south-south-east of Chiamdo; then up the Salween valley and over the watershed into the unexplored upper Po valley, or *Po yul*, deservedly notorious, as the travellers found, for its ferocious brigand inhabitants. In the summer of 1921 at Jakyendo the late Brigadier-General Pereira, pointing to *Po yul* on his map, had remarked to Madame David-Neel: "Nobody has ever been there, there may be several accessible passes above the spring of the river—it would be an interesting way to Lhasa." From *Po yul* the route taken early in 1924 lay through Pome, previously visited by Bailey and Morshead, and up the Tongyuk valley. Here a startling encounter with a mysterious hermit, who knew Madame David-Neel, led her to change her direction, so she then proceeded down the Tongyuk, over the Temo pass to the Brahmaputra, and up the Giamda valley to Giamda town on the main Chiamdo-Lhasa road. Later in the same year Mr. Kingdon Ward and Earl Cawdor also covered this ground. From Giamda to Lhasa and via Gyantse to India the roads are well known.

Though most of the illustrations in the book are from Madame David-Neel's photos taken on other journeys in Tibetan lands, when circumstances were more favourable for the use of a camera, they form a welcome addition here. No index is given. Typographical errors are commendably few, and the phonetic system of spelling Tibetan names and words

followed is consistent and easy for the reader unacquainted with the intricacies of Tibetan spelling.

This book is popular in scope and addressed rather to the general reader than to the Orientalist, who, however, will find here and there much of interest. As noted before, it contains several first-hand allusions to the mysticism and magic of modern Tibet, that amazing heritage from the days of Tilo, Naro, and Milaraspa. Madame David-Neel, moreover, promises a full account of these matters in a separate work devoted to religion and superstitions. This will be eagerly awaited, and will, we hope, convince those who may be sceptical about what we are here told of Tibetan mysticism.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

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ENGLISH-TÜRKİ DICTIONARY, BASED ON THE DIALECTS OF KASHGAR AND YARKAND. By G. RAQUETTE. 10 × 7, ii + 139 pp. C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund, and O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig. 1927.

This book, which is one of the *Årsskrift* of the University of Lund, is of great interest and importance for students of the comparative philology of the Turkish dialects, to whom Dr. Raquette is already well-known as an expert on modern Eastern Türki. It is the first dictionary of any size of an European language translated into a dialect of this kind, and as there are some 13,000 Türki words and expressions arranged under 3,500 English words it follows naturally that a number of these Türki words appear here in print for the first time.

The most interesting feature is the number of extremely ancient words which still survive in this dialect though long since forgotten elsewhere. A curious example is the translation of "bow" (the weapon) *yār* (*yā*). The original form was *yā*, and the more popular incorrect form *yār* seems to have been introduced under the influence of the Persian word *yār*, "friend," at a time when people were beginning



to wonder whether a monosyllable ending in *ā* could possibly be a correct form.

For all its virtues, however, this excellent work suffers from certain minor defects which it will be well to mention here in case a second edition should give an opportunity for correction:—

(1) Although the system of transliteration is careful and elaborate there is unfortunately no guide in the preface or elsewhere to the value of the symbols employed.

(2) The case governed by verbs is mentioned only in exceptional cases.

(3) There are one or two unexpected omissions, for instance no translation is given for "to" or "in order to".

(4) In a few cases words which are ambiguous in English are shown without closer indication of the meaning. "Bow" mentioned above is a case in point, and "to bear" is translated *kötärmäk* and *toğmaq* without indicating that the first is "to carry" and the second "to give birth to".

G. L. M. CLAUSEN.

TSCHEREMISSISCHE TEXTE (Vol. I, Text; Vol. II, Übersetzung).

By ERNST LEWY. 64 and 74 pp., 3 plates. Heinz Lafaire, Hanover. 1926.

The sixty Cheremiss texts, which are transcribed with the greatest care according to a very precise system of transliteration, were collected by the translator during the war from eleven Russian prisoners of war, of six of whom photographs (profile and full-face) are attached. Accompanied as they are by translations they will be of considerable interest to Finno-Ugrian students, but it is a little surprising that the translator should not have found it necessary or desirable to add any notes except a certain number dealing solely with phonetics.

G. L. M. CLAUSEN.

LES BARBARES : DES GRANDES INVASIONS AUX CONQUÊTES  
TURQUES DU XI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By LOUIS HALPHEN. 9 × 5½,  
390 pp. Librairie Félix Alcan. Paris. 1926.

This work is Vol. V of the series "Peuples et Civilizations, Histoire Générale", edited by the author and M. Philippe Sagnac; it comprises a summary of the history of Europe and Western Asia from the fourth to the eleventh century A.D. In the space available the author has naturally been able to give only the most brief summary of the events of so long and complicated a period, but with this limitation the work is competently done and the author has taken care to give a full list of authorities, including the most recent, in each chapter.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

OSKAR VON NIEDERMAYER. AFGHANISTAN. Mit 246 Abbildungen in Kupfertiefdruck und 9 skizzen. Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1924. Sm. folio. xvi, 70, 246. £4.

Among those whom the fortunes of the War carried into strange lands was also the author of this sumptuous volume. He had been travelling before in the East, and was well acquainted with the habits and customs of the peoples with which he came in contact. As an experienced traveller, he had a keen eye for all the specific characteristics of land and people. As he remarks in his introduction, a string of camels along the plain, or one of pack horses on the snow-clad ridge of a mountain did not attract him; but he was much more alive to a hut built of reeds, or to a row of elephants, or the beggar in rags, or the dervishes in their peculiar dress. And so he spent the year from 1916-17 in travelling through Afghanistan with a camera in his hand, and taking full advantage of the kindness of the people, of whom he cannot speak too highly. He neither had a political axe to grind, nor did he wish to weave for himself the halo of an adventurous traveller. Thus he undertakes to give in this book a sober and impartial description of what he saw and experienced in



that strange land. In brief outlines he sketches the geographical and geological conformation, the divisions of the country, the system of administration, the economic life of the people, and he does not fail to pay special attention to the artistic wood-carvings, metal-work, and the like found in public buildings or in private houses. Special chapters are devoted to Buddhist and Islamic remains. The real importance of the work lies now in the artistic reproductions of all that is of interest in Afghanistan. No less than 243 full-sized plates, which look almost like copper-plates, give us a complete insight into all that is worth seeing or knowing of Afghanistan. Most of these plates are pictures of Kabul, Kandahar, and Herat. Every important building, every ancient fortress, every noteworthy ruin, and many beautiful landscapes are here faithfully reproduced. In addition we see the Army chiefs in their military array, the Emir's elephants decked in royal apparel: and on the other hand, the smith, the melon-vendor, the bazaars in their various aspects, the hunter, the car drawn by bullocks, the dancing-girl, the lender of narghilehs, peasant women, street music, and nomads with their tents. The author also gives us illustrations of famous tombs, places of pilgrimage, many minarets, and above all the sanctuary of Ali Mesar-i-Sherif in Herat. No attempt can be made to exhaust here even remotely the wealth of these illustrations, which are true to Nature and not the work of an imaginative painter. These all reveal the unexpected beauty of many of the monuments in Afghanistan, the life of the people, and the wild beauty of many of the mountainous parts, hitherto untrodden by Europeans. There are in addition three maps, one of Afghanistan, the second of Kabul, and the third of Herat, probably the first ever drawn; and nine pen-and-ink sketches in the text itself. A copious geographical index enriches this fine publication, which for its artistic merit and accurate information is sure to retain a very high place in the literature of Afghanistan.

M. GASTER.

AN ETYMOLOGICAL VOCABULARY OF PASHTO. By Dr. GEORG MORGENSTIERNE. viii, 120 pp. Oslo, 1927.

If a book is to be valued for its usefulness, Dr. Morgenstierne's *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* assuredly takes a high place. He has laid for ever more than one bogey by giving us an epoch-making work. This erudite and conscientious exposition of an obscure subject will show the student that a Jewish origin for the Afghān is a hopeless argument. We were already deeply indebted to continental scholars for the help and guidance given us in the matter of oriental languages. The names of Geiger, Horn, and a host of others are known to us all, and remembered with due reverence. Dr. Morgenstierne has surpassed them all in his own particular line. And this in spite of the fact that the study of these languages means much more to us than it does to the continental scholar. We *must* know them if we are to govern successfully. The learned Doctor has earned our deepest gratitude for all time.

Now that the veriest tyro knows where this language was first spoken it becomes an easy matter to decide where the early Afghāns dwelt, dwelt for centuries, whose subjects they were, and other details. The Afghāns are a virile people, and withal rebellious and troublesome from youth to old age. It is not unlikely, therefore, that their untoward activities led to their wholesale expulsion from their native land at some time or other. We all know that such expulsions have taken place, not once, but many times. The outstanding facts got from the learned Doctor's work are that the Afghāns spoke the language of Ancient Persia, and that they dwelt in that land or on its confines for a very long time. It was not merely a case of passing through Persia in search of a new home. The Afghān is the last man in the world to adopt the language of a stranger. When he does take anything he takes it by force.

Against some of the terms given in this undoubtedly useful work the author has remarked, "Etym. unknown." It will



be found, however, that something like eighty per cent of these hail from one or other of the Indian Prakrits. Take a few examples :—

*Chūt*, flat, etc., comes from the Hin. *chīt*, which means exactly the same thing. In the Pashto the vowel has been lengthened.

*Kāgh*, cunning, comes from the Hin. *kāg*, *kāgā*, a crow, the most cunning of all birds. In India proper a cunning individual is very often compared to a "crow". The change from *g* to *gh* is natural.

*Kāra*, a large wooden vessel, is connected with the Lah. *karāh*, *karāhā*, and the Hin. *kārāhī*. It is found in Sin. also.

*Kat*, a heap, pile, is seen in the Hin. *khatā*, *khāt*, *khātā*, a heap or pile. The aspirate has been dropped and the vowel shortened.

*Khula*, *khūla*, the mouth, an opening, comes from the Lah. *kholā*, hollow, empty, or, if it please you better, we may connect it with the Hin. intrans. verb *khulnā*, to open, or the trans. verb *hholnā*, to open. The respective past participles are *khulā* and *kholā*.

*Khwardal*, *ghwardal*, to open, expand, as a flower, is the Lah. verb *khīr*-, to open, bud, flower. Both verbs mean the same thing.

*Kong*, etc., a large tick, is the Hin. *kīlnī*, a tick, or the Hin. *kana*, a weevil.

*Lalūn*, weeding, is derived from the Hin. *nalānā*, *nārāna*, *nirānā*, to weed. The letters *l* and *r* are interchangeable.

*Langa*, puerperal, we take it comes from the Hin. *laṅg*, *laṅgt*, loin-cloth. The connexion requires no explanation.

*Laṛa*, mist, fog, may be seen in the Sin. *luṛu*, *luṛātu*, mist, fog.

*Lāṛa*, saliva, spittle, is derived from the Hin. *rāl*, or from the Skr. *lālā*, both of which mean the same thing. *L* and *r* are interchangeable.

*Pal*, a millstone, is probably seen in the Sin. *puṛu* : *chakiā jo puṛu*, the stone of the mill, mill-stone. See Stack's Dictionary, p. 101.

And so we might go on. The chief difficulty in tracing these words will be found to be due to what we are pleased to term metathesis. The Afghān delights in transposing letters and in changing certain sounds. It may be that he wishes to get at something which he can more easily pronounce. But this is certainly not always clear. It is much more likely to be due to the fact that he is an Afghān, and intends to remain such for all time ; let the world take note.

GEORGE WATERS GILBERTSON.

THE BHAKTA-MĀLA OF NĀBHĀ-JĪ, with the *Ṭikā* of Priyā-dāsa, and with a commentary entitled the *Bhakti-Sudhā-Svādu* of Śrī Śītārāma-śaraṇa Bhagavān Prasād (Rūp-kalā). pp. 996. Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1926. Rs. 3-12.

Students of Indian religions will be glad to learn that a third edition of this work has issued from the well-known Lucknow Press. Nābhā's *Bhakta-māla*, or "Lives of the Saints" with its *Ṭikā* by Priyā-dāsa is one of the most difficult books in Hindī, and *Śītārāma-śaraṇa Bhagavān Prasād's* commentary is far the best that has been published. To all who desire to master the developments of the *Bhakti*-cult in Northern India it is indispensable. Every line of it can be studied with profit, and this is rendered easy by the completeness and clarity of his explanations.

G. A. G.

JOURNAL OF FRANCIS BUCHANAN (afterwards HAMILTON).

Kept during the Survey of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811-1812. Edited with Notes and Introduction by V. H. JACKSON, M.A. 10 × 6½, pp. xxxix + 250, with 4 plans, 2 plates, and map. Patna : Government, B. and O., Press, 1925.

This volume comprises a reprint of the Journal published in vol. viii, parts iii and iv, of the *JBORS.*, with the addition of an appendix containing reprints of important notes recorded by Mr. Jackson on some of the localities visited by Buchanan, and reproductions of two old plans of Patna City.



Mr. Jackson's local knowledge and the experience acquired in the course of his own researches of a similar character specially fitted him for the task of editor, and we can only wish that he could have had more leisure from heavy official duties to amplify his foot-notes. His Introduction forms an invaluable guide to an understanding of the conditions under which, and the lines upon which, Buchanan worked, and bears the testimony of a modern scientific man to the value and accuracy of the work done.

The area dealt with by Buchanan in this Journal does not correspond exactly with the present districts of Patna and Gaya, as might appear from the title-page, but with the then districts of Behar and Patna, which included the whole of the present district of Patna, most of the present Gaya district (excluding several *parganas* in the south-west thereof) and the western portion of the present Monghyr district. Buchanan's inquiries have already proved a prolific source of information for subsequent *Accounts* and *Gazetteers*, as well as for more recent archæological research; but much remains to be followed up. His description in this Journal (under date 14th January, 1812) of his visit to the cave north of Hāṃriā village, where *śilajit* was obtained, enabled Mr. Jackson to identify Yuan Chwang's "Buddhavana Mountain"—an important identification, if only that it serves to corroborate Stein's identification in 1899 of the Kukkuṭapadagiri—and, moreover, led to Mr. Jackson's further valuable inquiries into the nature of the substance known as *śilajit*, or *śilajatu* (see Appendices, pp. 235, 237). As elsewhere in South Bihar, Buchanan carefully recorded the temperatures of the water in all the hot-springs occurring near his routes; in fact, he made special trips for this purpose. Mr. Jackson has made a close study of these temperatures during the past twenty years, the results of which it is hoped may yet be published. Space will permit of reference to only two or three more items of information, out of many that invite notice.

Buchanan's account of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gayā is particularly interesting, more especially having regard to comparatively recent developments there. Referring to the broad upper terrace, on the west (not "east", as on page 58, fifth line from bottom) of which grew the sacred *pīpal* tree, or *bodhidruma*, he writes:—"The original stairs leading up to the terrace were through the porch which has fallen . . . but the access to a holy place through a heterodox temple appeared so improper to the Mahrattah who repaired the terrace that he has constructed a new stair on the outside." He gave a similar account in a paper read before the R.A.S. in May, 1827, when he explained that these outer stairs had been made "so that the orthodox may pass up without entering the porch, and thus seeing the hateful image of Buddha". The local practice no longer stands upon these "ancient ways". The broad terrace with the *pīpal* tree and the circular heap of brick and plaster "in various concentric stages" are clearly shown in Sir C. D'Oyly's two sketches drawn at Bodh Gayā in 1828.

Then there is his interesting description of the remains he saw at Sānwas (p. 88), a place now in the Monghyr district about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles N.E. by N. of Durgāpur Pārvatī, and 3 miles W. of Māldah. As far as I am aware, no exploration of this or adjacent sites has yet been made by the Archæological Department. An examination of the conical heap of bricks that seemed to Buchanan to be like the ruin of "a solid temple of the Buddhists" (i.e. a *stūpa*) and of other remains in the vicinity may yet prove of assistance in tracing Yuan Chwang's route between "Indra's Cave Mountain" and the *I-lan-na-po-fa-to* country. Cunningham in the cold season of 1861-2 traced a portion of a big embankment, or raised roadway, which he calls the "Asuren Embankment" (*ASI*, vol. i, map facing p. 16), for about 2 miles running W. by S. from the village of Sithaurā towards the modern village of Rājgīr. "From Singhaul," Buchanan writes, "I followed a very grand old road attributed to the infidel Jarasandha,



and on that account called the Asuren." Singhaul is a village some 6 miles W. by S. of Rājgīr, and Buchanan was travelling eastwards towards Rājgīr. It was probably a continuation of this old roadway that Cunningham has marked on his map; and it is 10 miles from Singhaul to Sithaurā. It is likely that this embankment served the double purpose of a highway and a dyke forming an extensive reservoir of water between it and the hills on the south.

We miss a table of contents, and could wish that the Press had used better paper. The index has not been completed so as to cover the appendices.

C. E. A. W. O.

A CONSTRUCTIVE SURVEY OF UPANISHADIC PHILOSOPHY.  
Being a Systematic Introduction to Indian Metaphysics.  
By R. D. RANADE, M.A., Director Academy of Philosophy  
and Religion, formerly Professor of Philosophy, Fergusson  
College, Poona. 10 × 7, pp. 438. Oriental Book  
Agency, Poona, 1926. Rs. 10.

The author of this very valuable work gives as its aim *the systematic exposition of all the problems that emerge from the discussion of Upanishadic thought in their manifold bearings, or, alternatively, the presentation of the teaching of the Upanishads according to the methods of Western thought, or again, to put into the hands of Orientalists a new method for treating the problems of Indian Philosophy.* Yet the ultimate purpose of the work is the spiritual purpose. The writer is a competent philosophical thinker and also a very able expositor. The serious student of things Indian will find the work truly illuminating.

Every one who loves India must rejoice to see an Indian scholar do his utmost to set forth clearly and comprehensibly the whole of the rich contents of the loftiest section of Hindu literature; European method and scholarship are certainly indispensable for such a task; but the Indian heart, bred on Indian spiritual nourishment, is more likely to be able to understand these things in their depths than the European. Therefore the volume is doubly welcome.

Chapter I, *The Background*, is introductory, and will be found really valuable both as regards the history behind the documents and also the philosophy. The fourth chapter sets forth in detail, with a good deal of helpful exposition, the portions of the Upanishads from which the formed philosophies of India arose during later centuries. The other chapters discuss Upanishad teaching under the headings of Cosmogony, Psychology, Metaphysics, Ethics, and Mysticism; and will be found to throw a great deal of light on the ancient texts.

The author lays considerable stress on the value of the moral teaching of the Upanishads; but there is no passage in the book which dispassionately considers the ethical value of the ascetic life which, in the Upanishads, is regarded as necessary for the man who seeks to realize the supreme Ātman. This surely is rather a serious omission.

The Chronology suggested does not strike the historical inquirer as the strongest element in the book. The writer's date for the Upanishads is given in the words, *Considering the Upanishadic age to have been placed somewhere between 1200 B.C. and 600 B.C.*; <sup>1</sup> while, in writing of the relation of the hymns of the *Rigveda* to the philosophical texts, he says *they must be regarded as having preceded them by a period of over a thousand years.* <sup>2</sup> Since serious European writers, eager to reach historical truth, have suggested later dates, and have given the reasons on which their judgments rest, one wonders much why the learned Director has not set forth, even briefly, the considerations which seem to him to prove the much earlier origin of the documents. Bare dogmatic statements are not likely to weigh with historical students.

Yet the volume as a whole is to be very seriously welcomed as a great effort and a great achievement.

J. N. FARQUHAR.

<sup>1</sup> P. 13.

<sup>2</sup> P. 2.



BUDDHISM AND ITS PLACE IN THE MENTAL LIFE OF MANKIND. By Dr. PAUL DAHLKE. London: Macmillan and Co., 1927.

ESSAYS IN ZEN BUDDHISM. By DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI. (First Series.) London: Luzac and Co., 1927.

Both these works are intended to show us Buddhism as a religion which even to-day may appeal to man's religious instincts. The first offers us the "pure, original Buddha-word, as it is laid down in the Pāli Canon". The author disclaims anything of a philological nature, and apparently does not see that his whole book involves a philological assumption. But it possesses the charm of a quite personal appeal made by one to whom the Buddha is the final fulfiller of all mental life. "What I myself have learnt and experienced as the most important thing of all, in this book I endeavour to pass on to others."

Professor Suzuki's book is less subjective. It is an exposition of Buddhism as understood by the Zen Buddhists, and there is little here about the pure Buddha-word. Zen principles are said to be most directly expounded in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*, but Zen does not base its authority on any written documents. The real author of the school, we are told, is Bodhidharma in the sixth century, though Zen in the form in which we have it dates from the sixth patriarch, Hui-neng. Hence there is good reason for the claim that in spite of its Indian name (zen = dhyāna), it is "the native product of the Chinese mind". When we are further told that *satori*, the essence of Buddhism, is "an intuitive looking into the nature of things, in contradistinction to the analytical or logical understanding", it is clear that we have to deal with a form of mysticism. No doubt the question of the relative importance of logic and intuition is a matter of temperament, but it is easy to understand the strength of this Chinese intuitional protest against logic, seeing that the only logical achievements which it had in view were the systems of Chinese philosophers.

The book consists of eight essays, which are intended to remove difficulties and form an intelligent approach to the subject. This is, as the author points out, a very different thing from mastering Zen. But as a clear exposition of an independent form of mysticism developed in Chinese thought, it will be of the greatest interest to students of the history of religion and religious experience.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

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RULERS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN. By ADMIRAL G. A. BALLARD, C.B. Duckworth, 21s. net.

Admiral Ballard, formerly Director of the Operations Division of the Admiralty War Staff, is a practised historian whose previous essays on naval history are well known in this country. He has set himself to elucidate the maritime history of the Indian Ocean from the earliest time until the present, and has placed his conclusions before us in this book. He has had the assistance of Sir William Foster in dealing with the events of the fourteenth and succeeding centuries, which is the best possible guarantee of the historical accuracy of his narrative for this crucial period. The whole book, moreover, has already appeared, except for the concluding chapter, in the *Mariners' Mirror*, and has, the author informs us, already passed under the notice of some very competent critics, whom, he says, have raised no question as to the accuracy of statements made, except in regard to two points, which he briefly mentions.

In the absence of an Index, or a Bibliography, or, with few exceptions, any reference whether in the text or in footnotes to the sources of information relied on, particularly for the pre-historic and very early periods, it is difficult for a scholar or student, and still more for a reviewer, to express a decided opinion as to the degree of authority to be attached to Admiral Ballard's conclusions on many points. In the first chapter, for example, he gives his reasons for regarding the Indian Ocean as the birthplace of both branches of the



mariner's occupation, viz. coasting and deep water sailing. He does not mention the claims of Polynesia in this connexion as put forward by G. Elliot Smith (*Journal of the Manchester, Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1915-16), nor does he refer to General Pitt-Rivers' memoir (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. iv, 1874-5, p. 339), which still remains, in the reviewer's opinion, the best authority on early modes of navigation, nor to a number of other memoirs of great value by recent workers in this fascinating field, quoted by Elliot Smith and not unknown to students. He states (p. 6) that the Mecca traders pushed their way eastwards so that by the ninth and tenth centuries they had reached the Malay Archipelago, "whence in time they found their way to China itself." He does not mention Renaudot's *Ancient Account of India and China by Two Mohammedan Travellers—translated from the Arabic* (1733), which refers to a great massacre of Mohammedan Jews, Christians, and Parsees to the number of 120,000 at Canfu (sc. Canton) in A.D. 877. Sulaiman the merchant refers to merchants of Iraq as trading regularly with China in the same century, which suggest a greater antiquity for this trade than Admiral Ballard allows (see also C. S. K. Mylrea, *The Moslem World*, April, 1922, p. 170).

He mentions (p. 213) that the Persians never had any navy in spite of all their wealth, military power, and extent of coastline. Yet Persia conquered and held Muscat and Bahrain, Hasa and Hofu Hufuf for a century or more to such effect that the Persian language is the basis of at least one dialect of Northern Oman and the record of Persian skill in public works, such as wells and underground water channels, is to be found along the whole Oman coast to Ras al Hadd, as well as in Bahrain and Hasa. Nearchus had no difficulty in obtaining a pilot ere he reached the mouth of the Persian Gulf, which suggests the coastal navigation was well developed before his arrival, whilst from at least as early as the sixteenth century until the present day the pilotage of the Shatt-al-Arab bar was almost exclusively in the hands of Persians from the Island

of Kharag and later from Bushire. The real reason for Persian backwardness in the art of navigation is to be found in the absence of navigable rivers, and of timber suitable for ship-building. Nadir Shah's attempt to create a fleet in the Persian Gulf with timber carried from the Caspian for the purpose will be remembered in this connexion.

In his concluding chapter (p. 293) he writes that no part whatever in the long, costly and dangerous enterprise of making the Indian Ocean safe for the natives of India fell on the native himself, and on the next page he states that Moslems have relied "for generations" on the security by sea provided by the British white ensign, and adds that the repression of piracy was carried out from first to last by Britain.

Admiral Ballard, though himself born in India, ignores the work of the Indian Navy which, till its abolition in 1862,<sup>1</sup> bore the burden of the day in Indian waters, and of its predecessor, the marine forces of the H.E.I. Company; indeed the Indian Navy is not, as far as the reviewer can ascertain, once mentioned in his pages. Yet it was the Indian Navy, manned mainly by Indian ratings, that made the charts of the coasts of India, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf on which we rely to-day. Indian seamen and Indian soldiers bore the brunt of our early steps in conjunction with the Turks for the repression of the Chaab pirates at the head of the Persian Gulf. Indian troops helped to exterminate the pirates of Ras-el-Khaimah at the beginning of the nineteenth century and did most of the fighting then and ever since on the shores of the Persian Gulf, as witness the pages of Low's *History of the Indian Navy*. At least ten

<sup>1</sup> The Secretary of State, in his despatch of 30th August, 1861, testified to the efficiency with which the Indian Navy had discharged the various local duties for which it was mainly organized, adding that it had been constantly employed at a distance from India in the suppression of piracy and of the slave trade, and also in regular warfare in association with the Royal Navy in China, Borneo, and New Zealand without cost to the British Exchequer. He added that the Royal Navy could spare few ships for service in Eastern seas (Welby Report, 1900).



times as many Indians as Englishmen have died or been killed in the service of the East India Company and of the Crown in the Indian Ocean and adjacent seas, not in the protection or defence of any primarily Indian interest but in order to maintain the freedom of the seas (in the true and not the Wilsonian sense) and the abolition of African slave trade, the latter a primarily European ideal. Nor as Admiral Ballard states (p. 297) was the British Navy maintained exclusively at the cost of the British tax-payer, for the Government of India has paid to the Imperial Exchequer since 1869 a very substantial subvention, which since 1901 has been fixed at £100,000 (*vide* Welby Report Cd. 131, 1900).

Space precludes reference to other points of great interest suggested by a perusal of this book, but perhaps sufficient has been written to show that it cannot be accepted throughout as an authoritative exposition of the whole period dealt with, whilst the absence of an index and of critical apparatus impair its value as a contribution to our knowledge of an exceedingly important chapter of world history.

A. T. WILSON.

WEST-INDONESIEN. SUMATRA, JAVA, BORNEO. Von Professor Dr. AUGUSTIN KRÄMER. 12 × 9, pp. 104 (including xlv illustration plates and 2 maps). Stuttgart : Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung [1927]. 16.50 marks.

This is vol. iii of the "Atlas der Völkerkunde", the previous volumes of which were devoted to Northern and Central Asia and Europe, respectively. After a brief preface, a table of contents, and an introduction, the odd pages 13-101 are illustration plates, facing the letterpress opposite to them. The illustrations are line drawings, which, though suitable for architecture and artefacts generally, are less adequate for the representation of human types. The title is not a complete indication of the contents, for these include, besides the minor

islands adjacent to Sumatra and Java, the Hova part of Madagascar and the Andaman and Nicobar groups as well. This arrangement cannot be justified from a purely ethnographical or a purely geographical point of view, but only by a compromise between the two. Moreover, the statement (p. 14) that the Nicobarese belong to the "Malay stock" is highly doubtful; linguistically, at any rate, they are akin to Mon-Khmer. On the other hand, the Malay Peninsula is left out, though it would have fitted very well both ethnographically and geographically into the framework of the book.

The greatest gap, however, is the omission, in dealing with Sumatra, of the Malays proper, which is rather like cutting Hamlet out of the play that bears his name. They are indeed mentioned incidentally on p. 50 as being akin to the Minangkabau people, but that is pretty much like putting a mere mention of England and the English into the chapter on Scotland of a work dealing in detail with the inhabitants of the British Isles generally. There is, by the way, no sound basis for the twice-repeated etymology of the name Malay (pp. 7, 50) as meaning "wanderers": it was the definitely local name of a certain region in Sumatra, and can be traced back as such to the seventh century A.D. But the author's conception, for which I know of no justification, is that the Malays were the first migrants from Southern Asia to the islands and were driven (as is suggested on p. 8 and in the publishers' leaflet) into the interior by later comers, such as the Gayo, Alas, and Minangkabau peoples. As applied to the communities which alone are really entitled to the name Malay, this is pretty well a reversal of the known facts, for they are very largely a coast people and have expanded at the expense of others. In his introduction the author, when discussing the various layers of culture that he claims to distinguish in the Austronesian area, denotes the earliest of the clearly Asiatic cultures that entered it by the name "Old Malay". Whether this is to be regarded as a mere misnomer



or as the result of a confusion of ideas, it is in my opinion an unfortunate terminology.

It is only fair to add that the selection of objects for illustration is good and that the explanatory text gives in a small space a great deal of ethnographical information conveyed in an easily intelligible way. The bibliographies appended to the various sections, and the general one on p. 104, will be very useful for reference to the original sources of the work.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

DIE SONNE UND MITHRA IM AVESTA. Auf Grund der awestischen Feuerlehre dargestellt von JOHANNES HERTEL. (Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen, Heft IX.)  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ . xxviii + 318 pp. Leipzig: Haessel, 1927.

In this interesting volume the cult of Miθra and the Sun in the Avesta is treated by the author on a wider background, namely the general principles of religious thought, or more accurately of *Weltanschauung*, among the early Indo-Iranians. The boldness and ability with which he has handled these subjects justify us in devoting some space to a summary of his views, which in this book are set forth with greater fullness than in his previous writings.

When the ancestors of the Indo-Iranian tribes first moved down, a number of them settled in the fertile pastures around the Hamūn Lake in Eastern Iran, and waged lively wars of self-defence against other kindred tribes, who were continually pressing on after them, and who, pushed into the more barren valleys on the north and north-east, carried on fierce wars and cattle-raids against the settlers in the Hamūn district. It was in this region and among these freebooting wanderers that the greater part of the R̥g-vēda was composed, in order to win the aid of the gods in their wars and forays. Most of these Vedic tribes gradually spread into India; but a branch of them moved westward and have left their traces in the Mitannian inscriptions of Boghazkōi of c. 1380 B.C.

Despite local differences in details, these Iranian and Vedic tribes held the same general conception of nature and deity. They worshipped fire, with its warmth and light (Vedic *ṛtá*, Avesti *aša*), as universal principle of Good in both bodily and spiritual life; and in opposition to this they postulated an evil fire, dark and cold (Av. *druj* "harm", and *nasu*, "decay") as the principle animating all harmful beings and things. Between these two orders an everlasting struggle goes on. When a body animated by the good fire is penetrated and infected by the evil fire, it perishes, and similarly the good fire may overpower the evil and cause death in those possessed by it. In both orders there are divine beings, of which some are purely spiritual, i.e. composed wholly of good or evil fire, and therefore immortal, while others are of fire mingled with grosser matter (Av. *gaēθya*, *astvant*) and on death lose their earthly admixture and become immortal either as gods in the Heaven of Light or as devils in hell below the earth. The "gods" (\**daivas*, Ved. *dēvās*) are simply embodiments of the Supreme Fire, which also manifests itself in the light of heaven (Av. *savah*), the light of wealth (Av. *aši*), "glory" (Av. *xvarənah*), i.e. lightning and the majesty of kings and conquerors, etc. While in their spiritual essence all gods are alike, viz. the heavenly fire in different manifestations, they may mingle themselves with many material bodies in partial incarnation (as later in the Hindu *aṃśāvatāras*) without ceasing to exist at the same time in individual personalities. Spirits of the dark order may incarnate themselves similarly. The fire of deities of the bright order is either luminous or non-luminous. Non-luminous fire is also present in man's body, as the *agnī vaiśvānarā* of the Upaniṣads, which is said in *Śat. Br.*, i, iv, 1, 10 ff., to have been carried in his mouth by Māthava Vidēgha,<sup>1</sup> and is the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hertel holds that the Sarasvatī from which Māthava is said to have started on his journey is the Arachotus, and that hence the story points to the movement of a Vedic tribe from Eastern Iran eastwards not long before the composition of the *Śat. Br.*, which was quite late, as it shows Middle Persian phonetics in the name *BaJikā*.



same as the Vedic *bráhma* (etym. =  $\phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\alpha$ , \**bhlegghm*), which originally denoted generally the fire burning within man and later was claimed by the priests as peculiar to their class, whence came their title *brāhmaṇa*; and it likewise appears in Sōma, semen, rain, waters, milk, urine (whence the use of urine in exorcism and the cult of the *liṅga* and *yōni*), gold, mountains, curses, and sacred texts. Divine beings and persons who know sacred texts by heart are styled in Av. *tanu-maθra* "having a body composed of hymns" (cf. *Suparṇādhyaṃya*, I, i, 2). "Soul" is a group of powers, all of them forms of fire. When man dies, the fiery elements (in Vēda, and sometimes in Av. also, the whole man converted into fire) pass into the Fire-Heaven as a personal being of pure fire; in the older Upaniṣads, however, the *bráhma* in the body merges impersonally into the cosmic fire.

Zaraθuštra, following his rationalistic bent, and opposing the Haoma-cult and animal sacrifice of nature-worships, set up as his supreme deity Ahura Mazdāh, "Lord Reason," and hence Fire came to be regarded as the latter's son, subordinate to him. But Zaraθuštra's reform failed. The Vedic tribes convinced the Iranian cattle-farmers by their victories that, after all, nature-powers were dominant. If Zaraθuštra's teachings were ever fully observed in Eastern Iran, they were soon driven thence by cults of nature-powers—Ātar, Haoma, Miθra, Arədvī, Vərəθrayna, etc., whom Zaraθuštra had classed with the powers of darkness (*raśō*, Ved. *rákṣas*), whom he called *daēvas*. These nature-powers, accepted in Iran after Zaraθuštra and renamed *mainyava yazata*, *baya*, and *aməša spənta*, were really old Aryan *daivas*, the Vedic *dēvās*. The deities established by Zaraθuštra were translated into nature-powers: Ahura Mazdāh became the sky, etc., Vohu Manah the guardian of useful animals, Aša the guardian of fire, Xšaθra the guardian of metal, Āramaiti (cattle-rearing) the guardian of the earth, the sun Ahura Mazdāh's eye, etc. In some Yašts Ahura Mazdāh is subordinated to the old nature-powers. In Western Iran

the Achaemenids under Xerxes and Artaxerxes I and II returned to their worship. Throughout Iran, despite Zaratuštra, religion continued to revolve around animal-sacrifice and the Haoma-cult.

To the Aryans, everything real, including abstractions, was a concrete person; hence in Av. Aša and Druj, the Good and the Evil principles, are the highest persons; all other beings are parts of them. Each being is a composite of body and psychic forces (*daēnā*, *baodah*, *manah*, *urvan*, etc.), which both exist together in the body and appear outside it as independent beings. Thus the Sun is the sun and also Ahura Mazdāh's eye, the stars stars and also Miθra's eyes; Ahura Mazdāh is independent and also the *urvan* of the *aməša spəntas*; sacrifices are offered to his ears and eye. The world is composed of series—individual persons combining in ever higher collective persons. All beings of the order of light, immortal and mortal, including men and animals, who are at once persons and parts of the supreme Person, are termed in Av. *yazatas* and receive offerings. Hence according to the Yasna the sacrifice combines all beings of the bright order as a collective person to combat the powers of darkness; thus Av. Vərəθraϋna (the modern Bahrām fire) is a collective person composed of many fires.

The Indo-Iranians originally regarded the sun, moon, and stars as holes in the vault of the heavenly Mountain through which descend light from the cosmic fire and rain, while at the same time they conceived them as persons. Now Miθra in Av. is entirely different from the Sun: he is the *nightly sky* and the spirit inhabiting it, and his myriad eyes are the stars. From this fundamental character, according to Dr. Hertel, are derived Miθra's other attributes, as ruler of lands, giver of rain, leader in battle, guardian of cattle-rearing and of covenants and friendship, and *ψυχοπομπός*, who protects souls and brings them to the paradise in the Fire-heaven. He has essentially the same qualities as the Vedic Mitrā-Vāruṇā; but, whereas the characters of the latter were in



early Vedic times fused together, the Av. *Miθra* is a distinct personality. Sometimes in Av. he is put into a dual combination with Ahura (scil. *Mazdāh*, not *Varuṇa*); but this is late, and possibly may be imitated from the Vedic compound *Mitrā-Vāruṇā*. *Ahura* means merely "lord", and was applied by *Zarathuṣtra* as epithet to *Mazdāh*, "Reason," whom he made his highest deity; no Aryan god ever bore it as a proper name. It was applied to *Mazdāh*, *Miθra*, *Apam Napāt* (lightning), and human beings, and was not fixed as part of the name of *Mazdāh* until after *Zarathuṣtra*.

In the *Gāthās* Ahura *Mazdāh* is Divine Reason, fiery of substance, reigning in the Heaven of Light. In later Av. he seems to have been regarded first as more or less the Vedic *Dyāus*, the bright sky, containing the waters dispensed by him; the stars are his eyes, the waters his wives. Then he was identified with the *sky by day*, and finally in Eastern Iran and Turkestan with the *sun* (in Khotan *urmaysde*). In Western Iran, on the other hand, *Miθra* in post-Av. times became the sun, *mihir*.

The cult of *Miθra* was not native to Persis, where it first appears on inscriptions of Artaxerxes II; but RV. X. xxii. refers to it as widespread in Eastern Iran. Its chief document, *Yast X*, arose in Northern Iran, between the Caspian and Sogdiana, and was intended to make propaganda in Eastern Iran, where the cult was new. Northern Iran was inhabited by nomads, to whom the starlit sky was peculiarly important; *Miθra* is the type of the nomad, and the stars are his kine.

This summary survey scarcely does justice to the immense industry and ability shown by Dr. Hertel in his book, especially as it perforce omits most of the arguments on which his conclusions are based. It will, however, serve to make clear his general position; and, in my opinion, that position is sound. I believe that he has rightly characterised the fundamentals of Indo-Iranian *Weltanschauung*, which have been to a large extent overlooked by previous students, and that he is also correct in his view of the Av. *Miθra* as the spirit of the starlit

sky. On a few minor points I confess I am still not quite convinced. The arguments deducing from Miθra's character as starlit sky his other qualities are very ingenious; but we should probably feel them to be stronger if we added the hypothesis that *originally* Miθra was a tribal war-god who in early times, long before Vēda and Av., was identified with the starlit sky.<sup>1</sup> But, apart from a few cases of ἐποχή like these,<sup>2</sup> which only affect details, it must be said that by the present work Dr. Hertel has materially strengthened his main position, which is one of very great importance for the study of Indo-European culture. His hypothesis for the most part *works*, enabling him to bring into rational order a great mass of facts, and soon, as I believe, will become generally recognised as a valuable organ of science.

<sup>1</sup> From which of these two characters M. derived his attribute as guardian of compacts is not clear. Dr. Hertel shows very acutely and rightly how this might have happened, and how *mitrá*, *miθra* came to mean "compact", and then "party to a compact", a process which we may perhaps state thus: Mitra → formal covenant as work or manifestation of M. → covenant generally → one of the covenanters → generally friend (Skt. *mitrám*, neut., influenced perhaps by *vṛtrám* "enemy"). But this development could hardly have started unless at the outset M. had been generally recognized as a sort of Ζεὺς Ὀρκίος or Deus Fidius; and this must have been very early.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the note on p. 39, which places the entry of the Vedic tribes into India at about 400 B.C., is difficult to reconcile with historical facts and the admitted existence of a Vedic tribe in Mitanni c. 1380 B.C. On p. 96 Yasna xxxii. 19, *acištem vaēnājhē* is rightly translated "aufs finsterste betrachten" and explained as meaning "to condemn to destruction"; but this somewhat weakens the force of the argument on p. 180 f. that Yašt x. 29, *tām akō vahīdāscā*, etc., must refer to the alternate brightness and gloom of the sky. On p. 250, in the translation of *ahurānīš ahurāhyō* as "die Gemahlinnen des Herrschers, des Herrschers Töchter", the reference to Aryan incest seems unnecessary, as I think we may regard the phrase as merely pleonastic. I feel also some slight doubt as to the meaning "shine" assigned to √ṛ.

L. D. BARNETT.



DIE YÄŠT'S DES AVESTA. By HERMAN LOMMEL. pp. xii + 211, large 8vo. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1927.

The author of this new translation of the Yashts has been working upon it since 1914, and the result has been that the understanding of this extraordinary compilation of highly corrupted and confused material has been brought a decided step forward. One has only to compare this translation with that given by Darmesteter as vol. xxiii of the *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1883, to realize the strides which the study of these texts has made since that time. By the way, the author does not seem to know of this English translation. He never mentions it, and refers only to the French translation made by Darmesteter later on, and of this Professor Lommel could make only occasional use. His aim was to give a clear and readable translation. He was quite conscious of the difficulties of the task. The passages which were quite unintelligible have been left out and marked by dots, and doubtful translations are signalized by a query. The interest in these Yashts lies in their mythological and legendary character. Very little of the old genuine Zoroastrian teaching can be found in it: the number of divinities invoked is legion, and not a few of these Yashts read like amulets and charms. They might belong to the Tantra literature. It is well known that for most of the Yashts there is no Pahlavi or other reliable translation in existence, and as Darmesteter has already pointed out, the only helpful method for their understanding is etymological and comparative. Many of the words and names of divinities, left untranslated before, have now been tentatively translated, and thus the Yashts have become less unintelligible than they were before. Closely connected with their understanding is the problem of their date. Professor Lommel agrees that the language in which the Yashts were written was no longer a spoken language: it was the language of the priests, and therefore archaic forms that may occur are no proof for their antiquity. These may

be due to the scholastic attainments of the writer, who had studied more closely the Gathas and the older literature, and made good use of his scholarship. Still, in spite of it, he would like to assign the date of composition to the latter end of the Achaemenian period. One cannot discuss here this point, around which all the Avesta studies turn, but if a certain Vologeses, an Arsacid prince, has been the one who started the recovery of the fragments of the lost literature, and if the Sasanian kings were the first to proclaim the Zoroastrian religion as the official one, the date is brought down by many centuries. Add to it the vague allusions to the legendary heroes, which appear in their fullness only in the *Shah Namah*. One is therefore inclined to believe that the *Yashts* belong to a much later date, for this alone would also explain how the old popular beliefs and the innumerable divinities could have obtained such a hold as to practically eliminate or garble the old Zoroastrian teachings. Only a few stereotyped phrases and general principles seem to have remained.

Besides the brief and lucid introduction the author has also prefixed special introductions to a large number of the *Yashts*, and he has avoided unnecessary repetitions by cross-references. As to his attempts of explaining the *Anahita*, and still more that of finding the *Fravashis*, already in the Avesta, although they are not mentioned there, but implied, as he believes, in the *Daina*, a doubt may be expressed, but on the whole this new translation will prove of invaluable service to the student of the later developments of Zoroastrianism and its relation to the other religions old and more recent which had their home in the ancient Empire of Persia, and the influence which these beliefs have exercised on the mystery cults, later Mithraism, and altogether on the spiritual movements in those countries. The author has appended an excellent index of names and subjects, and this greatly enhances the value of this important work.

M. G.



PAUL KAHLE. *DIE MASORETEN DES WESTENS*. [Texte und Untersuchungen zur Vormasoretischen Grammatik des Hebräischen I.] 8vo, xii, 89 66, 17. W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1927. 14s.

The study of the Masora is entering upon a new phase owing to the researches of Professor Dr. Kahle. His contention is that the Masoretic Text, such as we have it to-day, does not represent in its vocalization the genuine old pronunciation of the Hebrew, such as e.g. it may have been spoken at the time of the Temple. According to Professor Kahle, it is the result of a very carefully worked out system, which merely fixes more or less the pronunciation such as it was current in the sixth or seventh century. This was afterwards worked out into its most minute details by a school of Masorites, the foremost representatives of which were the family of Ben Asher. He endeavours, therefore, to recover the older pronunciation by means of fragments of old Hebrew MSS. found in the Geniza. In a previous volume he has discussed at full length the system of the Masorites of the East, meaning thereby that current in Babylon, best known through its superlinear vocalization. In the present volume he treats now the Masorites of the West, i.e. of Palestine. He has been fortunate enough to discover many more systems of vocalization, and he is, therefore, able to trace a gradual development from simple dots, put sporadically on such words which could be read in two different ways, to these dots growing in number. The vocalization was then extended from single words to every word in the verse, until it became so complicated that a new system was evolved known as the Tiberian system. This is the one which is found now in all our Bibles. But Professor Kahle is not satisfied merely to describe all the forms of vocalization, but what is no less important, he endeavours to show that those older systems correspond to a pronunciation of Hebrew which differs in many respects from the Masoretic, notably in the pronunciation of the letters *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, and *t*. According to

Professor Kahle, such pronunciation resembles that of the Samaritans, and also that which is found in the writings of Jerome. It is needless to add that these results must seriously affect the grammar of Hebrew, such as we find it in all modern grammars. Indeed, this view has since been elaborated by the author in a separate essay. Professor Kahle would like to trace the origin of this system of vocalization to Syrian influence. Jews were living in close communication with the Syrian in Nisibis, and even studying together. This is rather a hazardous conjecture, since they were not likely to give us some older forms of marking or pronunciation, and still less would the Jews in Palestine accept anything that was not strictly Jewish. The origin of such signs must be looked for elsewhere, and they are probably connected with extra dots found on certain words in the Scroll of the Pentateuch.

There is now one curious feature about the older vocalizations, i.e. that with very few exceptions they are mostly found in non-Biblical texts, especially ancient hymns and liturgies. This may point in the direction that they represent the real popular pronunciation, and not one of the rigid traditional character reserved for the reading of the Bible. Many MSS. of a liturgical character, especially those written by Karaites or by Sephardim, have indeed such vocalization, which differs from the strictly grammatical forms laid down by the Masorites. Anyone engaged in the study of the Bible will realize the great importance of such research, and will owe a great debt of gratitude to Professor Kahle, who has thus opened up a new path in these investigations. In this volume a number of liturgical pieces have been printed with their ancient vocalization, and with a German translation, and thirty plates contain the facsimiles of the originals.

M. GASTER.

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**DIE MAGISCHEN HEIL- UND SCHUTZMITTEL** Aus der unbelebten Natur mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Mittel gegen den bösen Blick. By Dr. S. SELIGMAN. Eine Geschichte des Amulettwesens. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen. Large 8vo, xii, 309 pp. Strecker and Schröder, Stuttgart, 1927. 24s.

This book, which is complete in itself, is none the less only one part of a larger work left behind by the late author ready for press. He deals not with magic from a theoretical point of view, but with practical magic, of a therapeutic and prophylactic character, for he has collected a vast material in connexion with the Evil Eye. Here in this volume we have an exhaustive study of the effect of inorganic objects in protecting people from the Evil Eye or curing its effects. The author has gathered into his work almost everything from every part of the world, drawing his materials not only from modern publications, but from the entire literature as far as it was available. He shows perfect acquaintance especially with the Oriental literature, and he gives the references, though briefly, at the end of each chapter. In this volume the following objects are treated, which are all believed to possess a special power of a magical character by which to counteract the alleged sickness caused by the Evil Eye: Water, in all its manifold uses, lustration, bathing, sprinkling, drinking. In a similar manner fire is treated, burning, singeing, coals, ashes, soot, etc. The next chapter is devoted to air, clouds, ether. Then earth, burial, earth from a tomb, sacred earth, etc. Very interesting are the chapters on metals, such as gold, silver, iron and copper, which are more or less prophylactic, and also lead, used for amulets and for other practices, in spite of its cold nature and its dedication to Saturn. A large section of the book is then devoted to a study of stones of all kinds, their origin, character, peculiarities, and the last chapter is almost a complete lapidary. The fullness of the material collected here surpasses anything of the kind that has hitherto been published. It is therefore sincerely to be

desired that the publishers should find the support which they expect, in order that they should feel justified in undertaking the publication of the entire work. The remaining volumes are to contain materials connected with organic matter, then those connected with the human body, all utilized for the same purpose of protection against the Evil Eye. The last volume is to contain a collection of charms and conjurations. When completed it will be indeed a monumental history of the amulet. An index at the end facilitates the research. Considering that so many countries have been mentioned in the course of this investigation, it was a happy idea to collect all the references wherever possible also under the headings of the various countries. The book is beautifully printed, and enriched by no less than 111 equally beautifully executed illustrations.

M. G.

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HEBREW UNION COLLEGE ANNUAL. Vol. IV. pp. 494, 8vo.  
Cincinnati, 1927.

Fourteen scholars, teachers of all the Jewish Theological Seminaries on the Continent and in the United States, have contributed to this volume, published by the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati. They are all men who have won for themselves a well-deserved reputation in their own sphere of study. It is therefore difficult to discriminate or to appraise the merit of the one above the other. The subjects cover a wide field of Jewish learning—Bible criticism, liturgy, philosophy, poetry, history, Sadducees and Pharisees, bibliography, philology, etc., are all here represented. Each of these essays is a distinct and valuable contribution to Jewish literature. It is a pity that though the book is of a composite character, no index has been made. It is just because it is not of a uniform character that an index would prove most helpful. If the same name or the same subject is treated by different authors the references help to formulate a better judgment of the man or of the subject thus mentioned.

M. G.



ISLAMIC CULTURE. *The Hyderabad Quarterly Review*. Hyderabad, Deccan, 1927. Vol. i, No. 1. Issued quarterly. Price per annum, £1 10s.

Through the munificence of His Exalted Highness the Nizam this Review has been started under the editorship of Mr. M. Pickthall and the first volume, by its contents, leads us to hope that it will rank among the most prominent publications appearing in India. The aim of the Review is to publish in *English* articles by prominent scholars not of India alone, but also by those of other parts of the world interested in the study of Islam and Islamic countries and literature. The first issue contains an article by Ameer Ali on "The Modernity of Islam"; "The Spirit of Asia," by Felix Valvy, in which he strangely attributes to Jingiz Khān and his successors qualities which I have failed to recognize. Professor Yūsuf Ali contributes a study on Albīrūnī which is to be continued in future numbers. A long study by Professor Horovitz is devoted to the "Arabian Nights", while Mohammad Shafi' gives an historical account of the Shalimar gardens at Lahore. M. Hidayat Husain has supplied an edition and English translation of the Bānat Su'ād of the poet Ka'b ibn Zuhair, but he has apparently not been aware of my edition of the text with the commentary of Tibrizi published many years ago in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, nor the edition of the same poem by the late Professor Basset, which was accompanied by the still older commentary of Tha'lab. A long article by Prince Said Halim Pasha deals with "the Reform of Muslim Society", which has been translated from the French in which it was originally composed. I cannot possibly enumerate all the contents of the Review, but the variety of subjects treated augurs well for its future, and it is to be hoped that it will rank with the foremost scientific journals published in India.

F. KRENKOW.

THE OSMANIA MAGAZINE. The Quarterly Journal of the Students of the Osmania University College at Hyderabad, Deccan. February, 1927. Vol. i, No. 1. Government Central Press.

This Journal, intended for the instruction of students of the University in the first place and as an educational review in addition for other colleges, is like the *Islamic Culture* brought into being through the liberality of the enlightened ruler of the premier native state, and is issued under the auspices of the professors of the Osmania University, at the head of which is Professor Muḥammad Abdur-Raḥmān Khān. As the Osmania University has the aim of being the chief centre of Urdu education the magazine is published in two sections, one in English, the other in Urdu. The articles are contributed mostly by the professors of the University and are for the greater part short, and I may mention in the English portion an article on the *Siḥr al-Bayān* of Mīr Ḥasan by Sayyid Waqar Ahmad. In the Urdu portion are articles on such varied subjects as the collecting of postage stamps, the beginning of Persian prose literature, the Omayyade mosque at Damascus, a biography of Qāzi Shihāb-ud-Dīn Daulātābādī, and also original Urdu poetry by living authors. The publication is on good paper and well executed, the Urdu portion being done by lithography. It is to be hoped that the magazine will have a long and successful career and that it will contribute to the advancement of knowledge, not only in the State of Hyderabad, but far beyond its borders.

F. KRENKOW.

LOGHAT AL-ARAB. Revue littéraire, scientifique et historique, etc., sous la direction des PÈRES CARMES de Mesopotamie. Baghdad.

After coming to a sudden close at the beginning of the war, when only two numbers of the fourth volume had



appeared under the guidance of Père Anastase, this important publication has been revived under the same auspices and the fourth volume is now complete before us. The title expresses the aims of the review. There were at first great difficulties, as the cost of a new press were beyond the means of the Carmelite Mission, and I am not sure if in the end the acquisition was not made possible through a Government grant. The puristic tendencies of Père Anastase in his criticism of contemporary works stand prominently in the foreground, one of the first articles pointing out the solecisms in the style of the newspapers appearing in Egypt and Syria. For dialectic studies we find an investigation into the Aramaic words used in 'Irāq, by Yūsuf Ghanima, and studies on the dialect of 'Irāq, by Muḥammad Raṣāfi. A full list of the publications of the press of the Dominican Mission at Mosul is given, most of these being of a religious character. The quantity of matter issued by this press is really surprising. Of considerable importance is the memoir on the chiefs of the Muntafiq tribe and the small principality of the Āl Afrāsiyāb at Basra, for which we look in vain in historical works readily accessible. Each number contains criticisms of newly issued works which have come to the notice of the editor and a short chronicle of the events in 'Irāq and surrounding countries. The value of the review is increased by very complete indices which fill the last (double) number for the year. The type is not of the best, and at times the printing is blurred, and we miss the help of vowels in cases where the reading is open to doubt, especially in proper names. This latter defect is generally remedied by the customary description, if I may call it so, of the pronunciation. It is to be hoped that the review will have a happier future than it enjoyed at the beginning of its existence, as it counts among its contributors some of the leading savants of 'Irāq and even Syria.

F. KRENKOW.

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DIE MUKĀṬARAT VON AT-TAYĀLISĪ, herausgegeben von R. GEYER, mit einer Beilage: DIE ALTE EINTEILUNG DER ARABISCHEN DICHTER UND DAS 'AMR-BUCH DES IBN AL-JARRĀḤ, von H. H. BRÄU. 75 + 50 pp. Wien, 1927.

One of the causes of the frequent confusion in attributing ancient Arabic poems to various authors arises from the fact that so many persons had the same or similar names so that verses of a less-known author were thus easily cited as those of his more celebrated namesake. Both works published have for their aim to bring together as many poets as possible who bore the same name, but while in the work of Ibn al-Jarrāḥ this has been carried out with consistency, the same cannot be said of the work of Tayālīsī. The exact time of the last-named author Professor Geyer has not been able to ascertain, nor have I been more fortunate in spite of long search. The name of 'Amr, now practically fallen into disuse, was borne by many persons in the time before and after the rise of Islam, and though the work of Ibn al-Jarrāḥ contains 204 names of poets and Dr. Bräu has added a number of others, I could still add a few more. Each work is preserved in one MS. only and both MSS. can be said to be only fairly correct. Through the kindness of Professor Geyer I had his copy of Tayālīsī for a short time and made a hasty copy of it for reference. Both works contain a large amount of poetry which is not otherwise accessible, and many pieces consist of fragments torn out of their surroundings and in consequence are difficult to understand. This may even be said of the longer pieces and the difficulty only proves how useful the ancient commentaries are, in spite of their frequently very useless information. Though much care has been bestowed upon the edition by the editors, I have found several errors which I have noted in reading the book and which follow hereafter. It is cheap glory to correct the errors of others after they have probably solved far greater difficulties in preparing texts which we now



read with ease. In many cases my emendations may not be acceptable to other competent scholars.

F. KRENKOW.

*Tayālīsī*

- p. 2, 2 f., perhaps غَرَّرَ. p. 3, 3 ult., رُقُودًا.  
 p. 12, 13, مَعْتَمَرٌ. p. 5, 2, فَالْعِ is correct.  
 p. 6, 6, I read MS. الشَّارَى. p. 6, 7, I read MS. بِعَامَرِيًّا أَوْ يَمِيحَ.  
 p. 24, 5. This verse appears to form part of a poem which the poet made upon the battle-day of Faif ar-Rih (Naqā'id 471-2); then the gap is after the word قَتْنَا and we must read قَتْنَا - - بِرَأْيِ الْأَمْرِ حُلَّتِمْ.  
 p. 24, 8, possibly تَلَالِي.  
 p. 25, 8, we must read زُمَيْلٌ وَلَا وَرَعَ.  
 p. 25, 11, ذُبَابُهُ; MS. has قُدْسٌ وَآرِقٌ, which is correct.  
 p. 26, 7, perhaps الْحُلْ.  
 p. 26, 8, read أَنْ and تَقْتَمَا, the V. form has transitive meaning.  
 p. 26, 9, with MS. الْيَهُودَ.  
 p. 27, 8, I read the MS. السَّجْعِي which is correct; cf. سَجْعٌ بِنِ عَامِرِ بْنِ لَيْثِ بْنِ بَكْرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ مَنَافَةَ (Qalqashandi, Nail ed. Baghdad, p. 249).  
 p. 27, 10, يَتَغَيَّرُنِي.  
 p. 28, 5, MS. reads الضَّيْفَانِ which is correct; cf. Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vii, 169, 13.  
 p. 28, 13, بِرَأْيِ. p. 29, 1, نَعْلُهُ.  
 p. 29 penult., الْمُطَالِبُ on account of تَعَذَّرَتْ.  
 p. 31, 3, وَخَزَرِ.  
 p. 31, 10, read أَلْهَتْ with MS., the first syllable is missing.  
 p. 32, 14, أَبُو غُرَيْرَةَ الرَّاهِدِ is correct. p. 33, 2, كَالنَّحْلِ.  
 p. 33, 3, كَالْفَصْرِ... يَمِينَا الْقُدَالِ, the MS. has الْغَنِي.  
 p. 32, 6, بَرَجْمُهُ and تَرَقَّصَ. p. 33, 11, قَصُوْ.  
 p. 33, 12, يَسْوَى.  
 p. 33, 15, delete لَا which is not in MS. and is against the metre.  
 p. 34, 4, read ذَرَعَ with MS. and خَيْفَ.  
 p. 34, 9, يُسَخِّصُهَا. p. 34, 13, الْقَفْصَ.

- p. 34, 14, أَرَضُوا.
- p. 34, 16, read بِحَمْلِهِ غَوَجٌ with MS. on account of ۛ in ثَاء.
- p. 34, 17, read الْعِيقَان with MS. p. 35, 5, سُبَطٌ with MS.
- p. 35, 6, is metrically wrong; MS. has نَعْتَمُونَ = يَنْتَمُونَ.
- p. 36, 2, الْبُهُود.
- p. 36, 13, with MS. أَبْدِيَهُمْ.
- p. 37, 1, MS. has correctly تَصْنِيفٌ.
- p. 37, 8, الْمَوْلَدِينَ ... نَشَأَ.
- p. 37, 14, النِّسَاءَ.
- p. 38, 2, طَرَفٌ.
- p. 38, 5, وَجَدَا.
- p. 38, 6, كَهُولًا وَسَبَانًا.
- p. 38, 7, عَذَارَا.
- p. 39, 1, أَقَادُ.
- p. 39, 11, تُغَيِّرَا.
- p. 40, 1, MS. has over ۛ the word وَجْهٌ.
- p. 40, 4, read فَتَحْجِجٌ with MS., which is required by the metre.
- p. 40, 10, the MS. has الشُّحْرَاتُ = الشُّحْرَاتُ.
- p. 41, 2, إِيَّاهُ.
- p. 41, 10, I do not understand الْاِهْنِينَ.
- p. 42, 3, عَلِيٌّ.
- p. 42, 13, this poem is generally ascribed to al-Mufaḍḍal an-Nukrī; cf. Aṣṣmaiyyāt, No. 55.
- p. 43, 3, MS. has فُرَّانَ.
- p. 43, 4, MS. has تَبِيقٌ.

### *Ibn al-Jarrāḥ*

- p. 20, 1, probably الْبَحْرِي after بَحْرٌ a clan of Tayyī', as a clan named بِحَطْر is not known.
- p. 20, 15, read فَدَجِبْتُ as he answers مَا جِئْتُ.
- p. 20, 17, read الْعَطِيرُ.
- p. 20, 19, read مَلِيًّا "for a while".
- p. 20, 20, الْأَخْصَرُ and خَطْلَةٌ.
- p. 21, 2, حَشَا.
- p. 21, 3, مَهْجُ الْفُوسِ لِلْعُغْرِ.
- p. 21, 4, لَمْ يَنْ.
- p. 21, 7, بِرَاغِبٍ.
- p. 21, 10, مُسْتَرَادًا.
- p. 21, 15 = فَرَّاسُ. the name is found thus also *Khiz.* iii, 38, while Ibn Qutaiba, *Poësis*, has فَرَّاسُ with F.
- p. 21, 18, there is an error of the scribe here, as the rhyme-word belongs to a verse omitted. The two verses are found Ibn Qutaiba, *Poësis*, 207, ll. 7, 8.
- p. 22, 1, أَصَارَنِي أَصَادُنِي is not possible, we must read أَصَارَنِي أَغْنَى  
"his arrow made me half-blind". Read الْكِبْدَا.



- p. 22, 2, read *أينا*.
- p. 23, 4, perhaps better *الْمَزْمَلِ* and *عَوْنًا* "for against their deceit is help from God, the mighty one".
- p. 23, 4, read *جذم*.
- p. 23, 11, in the beginning of a verse *إِنْ* would be better.
- p. 23, 3, read *وعلي سوف* "perhaps I may know some time".  
*لعل* for *لعل*.
- p. 24, 2, read *ظالم الموعِدَ* *Zāliminil-Mū'ida*; it happens occasionally, if rarely, that the Tanwin is drawn over and forms a short syllable in the metre, e.g. *Hutai'a*, No. 52, v. 1, *زَيْدًا ابْنَ مَهْلِيلٍ*.
- p. 24, 5, perhaps *ذروة*. p. 24, 6, *أَقْدَ* "exhausted".
- p. 24, 7, read *رُكْنَتِ*.
- p. 24, 9, read *الشُّرَدِ*, plural of *أَمْرَدٌ* "young man".
- p. 25, 2, read *ضَعْفَةٌ*. p. 25, 6, read *هَوَيْتَ*.
- p. 25, 8, read *آمِنَهَا*. p. 25, 12, read *عَمَرُو*.
- p. 25, 13, *حتى لك* appears to be wrong.
- p. 25, 20, *تَنْهِي عُرَيْتَ* "will Uraina never cease to blame me?"
- p. 26, 10, read *لَقَهُ الْقَطْرُ آيِبٌ*.
- p. 26, 13, read *النَّجْبِ* "who begets noble children".
- p. 26, 15, read *عُرَيَّانَ*. p. 27, 7, read *بِإِخْوَانِهِ*.
- p. 27, 10, read *بِناصفة*; *al-Bakhtari al-Ja'di* is cited, *LA.* xiii, 164-5.
- p. 27, 14, read *تَقْنَعَا* "when other people think of great deeds he hides himself".
- p. 27, 17, on account of *لَدَانِكَ* we must read *تَذَكَّرْتُ*. Read also *نَوَالٍ*.
- p. 28, 10 ff. This riddle is not easy to solve, the solution in each verse is "excrements". l. 14, for *سَلَاخٍ* he has *سَلَاخٍ*; l. 15, for *خُرُوفٍ* he has *خُرُوفٍ*; l. 16, for *خُرْدَةٍ* he has *خُرْدَةٍ*; l. 17, read *كِرْشٍ*.
- p. 29, 2, read *بِرْتَاءٍ*.
- p. 29, 3, read *حَالَامٍ* certainly not *جَالَامٍ* with Jim.
- p. 29, 12, as the poem is addressed to a woman read *لِي* and *سَرِيعَةً*.
- p. 29, 17, perhaps *نَامَةً*.

- p. 29, 18, read تَجَبَّل "bear patiently".
- p. 30, 2 ff. These verses are generally attributed to al-A'shar ar-Raqabān (cf. *LA.* iv, 23, which differs; the verses are frequently quoted and the source is Abū Zaid, *Nawādir*, p. 73).
- p. 30, 3, read مُصْبِرٌ. p. 30, 5, read مَسِيحٌ.
- p. 30, 6, read لَوْطِيكُ.
- p. 30, 7, 'Amr ibn Milqaṭ, who is frequently cited. The source is Abū Zaid, *Nawādir*, 62-3.
- p. 30, 14, read صُرَيْمٌ. His grandfather al-Bā'ith ibn Ṣuraim is well known.
- p. 31, 4, generally called عمرو بن الجعد, so *LA.* xi, 163; *Sharīshī*, i, 290; also called عُنْتِر, so Yaqut, s.v. نَقَرَى. Read قَهْد,
- p. 31, 6, read نَقَرَى with Yaqut, loc. cit.
- p. 31, 7, Yaqut reads يَصْطَلَفُ بَشْرٌ which is better; read also وَ يَشْرِكُوا without و.
- p. 31, 13, الوان أحبى is grammatically impossible, read لَوْ أَنَّ أَخِي "if my little brother were, etc."
- p. 33, 3, read زَيْبَا with Ḥamāsa, *Bulaq*, ii, 71; *Khiz.* ii, 344. Of the tribe of Taim Allāh ibn Tha'laba. ثعلبة.
- p. 33, 5, read أخوانه.
- p. 33, 8, read إِنْكَ يَاعَمْرُو وَتَرْسُكُ النَّدَى.
- p. 35, 3, perhaps better التَطَامِعُ.
- p. 37, 10 ff., the poem should be read with Sukūn on the last letter as in the Dīwān of 'Amr ibn Qamī'a; l. 13, read مَاجِدٌ; l. 15, مَاجِدٌ.
- p. 36, 1, read تَهْفَأُكَ; l. 3, read صَبُور "leaping".
- p. 36, 6, read أَفَى نَائِنٍ... تَأْوُهُ "Oh! Is it for two old camels, etc."; vide *LA.* vi, 446; xiii, 431.
- p. 36, 11, read الْجُوعُ; his father, Ḥakīm ibn Mu'ayya, is a well-known Rajaz poet.
- p. 37, 4, read جُنَادَة, the verse which follows is found in a poem ascribed to him, *Hudal*, 202, v. 3.
- p. 37, 13, read الْمُعَرَّ.
- p. 37, 14, read طَرَاتِثُ, plural of طَرَاتُوث, name of a red fungus.
- p. 37, 16, perhaps جَارِهِ... جَوًّا. p. 38, 3, read جَيْتَنَا.



- p. 38, 4, read *عَدْرَةٌ*.
- p. 38, 6, read *مِنَى*, place near Mecca, and *سِوَاكَا* toothstick.
- p. 38, 10, perhaps *الشريد*.
- p. 38, 14, read *ناعجة النقا* or *باعجة النقا*.
- p. 38, 15, read *لَحِقَ الْأَيَّاطِلِي* and *غِوَارِ*.
- p. 38, 17, *يَشْرِ هَجَفَ*.
- p. 39, 1, *L.A.* xv, 177, has the name of his father *دَرَاك*.
- p. 39, 2, al-Mazūn is correct; Mazōnā was already in the Syriac writings of the fourth century the name for 'Omān, later it became the nickname for the Azd of 'Omān.
- p. 39, 9 ff., I have read this poem elsewhere, but fail to trace it now.
- p. 39, 13, read *النابات*.
- p. 39, 16, read *القباء تينبر*, name of a well-known place.
- p. 40, 1, read *رَثَ*. These verses are cited by Ibn al-Jauzi, *Sirah 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz*, p. 239.
- p. 40, 3, read *سَرَيَاتَا*.
- p. 40, 6, Ibn al-Jauzi reads *كَنَتْ وَاحِدَهُم*.
- p. 40, note 1, v. 3, read *مصدق الوحي فينا أمير نامي*; v. 5, read *بِرْثُ*.
- p. 41, 6, read *فَضُولُهَا* and *تُرْدِي*.
- p. 41, 8, read *سُرِقَ*. p. 41, 13, read *طَرَّ*.
- p. 42, 2, read *تَنَصَّبَ*, plural of *نَصَبَ*.
- p. 42, 17, *سعيد* alone is right, he was treacherously killed by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān.
- p. 44, 8, probably *أَبُو جَحْوَشَ*. p. 44, 9, read *طَيَّانَ*.
- p. 44, 11, read *إِنِّي*. p. 44, 14, read *فَضَّلَ*.
- p. 45, 4, read *نَامَ*. It is an elegy upon al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī.
- p. 45, 7, the first hemistich is metrically wrong, we may read *أَسَاءَ نِي لِرَ أَيْ قَدْ أَسَاءَ*.
- p. 46, 10, a verse by this poet is cited, *L.A.* xviii, 175.
- p. 47, 17, read *طُولَ* and *الْأَرْدَلُونَ*.
- p. 48, 3, read *مِصْرًا*. p. 48, 5, read *مُفَرَّغٌ... التَّبَجُّ*.
- p. 48, 6, read *الْمَاءَ حَرَجَ*; cf. 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār, 193 = Cairo ed., i, 158-9.

- p. 49, 6, read تَلْطَى .
- p. 49, 16, read بِاللَّوْمِ .
- p. 50, 8, read رَجَالًا .
- p. 50, 18, read مَمِيتٌ .
- p. 51, 6, read أَوْسِدُ "I take for a pillow".
- p. 51, 7, read مِهَادٍ .
- p. 51, 16, read النِّدَاءِ .
- p. 52, 11, read أَصْبَحَتْ .
- p. 52, 16, أَتَا الْهِنَوَاتِ is impossible, but I cannot propose a suitable emendation.
- p. 53, 1. This poem is frequently cited, as by 'Amr ibn Juwain in the MS. of the *Ikhtiyārāin*, fol. 41r; by Abū Qurdūda in *Jāhīz*, *Bayān*, i, 132 = i, 90; *Ḥayawān*, v, 101.
- p. 53, 2, أَزْرَقَ الْعَيْنِ وَالشَّعْرَةَ .
- p. 53, 3, يَوْمًا تَطِيرُ لَكَ... سَرَرَةٌ .
- p. 53, 4, حَقَّةٌ... الْحَبْرَةَ .
- p. 53, 10, نُبَيْتُهُ أُسْرَابَ " (riders) which scare the swarms of sandgrouse".
- p. 53, 16, read لَا .
- p. 54, 7, Ibn at-Taifāniyya is cited *LA.* xi, 176; xiii, 267.
- p. 54, 10. The first hemistich is impossible, perhaps read أَبَاعِرُوا وَمَنْ .
- p. 54, 13, read فَصِيفُونَ "weak, easily broken".
- p. 54, 14, perhaps فُرَيْطٌ .
- p. 55, 1, read صَجَاعٌ .
- p. 55, 4, read يَغْلُو .
- p. 55, 5, read اسْتَخَفُّوا .
- p. 56, 11, read بِالنَّبِقِ .
- p. 58, 1, read تَسَحَّبَ الرِّبْعَةَ .
- p. 58, 5, perhaps عَرَامِي is better.
- p. 58, 9, read يَتَبَعْنَ .
- p. 58, 17, read لَا يَدُّ .
- p. 59, 3, read سِهَامٌ .
- p. 59, 4, read دَعَوْتِهِمْ on account of لَمْ تَقُلْ .
- p. 59, 7, أَلَا هِيَ is impossible and we must probably read أَلَا هِيَ as plural of أَلْفٌ or أَلَا هِيَ as plural of أَلْفٌ. But to what do these verses allude? Instead of تَقْبِلُهَا one expects a jussive. And then the feminine, to what has it relation? To the Caliphate? Or to a woman? Perhaps we should read تَقْبِلُهَا .



- p. 59, 16, read *أَرَاهُطُ* التي وضعت ; so also *Agh.* iv, 145 ; *LA.* ix, 177.
- p. 60, 2, cited anonymously *LA.* xi, 128.
- p. 60, 9, read *يَحْيَبُ*. p. 60, 11, read *غَضِبُ*.
- p. 61, 1, perhaps *عِيس*.
- p. 61, 7, the father of al-Mustaughir is generally called Rabi'a.
- p. 61, 8, read *يَشْشُ*. I. Duraid, *Geneal.* 154 ; Mu'ammari, 8.
- p. 61, 15, read *حَدَّثَنِي* "my grave".
- p. 61, 16, read *أَوْدَى بِحَلَوَاتِي*. p. 62, 3, read *تَرَعَدَ*.
- p. 62, 4, read *جِلَه... صَيَّقَتْه*. p. 62, 7, read *حَلَوَتْه*.
- p. 62, 12, read *جَارَ* the place where the pebbles are cast.
- p. 62, 17, *لَا تَرَالُ يُهَيِّجُهُ*, unusual construction.
- p. 63, 2, perhaps *لَهَجَ*. p. 63, 3, read *تَخْدِي* "trots".
- p. 63, 12, read *مَنْعَ*. p. 63, 13, read *تَرْدِي... الحَيْفَ*.
- p. 63, 14, *الغلات*.
- p. 63, 16 ff., according to *LA.* xii, 103, by 'Amr b. Umāma, which is the same person ; but *LA.* xi, 423, it is attributed to 'Amr ibn Fuhaira.
- p. 64, 9, *مَكْدَسًا* makes no sense, we must read *مَكْدَسًا* or *مَكْدَسًا*.
- p. 64, 11, read *إِنِّي*. p. 64, 12, perhaps *الْعَذَال*.
- p. 66, 7, read *بِرَجْعَ*. p. 66, 9, read *الْبَيْدَ*.
- p. 66, 10, perhaps *بَسْمَ*. p. 67, 15, read *الْحَادَاتِ*.
- p. 68, 6, read *وَجُلَ*. p. 68, 17, read *لِنَرِ حَوْلَ*.

F. K.

TAHĀRAT AHL AL-KITĀB. By ABU 'ABD ALLAH AZ-ZINJĀNĪ.  
Dar as-Salām Press, Baghdād, A.H. 1345. 29 pp. 8vo.

The author is a learned Mujtahid of Zinjān in Persia, and tells us in the introduction to this treatise that he made the pilgrimage in the year 1342 by the way of Suez and Jidda on a steamer on which most of the crew and officers were non-Muslims and that this made him consider the question of the lawfulness of Muslims having intercourse with adherents of other creeds. The book has caused some sensation in Iraq and Persia and has been confiscated, as I have been informed by Père Anastase, in 'Irāq. Considering the frequent inter-

course of Christians and Jews with Muhammadans in almost all Muslim countries, this may at first sight appear rather strange, but religious feeling runs higher than we in the West can readily understand.

The whole treatise is held within the margins of a literary discussion and the author brings forward citations from the Kur'an and especially from Shi'ah theologians. His first aim is to elucidate the term "Mushrikūn" and to decide whether Christians and Jews should be classed with them. He comes to the conclusion that they are not included in this term, as both creeds are adherents of monotheism, and he even allows this for the followers of Zoroaster, referring to the investigations of Williams Jackson and West, thus showing that he has made himself acquainted with English works on the subject. He then discusses whether a Muslim can eat out of the same vessels as a Christian or Jew, shake hands with them and associate with them in other ways, and brings forward the opinions of the most renowned Shi'ah (and some Sunni) theologians, which are far from being in accord. He comes to the conclusion that even these savants with all their learning may not have access to all genuine records, that from this has arisen their difference of opinion, and that after all a Muslim *can* associate with non-believers if he takes due precautions.

With all his learning Zinjani does not give prominence to the historic facts that in the earlier times of Islam Christians and Jews were admitted freely to the society of Muslims. I would mention the association of Abu Zubaid with al-Walid ibn 'Uqba, who is even stated to have been his half-brother on his mother's side; the free admission of al-Akhtal to the court of the caliphs at Damascus, and especially that the mother of the Imam 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidīn was a Persian princess, while more than one of the other twelve Imams had Christian mothers.

It is a pity that the little book should have been confiscated as the contents are instructive and instead of doing



harm would have contributed towards the breaking of the barriers of prejudice and ignorance which still exist in Shi'ah lands.

F. K.

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THE LETTERS OF GERTRUDE BELL. Selected and edited by LADY BELL. 2 vols.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . Benn, London, 1927.

It is said, and in a measure truly, that the hurry and rush of modern life have killed the art of letter writing. Gertrude Bell, in a life that was filled to overflowing with event and excitement, found time to write letters that refute this assertion. Most of the letters contained in these two volumes were written to her father and stepmother, and in addition to being intimate tributes of devotion are almost invariably vivid and clear descriptions of her wonderful experiences. To those who possessed her friendship they conjure up poignant memories, for Gertrude Bell wrote as she spoke and lives again in every line. Her vital and vivid personality shines out so conspicuously, and awakes such extensive recollections in the memories of her friends, that the amount of their interest to the ordinary reader is difficult for a friend to assess.

The extent to which they have been censored and abridged, causes inevitable gaps, which to some can be partially filled but to many must remain blanks in the history of her career. The very intimacy of the letters increases the annoyance caused by the gaps, for, to the curious mind, a free and full expression of her views and opinions on men and affairs would be of extreme interest. Propriety and consideration for the skin of her subjects have prohibited this satisfaction of the curious—among which subjects are doubtless to be found many of the curious themselves. Her inmost views on such events as the pre-1920 affairs, and the Sayid Taalib *coup d'état* must therefore remain unpublished.

To quibble at these gaps, however, is ungracious when such a feast of interest is afforded. The letters clearly show her as a woman filled from her early days with enthusiasm and

a high ideal of life and adventure. Her keen, sharp wit and quick brain made her outstanding, though it is doubtful if she ever possessed the virtue of suffering fools, even Arab fools, gladly. Oxford behind her, she seems in her letters to rush into the stress of life with bubbling joy and delight. "The fun I am having," is her oft-repeated cry.

The East caught her young, and inspired and excited, for a period, the poetic instinct within her. She was 23 and visiting Persia when its mysterious and undefinable spirit took possession of her to hold her a willing captive in tightening shackles till the day of her death. After Persia she toured the world, and spent a few years at home in England, or on the Continent where princes or pundits were met, estimated, and labelled, but in 1899 the East called her back and inspired her with the determination to make her great ultimate journey to Nejd. From then onwards, though she broke away occasionally to astonish the Alpine climbing world, she irresistibly gravitated back to the desert and her beloved Arabs. In 1905, after her second world tour—made, she said, to regain the day she had lost—she was again in Syria "playing at being an archæologist", breaking new ground, making new friends, and joyfully meeting old ones, and almost—but not quite—regretting that she was not a man.

Her journeys, labours, and adventures prior to her great journey to Nejd have all been put before the world in her publications, and the letters add little that is new. But the war which broke out shortly after she returned from that last great endeavour prevented her from writing what would undoubtedly have been her greatest book. The letters give glimpses of what the journey was and the book would have been, and it is to be sincerely hoped that her full diary and records will be published in the near future.

She returned from Nejd in May, 1914, worn out by her wonderful effort, and was in England when war was declared. With characteristic energy she directed all her efforts to war work; for a time in England, then in France, tracing wounded



and missing. Her unique and valuable knowledge of Arabia was very soon required in the Middle and Near East, and she was called upon to assist the Arab bureau in Cairo, where Colonel Lawrence, whom she had met in earlier days, was taking an active part in raising the Arab revolt.

March, 1916, found her in Iraq, the land which was to see the climax of her life's work. For a year she worked in Basra, through a hot summer which she found trying to her health and her clothes, then early in 1917 she was transferred to Baghdad, where within a few days of her arrival she had installed herself in the house in the garden where she spent the remainder of her life. The summer of 1917, which was exceptionally severe, again tried her health very seriously, but she held grimly to her task. Her letters during this period show her depressed and at times almost despairing, but it was not until mid-1918 that she went to Persia for a short rest.

Her views expressed in letters written immediately after the war are extremely interesting, particularly those in which she states her clear conviction that British rule and British rule only is desired in the country. How long she held this conviction it is impossible from her letters to deduct, for the period during 1919, when she was in England, and up to and during the 1920 rising, is but sparsely illustrated; that this is inevitable is to be regretted, for a fuller knowledge of the currents and undercurrents of that unfortunate period is greatly desired. That she was in sympathy with the Arab point of view, whatever it was, is clearly expressed, but the extent and nature of her dreams for the future are obscure. On one point she was sure of herself, and that was that she would see the matter through to the bitter end—even if the "Scuttle" policy carried the day.

The return of Sir Percy Cox fills her once more with joy and the awakening ideal of Arab nationality with an almost boundless enthusiasm. To the realization of this ideal she devoted the remainder of her life. The fever of excitement

in which she lived until Feisal was precariously placed on his throne and the boundless energy she displayed in all matters which would further his cause are clearly shown in the interesting letters during this period. In fact, so fervent and enthusiastic does she become that occasionally her terms of admiration and jubilation savour of exaggeration. If, however, her fervour and devotion ever swung her off the clear balance of accurate judgment her natural sanity quickly righted her again.

With Feisal appointed King of a practically independent nation, though held in place and together by a cement of British prestige, Gertrude's Bell's great work in Iraq was finished. Though her energies were willingly devoted to any and every useful purpose which lay to her hand, the letters clearly show that, after the departure of Sir Percy Cox, her sphere of useful work was diminishing and becoming circumscribed. To her old love, archæology, at which she had played in 1905 and subsequently excelled in, she returned once more. Her love for it had never been abandoned, but her multitudinous interests had left her but little time to devote to it. Her later letters show the meticulous care and attentive enthusiasm with which she carried out her duties as Hon. Director of Antiquities. The financial condition of the new-born State precluded any possibility of expenditure on staff or equipment, but with the well-intentioned assistance of a local clerk, a local official, and a friend, she undertook the responsibility of organizing and administering the new department. That she exercised the authority devolving on her in the best interests of Archæology and the State of Iraq, as far as the two interests could be compatibly combined, few will deny.

The letters written during this last phase of her career show that the climax or zenith of her life had been reached and just passed when she died, and it must be felt that, to her, death was the easiest parting from the land and people she loved so well.

J. M. WILSON.



BIBLIOTHECA ARABICA SCHOLASTICORUM. Série Arabe, tome ii. *Algazel, Taháfut al-Falásifat*. Texte arabe établi per MAURICE BOUYGES, S.J. 10 × 6½, xxix + 446 pp. Beyrouth, Imprimerie Catholique, 1927.

Although El Ghazâli, who died at the beginning of the 6th-12th century, is very well known to all students of Islamic civilization, it may be permitted to recall that he was one of the greatest theologians of Islam, an original thinker and abundant writer, and that Muhammadan orthodoxy is hardly less indebted to him than to Abû el Hasan el Ash'ari, his predecessor by some two centuries. Like El Ash'ari, El Ghazâli met his opponents with their own weapons. He has the credit of being the first to defend the articles of faith from the philosophers by using their own dialectic against them.

In a book called *Maqâsid et Falâsifa*, El Ghazâli gives an account of philosophic doctrines. His defence of the orthodox position is contained in *Tahâfut et Falâsifa*, in which he attacks the philosophers and makes out that their systems are full of flaws and fallacies instead of being logically sound, as had been imagined. Within less than a century the Spanish Arab Ibn Rushd (Averroes) produced a rejoinder entitled *Tahâfut et Tahâfut*. These books exercised considerable influence during the middle ages not only in the East, but also in Europe, where they were studied and several Latin versions of the last of them were made. All three will be published in this series. El Ghazâli's *Tahâfut*, which is second on the list for publication, is the first to come out.

*Tahâfut* in the title has been translated in many different ways, as can be seen from the various renderings brought together by the editor in his introduction. The author uses the word several times in the text, and it is clear that ruin, destruction, and similar terms do not convey the meaning he intended. Father Bouyges favours "incohérence", but this translation hardly fits in all the passages. Fallaciousness appears to be substantially what El Ghazâli meant, but it

does not include the idea of precipitancy given by the Arabic. There seems indeed to be no single equivalent for *tahâfut* in English.

The book is divided into twenty chapters, each devoted to particular points of doctrine or questions, such as the philosophers' view that the universe is eternal, their inability to establish a proof that the First (Cause) is not a corporeal being. The four last chapters are grouped under Natural Science, the others under Theology. El Ghazâlî proceeds by means of orderly reasoning, with an occasional illustration, but no unnecessary digression, apart from a remonstrance now and then. He is careful to explain thoroughly the teachings which he undertakes to show to be wrong or unsubstantiated, for, as he says, to contest an opinion without a perfect exposition of it, is shooting in the dark; accordingly he sets out methodically all the arguments advanced in favour before putting forward his refutation or objections. In his preface he gives his reasons for writing and names Aristotle as the leader of the philosophers and El Fârâbî and Ibn Sinâ (Avicenna) as his principal Islamic followers, but he intimates that he is not attacking any single body of co-ordinated doctrines and draws in turn from the beliefs of the Mu'tazila, Karrâmîya, and Wâqifiya the opinions with which he charges the philosophers. Three of their tenets which he enumerates he regards as entirely inconsistent with Islam, and thus as constituting infidelity worthy of death. He leaves open the question how far their other views put them outside the pale of the Muhammadan religion. One of the manuscripts used for the present edition gives the exact date of the composition of *Et Tahâfut*, which was not known before. The discovery is a valuable one, for it shows that the book was finished only a few months before El Ghazâlî gave up his position at the Nizâmîya College, and set out on the wanderings in which he turned to Sufism.

The merits of *Et Tahâfut* from the point of view of theology must be left to the judgment of those well enough acquainted



with the scholastic systems and their development to be able to test El Ghazâlî's arguments according to rule and to decide how far he can be credited with any independent contribution to scholasticism. The book contains some subtleties of reasoning that are not easy to follow, and ordinary readers at times may shrink from the labour. There is, however, no difficulty in appreciating the directness and vigour of the author's style, the view that he affords of the principal problems by which the Muhammadan religious world was exercised in his day, and of the beliefs prevalent with regard to them, and his plain indication of his own position.

*Et Tahâfut* has been studied by several modern European scholars, and some of them have translated parts of it. They have been obliged to depend upon uncritical editions, the earliest being a Cairo edition of 1885, of which the other two seem to be little more than reproductions. A reliable text for such a book is most necessary. In providing the first critical edition, Father Bouyges has carried out his work so as to leave nothing to be desired. He has been at great pains to make a thorough search for material and has succeeded in finding an abundant quantity, including citations from El Ghazâlî's work in other books, the principal one being *Tahâfut et Tahâfut*, where nearly the whole of its text is reproduced. He has even been to the trouble of collating entirely a Hebrew translation of *Tahâfut et Tahâfut*. Of *Et Tahâfut* alone, the number of manuscripts he has examined is no less than seventeen. His text is based upon eight of the earliest, three of which date from within seventy years of the composition of the original. He gives the variants of these manuscripts and of the chief printed editions of *Et Tahâfut*, and of *Tahâfut et Tahâfut*, regularly in footnotes, with occasional readings from the other sources. His introduction supplies full bibliographical details, he has headed each page of the text with a brief Latin indication of the substance that will be found very convenient for reference, and he has provided several tables and indices, among which a view of

the principal assertions in the text containing 879 entries, and an index of more than 3,000 technical terms deserve particular notice. These aids to study extend the range of the utility of the book beyond its immediate subject and considerably enhance its value. The text has been printed with great care, as can be seen from the difficulty of finding even one or two of the most trifling misprints. Altogether the book has had a remarkable amount of labour devoted to it, and is a very satisfactory production.

A. R. GUEST.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES ŒUVRES DE IGNACE GOLDZIHÉ. Par BERNARD HALLER, avec une introduction biographique de M. Louis Massignon. 11 × 7, xvii + 99 pp. Paris, 1927. Publications de l'école nationale des langues orientales vivantes.

The life of Professor Goldziher was not an eventful one, but the career of a man of such great distinction is always interesting to follow. Besides the necessary biographical details, M. Massignon gives a sympathetic appreciation of the celebrated Orientalist and his achievement. He began as an author at the early age of twelve, and the list of his publications shows how constantly his literary activity was maintained up to the end of his days. The list includes 592 separate items, ranging from the well known books down to short articles and notices. Professor Goldziher's publications appeared in altogether eight different languages. Many of his works were in Hungarian, and M. Heller provides brief epitomes of the principal ones of these. By means of chronological and other grouping, the list is well arranged for convenient reference.

A. R. GUEST.

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TROIS CONFÉRENCES SUR L'ARMÉNIE FAITES À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE STRASBOURG. Par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. Paris, 1927. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, tome 46.)

These lectures were delivered in February, 1926, under the auspices of the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Strasbourg, and the writer of the present notice had the pleasure of hearing them. M. Macler is well known as an authority on Armenian subjects; twenty years ago he had already published a Catalogue of the Armenian (and Georgian) MSS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and since then he has done much historical and linguistic work; he has also taken a prominent part in making known to the world the desperate plight of the Armenian nation since the end of the Great War. Such a little book as this, with its thirty-two reproductions of good photographs, chiefly architectural, should attract many new students and increase the number of those anxious to show their practical sympathy for an admirable race, to whom the world in general and the Allies in particular are indebted.

Part I is entitled "A propos de l'Eglise arménienne", showing how the autonomous autocephalous Church since its adoption of the monophysite doctrine has safeguarded the language, literature, and civilization of its members and imbued them with a democratic and fraternal spirit which has often saved them from ruin.

Part II, "En marge de l'Eglise arménienne," gives an account of the paganism found in folklore and translations of some folktales, showing the influence of the old religion on the new; the activity of sectarians, e.g. Paulicians, the various migrations of the patriarchal see until its final establishment, in 1442, at Edchmiadzin in the shadow of Ararat.

Part III, "Arménie et civilisation," is chiefly devoted to Armenia's contributions to the welfare of the world in agriculture, commerce, industry, music, literature, and, above all, architecture. To the general reader it will be news to learn that the churches of Rosheim (Alsace), St. Nectaire

(Auvergne), Notre-Dame du Port (Clermont-Ferrand), and the modern Synagogue of Strasbourg all have Armenian characteristics.

These lectures were certainly well worthy of publication in a cheap, attractive little volume of 146 pages, with good illustrations.

O. W.

THE LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS. By ADOLF ERMAN. Translated into English by AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd. pp. xlv + 318. 8vo.

In 1923 Dr. Erman, who inaugurated the studies of the language of ancient Egypt which have completely revolutionized our understanding of the grammar and syntax of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, published a collection of the principal Egyptian literary texts under the title of "Die Literatur der Aegypter". This publication was justly hailed with enthusiasm, because it brought together for the first time authoritative translations in a convenient form of texts, many of which had to be sought for in scattered technical publications. The previous translations of many of the texts, moreover, were of very unequal value, and some of them at least, though satisfactory in their day, had become completely out of date. At the time when the original German publication of Dr. Erman's book appeared, the hope was expressed by many reviewers that an English edition might be issued, and so place at the disposal of all English-speaking readers, specialists and laymen alike, the oldest body of literature in the world without the preliminary necessity of being able to read German fluently. This hope has now been realized, and Dr. A. M. Blackman has prepared the English edition now under notice. Dr. Erman was fortunate indeed in being able to secure the services of so



competent a scholar, for the English edition is not merely a translation of the original German, but has been controlled throughout by direct reference to the Egyptian texts themselves. Egyptian idioms and niceties of phrase are difficult to render in a modern language, and to have taken these at second-hand through the medium of the German translation, would often have resulted in missing the point or intention of the often obscurely worded ideas of the ancient scribes. By consulting the originals, Dr. Blackman has always succeeded in catching just the true sense of the Egyptian texts whilst at the same time giving an accurate and literal translation of the German.

We have in this book the double authority of one of the acknowledged masters of the ancient Egyptian language for the original and the competent scholarship of Dr. Blackman for the translation: there is therefore singularly little that a reviewer can say. This admirable volume for the first time places before the English reader a complete and representative series of the literary didactic and poetical works of the ancient Egyptians. In the 'seventies of the last century a laudable attempt to familiarize English readers with the ancient literature of Egypt was made in the series of books issued under the title of "Records of the Past", to which most of the leading scholars of the day contributed. This series, however, has long since become obsolete, for not only has our knowledge of the language increased by leaps and bounds in the last fifty years, but also many new texts have since been discovered. The series, moreover, aimed chiefly at presenting the historical rather than the literary texts. The English editions of Maspero's *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt* have made English-speaking readers familiar with the stories and tales of the Egyptians, but with these exceptions, almost the only other authoritative sources of information were the technical editions of various individual texts scattered in many scientific publications difficult of access to the general reader.

Dr. Erman's book begins with a series of extracts from the poetical portions of the Pyramid Texts and covers the whole field of Middle Kingdom literary papyri, which contain stories, didactic works, and poems. A most valuable part of the book is that which deals with the numerous ostraca and papyri of the New Kingdom, most of which are school-books, and which contain, besides extracts from the larger classical works, a great variety of fascinating and amusing topics. Many of these pieces are here presented for the first time. It is needless to say that the work of such an author and such a translator is excellent both in substance and execution, and whilst we are grateful for the great mass of interesting matter thus laid before us, we cannot help regretting that no magical texts are included in the collection. The Berlin papyrus of spells for mother and child, for instance, of which Dr. Erman himself was the first editor, would have been a welcome addition, and extracts from the magical papyri of Leiden and Turin would also have been appreciated. Perhaps this suggestion may receive consideration when the author is preparing a second edition, which is certain to be called for at no distant date. There is another point to which we would call attention: and that is the absence of references to the pages or sections of the original Egyptian texts. If such references had been indicated in the margins, the general reader would not have been affected by their presence, whilst the student who wishes to consult text and translation together would find his work greatly facilitated. A student who wishes to refer to a particular passage of the *Wisdom of Ptah-hotpe*, or of the *Westcar Papyrus*, for instance, would not find it easy to identify at once in these long texts the phrase or sentence to which he had the reference. Perhaps this point, also, will be kept in mind when a new edition is under consideration.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

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THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT. By WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN, with a Foreword by R. R. MARRETT. pp. 330, 186 figures, 8vo. London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd. Price 15s. net.

It is nearly a century ago since Edward William Lane published his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, a work which has remained our principal source of information upon its subject. The best fate which can befall any book, however good, is that it may be superseded by a better, and in taking leave of Lane's classical monograph, we have to welcome its successor in Miss Blackman's book, which is now before us. Miss Blackman has acquired the happy power of so completely winning the confidence of the peasant women of Upper Egypt that she has been able to present to her readers a great mass of detail covering the most intimate and cherished beliefs and ideas of the peasant population of the Nile Valley.

Throughout his long residence in Egypt, the late Sir Gaston Maspero ever had his ears open for any scrap of native lore, any song, story, or tradition, which might fall from the lips of a people whose mental ideas are at once elementally simple and intricately complex. In interpreting obscure allusions in the ancient Egyptian texts, Maspero nearly always found a suggestion, if not an explanation, in modern analogies, but although many valuable observations bearing upon the customs and beliefs of the modern fellāḥīn and their Pharaonic ancestors are scattered throughout his voluminous writings, he never made a systematic study of a subject which might be described as dear to his heart. No one would have welcomed more heartily than Maspero the publication of Miss Blackman's book.

A century of experience in anthropological method has placed the author in the advantageous position, which was impossible to Lane and his contemporaries, of being able to discern just the kind of information that was required, and how to classify and interpret the resulting facts. Her

volume is packed with interesting facts from beginning to end.

Many of the features of Egyptian peasant life which provide the greatest interest to anthropologists are just those which make the most doleful reading for the sociologist. In spite of the gradual infiltration of ideas and customs from the west, the fellāhīn still remain in many respects in a condition of social and eugenic degradation. Like their ancient ancestors, however, their cheerful fatalism carries them through, and to one who, like Miss Blackman, has long resided amongst them, they reveal certain sterling traits of character.

We cannot now examine in detail the very full account (which, as we are told in the Preface, is to be followed by a fuller one) of the various aspects of social, industrial, and religious life which these pages unfold. A welcome addition is made to the collection of native stories already available in the series of six village tales which Miss Blackman has given us. Spitta Bey, Dulac, and others have collected a series of vernacular tales, and these, with the new additions, are most interesting to compare with the literary and classic stories of the educated Arab writers.

Of particular interest to Egyptologists is the concluding chapter in which the analogies between modern and ancient customs are reviewed with very full bibliographical references. Full as it is, this chapter, as the author admits, might be very considerably extended. The book is well illustrated with 186 figures, mostly from the author's own photographs, and is provided with a very full and useful series of four indexes.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

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LA MISE À MORT DU DIEU EN ÉGYPTE. PAR ALEXANDRE MORET. 4to. 59 pp. + 18 figures. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927.

This brochure contains the substance of the Frazer lecture delivered by the author in Oxford in 1926. The purport



of the lecture is to set forth the Egyptian evidence for the Frazerian doctrine of *The Dying God*, that is to say, the ceremonial death and resurrection of the god or spirit of fertility and nature in order to promote abundance of food and prosperity to mankind. In the *Golden Bough*, as is well known, Sir James Frazer has collected an enormous mass of detail from the customs and folklore of all parts of the world, including, of course, Ancient Egypt. He was, naturally, dependent to a large extent upon the information—not always reliable—imparted by classical writers, chiefly Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch. Professor Moret, being an Egyptologist, has the advantage of direct access to native sources, the hieratic papyri and hieroglyphic inscriptions of ancient Egypt, and in this essay his object has been to use this evidence in order to supplement that already collected by Sir James Frazer, and to apply to ancient Egypt what he calls “la théorie frazérienne”. It must be frankly admitted that the author has produced a most interesting and readable essay and has collected into a convenient compass a large mass of data bearing upon his demonstration. He begins by showing that in Egypt magic was paramount and that in Egypt, as elsewhere, the magicians claimed powers over nature and used those powers to effect, or at least to stimulate, the functions of nature. He refers to various magical spells, the object of which was to vitalize the sun, the earth, and the inundation on which the prosperity of the country depended. It was clearly part of the magician's make-believe that all the forces of nature were obedient to his commands, and Professor Moret might have referred in this connexion to the frequent threats used by magicians to suspend nature if their purpose were thwarted. Very interesting are the magical ceremonies performed in order to placate and stimulate the Nile. Needless to say, the god Osiris, as a corn-spirit, plays a leading rôle in the beliefs and ceremonies connected with the death and revival of nature according to the seasons. A long series of rites and customs

is quoted, to which very close parallels can be discerned in many different countries. Professor Moret has discussed these rites with great lucidity and with good bibliographical notes. His final conclusions are that the "théorie frazérienne" affords a reasonable explanation of the Osirian myth, of the sacrifice of sacred animals, and probably also of the jubilee festival of the king. In the reviewer's opinion, this is putting the cart before the horse, for it is surely obvious that exactly the reverse is the case. The Egyptian customs and beliefs are far older than those of any of the numerous other peoples whose practices have been so diligently collected and admirably marshalled in the *Golden Bough*. Osiris, the dead king *par excellence*, and the complex series of customs and beliefs associated with his cult, as corn-god, Nile-god, or god of the dead, can hardly be said to fall into place in a universal scheme, but they are rather the factors which originated the great fabric of institutions and rites which spread in all directions through time and space. It is nevertheless quite true that many present-day observances amongst peoples of relatively low culture are often suggestive as to the meaning or intention of much that is obscure in the mythology and eschatology of ancient Egypt, and the fact that a widespread, vast, and complex series of rites and beliefs, however they may differ in superficial details, and however irrational they may appear to modern criticism, have essentially the same foundation and purpose, seems to postulate that they owe their existence to a common ancestor. The close agreement of the Egyptian evidence with that of other countries points to Egypt as the birthplace of the idea which is so well expressed by the "théorie frazérienne", and to the wonderful and distinctive phenomenon of the annual inundation of the Nile as the principal factor in its origin.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

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1. EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC. A Conversation Grammar. By W. H. T. GAIRDNER. Second (Revised) Edition. 9 × 6. Oxford University Press, 1926.
2. EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL ARABIC READER. Edited by E. E. ELDER. 9 × 6. Oxford University Press, 1927.
3. MANUAL OF EGYPTIAN ARABIC. By D. C. PHILLOTT and A. POWELL. 7½ × 5. Cairo: The Authors, 1926.

Canon Gairdner has thoroughly enjoyed himself, and that is the best guarantee that those who use his book will enjoy it too. They will do more—they will learn colloquial Egyptian more rapidly and accurately than they could from any other source whatever. The mentally inert will be put off by the phonetic script employed throughout, but no one who has used it can fail to recognize that it is preferable to any Roman script, and infinitely preferable to Arabic script. The care bestowed on subtle points of accentuation and assimilation and the grasp of idiom are but two of the features in which this grammar definitely supersedes all its predecessors, and is unlikely ever to find an equal. Details here and there may be questioned, but who would demand uniformity in the present state of Egyptian speech? For extracting the full measure, pressed down and running over, contained in it a native Egyptian teacher is indispensable, but it can be used very profitably even by the private student, provided he knows something of Arabic pronunciation. In one point only, namely, in several of the sections appended to each lesson "towards translation", it appears to make unduly high demands on the beginner.

Mr. Elder's reader, also in phonetic script, is an admirable supplement to Canon Gairdner's grammar. While the requirements of the missionary student are kept in view throughout (very properly under the circumstances) there is a welcome variety in its contents, which have the additional merit of forming a valuable introduction to Egyptian life and customs, notably in the dialogues and the lecture on manners.

The third book on our list cannot compare with the other two for practical convenience and accuracy. It is cumbrous, both in arrangement and size, and neither the peculiar Roman transliteration adopted nor the Arabic script conveys satisfactorily to the student's ear the sounds of the spoken language. This is not to say that the book is valueless. Far from it. The student who has mastered the rudiments of Arabic and who knows the pronunciation and accentual system of Egyptian in particular will find it a mine of material in the matter of idiom and vocabulary.

H. A. R. GIBB.

SCIENTIFIC ZULU GRAMMAR. By Rev. W. WANGER. Vol. I. Series, *Opera Africana quibus edendis operam dant Revs. A. Drexel, H. Nekes, P.S.M., W. Wanger.* 9 × 6; xix + 346 pp. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Publishing and Printing Firm.

Father Wanger, who has worked as a missionary in the Zulu lands of East Africa, endeavours to establish a relation between the agglutinating language of the Bantu people and Sumerian. This thesis is only a side issue of his book; for he has set out to write a grammar of the Bantu dialects from the point of view of scientific comparative grammar, and obviously hopes to found a new science of comparative agglutinating languages, after the manner of comparative Indo-Germanic and Semitic grammar. The reviewer has no knowledge of the Bantu languages, except for what he has learned from some correspondence with the English missionary, the Rev. W. A. Crabtree, of Ipswich, who attempted to convince him of the connexion with Sumerian by certain etymological comparisons. Father Wanger's book is a case of *qui scit Scotum scit totum*. He evidently knows the Zulu languages, and everything which has been written about them, very thoroughly, and he has submitted his work to me for a review to obtain an opinion on his Sumerian thesis.

He employs, everywhere, the word *Ntu* for *Bantu*. Since



the Zulu peoples never invented a script of their own, the missionaries and civilians who have lived in East Africa and studied the dialects have transcribed their phonetic elements in Latin letters; the author begins by explaining these phonetic sounds, and here I am at once struck by a great disparity between Sumerian and Zulu. It may well be true that Sumerian possessed the three musical tones of Bantu; the author does not venture to say so, but Professor John D. Prince has asserted it in many articles. If so, we have lost the Sumerian musical tones irretrievably; they have left us no indication in their grammatical works, and the few musical notes added to the lines of Sumerian liturgies clearly refer to instrumental or song notes. They are not indicative of linguistic tones. I doubt that Sumerian possessed the *inspiratae* or "clicks" of Bantu and it did not know the palatal click *k* (*q*), the lateral fricative *hl*, and affricative *dhl*, or the nasalized lateral *nhl*. The vowels, however, seem to be practically the same as in Sumerian, and so are many of the phonetic principles governing sound change, especially the principles of assimilation of vowels, i.e. vowel harmony. A good many of the consonantal changes, e.g. *g* > *b*, *d* > *z*, *n* > *l*<sup>1</sup>, and many others are common in Sumerian.

There are some very striking similarities in the vocabularies. Zulu has *aka*, to build, make, and Sum. *aga*, same sense; Zulu *ama*, thirst, and Sum. *imma*, and there is the similarity of the pronouns, Sum. *aba*, who?, Zulu *uba*, who?; Sum. *ana*, what? Zulu *ni*, what? Moreover, both are employed in the same ways in the two groups, *aba* personal, *ana* impersonal. Wanger also adduces similar words from Japanese and Altaic, p. 281. Most striking is the use of class determinatives in Sumerian and Bantu. In both groups these may be prefixed or suffixed. But here Wanger

<sup>1</sup> This occurs in Sumerian, as I stated in my grammar, p. 44 above, and explains the Sumerian negative forms in *l*. So Sum. *nu* (not), becomes *li*, before *bi*, *be*, *li-be-in-tuk*, he obtained not; *li-be-in-aga*. Sum. *na* > *la*, before *ba*, *ibid.*, n. 2.

seems to have been seriously misled in his Sumerian philology. On pp. 57-8, he claims that Sumerian employs *gi(sh)* and *mū* as determinatives of persons, and repeats it in many places. The Sum. personal (prefixed) determinative is *galu* > *lu* and *mulu*. It is true that Sum. *giš*, *geš*, *muš* > *mu* does mean *īlu*, male, sturdy one, but never "man" (*amēlu*) in a generic sense as a *determinative*. Its only use as a determinative is before words for kinds of wood and implements. It is entirely erroneous to compare this word *giš* with Zulu personal determinative *isi*, although Zulu determinative for "place" *si*, may be properly compared with Sum. *ki*, and Zulu personal prefix *li* may well be compared with Sum. *lu*. A comparison is made between Zulu determinative *mu* for "trees" and Sum. *mu* dialectic for *giš*, which is proper, but when the author states that Sum. *mu*, to burn, and *mu*, fire, are the same root as *giš* > *mu*, wood, he is fallen into grievous error. Again I doubt the author's comparison of Zulu "space prefix", *mu*, with Sum. *mu* "year"; for surely *mu* came to mean "year" in Sumerian because it means "name", and each year had its name or year formula, a late meaning given to *mu*, after the Egyptian method was introduced by Sargon of Accad. So far as I can see, Zulu prefix *si* < *isi*, *izi*, can stand for the prefix of *persons*, *language*, *manner*, *animals*, *woods*, *places*, and *diminutives*. Of these the only proper comparisons are with Sum. *giš* wood, and *ki* place. The personal prefix *ni*, may well be the Sumerian personal pronoun *ni*, *na*, and the Zulu *ni* prefix for "thing" may be Sum. *nig*. Legitimate is the comparison between the "action (prefix) *ku*" and the Sum. action suffix *aga*. But when Zulu locative and temporal noun prefix *pa* is identified with Sum. post-fixed particle *ta* (in, with, by), I fail to be convinced. Here Turkish *alt* is compared with Sum. *ki-ta*, "on the earth," below, and Turkish *üst*, above, with Sum. *an-ta*, above.

Legitimate is the comparison of the Zulu abstract prefix *uku* as in *uku-nene*, "kindness," with the Sum. abstract prefix *aga*, *ag*. Here Zulu proves that Sum. abstract prefix



*nig* is a different word from *aga*, *ag*, *am*, and not the same words, as I supposed in my grammar. Zulu possesses a prefixed preposition *ku*, *ka*, for the locative, temporal and modal ideas, "in, at, to, from, in such manner," and this is identified with Sumerian *šu*, *še*. Of course, palatalization of a guttural *k* to *š* is possible, especially with the vowel *i*, and Wanger may be right about this. Much of his thesis depends upon the identifications of the Zulu preposition *pa* with Sum. *ta*, and *ku*, *ka* with Sum. *ku*, *še*, *ši*. These prepositions are employed in almost identical manners in the two groups.

Zulu *kulu*, "great," suggests Sum. *gulu*, *gal*, "great." The Zulu prefix, *no*, is employed to form nouns for "multiplicity, hugeness, immensity"; Wanger says that the basic meaning of *no* is "mother, female", and if this be true it may be rightfully compared with Sum. *nunus*, female. There is no phonetic difficulty about connecting Zulu suffixed determinative *zi*, *si*, *ti*, "river," with Sum. *id*, the prefixed determinative for river. Zulu, *azi*, to know, and Sum. *zu*, to know, is a striking fact, and *ama*, flood, may well be compared with Sum. *aga*, flood. But what a philologist wishes to know is the essential likeness of the pronouns, the numerals, the plural inflections and tense formations.

In Zulu *mi*, *me* means "my", and in Sum. *mu*, *ma*, and *mi-e* means "I" = Sum. *mê*, *ma-e*. *ku* means "thy"—whose identity with Sum. *zu*, "thy", is phonetically difficult. The third person is *e*, *e-ne*, to which the personal class determinative *mu* is prefixed, but this is obviously comparable with Sum. *e-ne*, that one, he. But the plurals are entirely different, *tu*, *si*, "we," *nu*, *ni*, *mu*, *mi*, "you." Reflexive Zulu *zi* may well be Sum. *zi*, soul. The numerals of Zulu present no similarity to Sumerian at all, and the plural of nouns is formed by the prefixes *izin*, *ama*, *imi*, and are totally different from the Sum. suffixes *ene*, *eš*.

It will be seen, therefore, that Sumerian and Bantu present enough important similarities to warrant serious comparison, but they diverge so fundamentally in syntactical structure and many essential features as to render the subject of a

comparative grammar of Sumerian, Bantu, and Ural-Altaic languages, in the sense of comparative Semitic grammar, hopeless. I have read with interest all the private communications I have received from workers in many African and Asianic languages, and the studies of many scholars who have endeavoured to find a language cognate to Sumerian. Of these special mention should be made of the following works :—(1) Professor Fritz Hommel, *Sumero-Türkische Wortvergleichen*, and in a privately issued manuscript, *Zwei Hundert Sumero-Türkische Wortvergleichen*; (2) M. Tseretheli, *Sumerian and Georgian*, *JRAS.*, 1913-14; (3) F. Bork, *Das Sumerische, eine Kaukasische Sprache*, *OLZ.* 1924; (4) Theo. Kluge, *Welcher Sprache ist das Sumerische anzugliedern?*; (5) Dr. C. J. Ball's various books and articles on Chinese and Sumerian, Tibetan and Sumerian, (see *PSBA.* 1918, 95-103); (6) and lastly, Autran's elaborate defence of the Indo-Germanic connexion of Sumerian, a theory which I started myself. I am more impressed by the arguments of Father Wanger than by any other of these theories. It must be pointed out again and again that *essential* similarities must be proved. When the pronouns, numerals, etymological formations, plurals, and main principles of the syntax are shown to be similar, an advocate will obtain a favourable hearing. But it is not enough to present a list of words which are similar. Even these comparisons are often hazardous and impossible.

If a body of inscriptions written in good Bantu were suddenly excavated in Mesopotamia or adjacent regions, and of the period anywhere contemporary with the Sumerians, or even as late as 500 B.C., Father Wanger would have no difficulty in convincing us of their Sumerian connexion. The Sumerian race perished utterly before 2,000 B.C. But who are the Zulus of East Africa? What is their history? What are their myths and what their literature? Can they by any stretch of imagination be connected with the splendid intellectual and artistic achievements of the ancient people of



Mesopotamia? The chronological gap is too great to make it believable; the difference in intellectual ability of Sumerian and Zulu prevents comparison. But anything might happen between 2,000 B.C. and the late period A.D. when we first know anything about Bantu languages and savage conditions. I wish the author, out of his immense knowledge, had told us something about Zulu history. What is their mythology? and what is their art?

The question which I ask myself after reading the elaborate comparisons of Sumerian with Bantu, Chinese, Turkish, Georgian, and Indo-Germanic is this:—"Granted that the connexion be true, is it of any use to the Sumerologist in solving the difficulties of Sumerian grammar and etymology?" At best the similarities are few and entirely inadequate to prove anything of great value. These efforts can never help us much in translating our texts, but they may ultimately solve the most interesting historical problem, namely, the origin of the Sumerian people. But when Sumerian is confidently connected with such diverse languages as Bantu, Chinese, Sanscrit, Turkish, Georgian, it is clear that we cannot use these languages for Sumerology with any direct bearing upon our problems.

S. LANGDON.

P.S.—Since the above review was written another elaborate thesis on the connexion between the languages of the Polynesian islands of the Pacific and Sumerian under the title *Polynesisches Sprachgut in Amerika und in Sumer*, by Eduard Stucken, has appeared. His book is based upon the theory that the Sumerians, Egyptians, and inhabitants of Peru and Mexico of Central America all spread from a common centre, namely, the islands of the central Pacific Ocean, where a prehistoric continent once existed. Beside numerous word comparisons, the author also depends upon one cultural argument, the stage towers of Sumer, the pyramids of Egypt, and the stage towers of Polynesia. There are no evidences of syntactical similarities, and the essential elements, pronouns, numerals, and plural formations are not mentioned.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1927)

The Society lost in November an old member in Dewan Tek Chand, Divisional Commissioner at Ambala. He joined the Society when studying for the I.C.S. at Cambridge in 1895, and has been an interested member ever since.

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During the quarter the following resignations have been received : Mrs. C. Brownlow, Mr. B. R. Jain, Mr. J. Leveen, Miss E. A. Levin, Mr. Manmatha Nath Mukerjea, Mr. D. Talbot Rice, Mr. Sefton Jones, the Lord Scone, Colonel H. W. R. Senior, and Mr. Dan Singh.

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### GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

*18th October, 1927*

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

|                            |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Mr. N. G. Saswad Kar, B.A. | Mian Sultan Ahmed Vajudi |
| Mr. Nathu Lal, B.A., LL.B. | Nizami.                  |
|                            | Mr. Akshay Kumar Sircar. |

Forty-two nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Dr. von Le Coq gave a lecture on "The Fourth Turfan Expedition," illustrated with very fine lantern slides. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to him.

He said that China has long occupied an exceptional position in our thoughts. It was generally accepted as a fact that its culture and art were original, autochthonous, and in no way even influenced by foreign culture-elements.

But the expeditions sent into Chinese Turkistan by the Russian, British, German, French, and Japanese Governments have furnished results from which we learn that China had



already been in intercourse with India, Iran, Mesopotamia, and Hellas in early pre-Christian times, and that Chinese art, as far as it is Buddhist, is based very largely on Hellenistic art, as developed in Persia, Bactria, and North-West India (Gandhāra country about Peshawar, Kabul, Hindu Kush valleys). And quite recently and independently of our researches the Swedish savant Gunnar Andersson has shown that in Neolithic times a close connexion had existed between China, Iran, and South-Eastern Europe.

Our expeditions have found the irrefutable traces of four great culture-streams between Europe and Asia. Two of them we describe here.

The first, and most ancient, is a movement from the West to the East, of Scythian tribes (Iranians and European Indo-Germanic tribes). It passed along the northern foothills of the Tien-shan, where to this day "grass and water" permit nomad tribes to exist, into Mongolia, where Kozlow lately found antiquities belonging to it, and into China as far as the knee of the Hoang-ho. The famous Yue-chi of the Chinese annals must have formed part of this movement, and we believe that certain septs of this tribe, remaining in Turkistan, are identical with the "Tokharians" of Kucha and Khocho, whose remarkable language, belonging to the European group of Indo-Germanic speech, we unearthed in the temples of these oases.

The road they took along the northern declivities of the Tien-shan, and through Southern Siberia, is marked by grave-mounds containing Scythian bronze objects, and crowned by rude stone statues, resembling those found on similar mounds in South Russia and the Crimea. These statues show an ethnographical peculiarity which as far as I know only recurs once, namely in the pictures of blue-eyed, red-haired men on the Turfan-frescoes; in both instances the tall boots are fastened to the belt with a supporting string.

It seems very likely that amongst other things these tribes, which had early communications with Greece, brought the

art of founding and manipulating bronze to the knowledge of the Chinese, and early Chinese bronze ornaments will, probably, be found to contain Scythian elements.

If this movement is hidden by the darkness of time, the second great culture-wave is much plainer—it also comes from the West; it is the conquest of Iran and North-West India by Alexander. The towns he founded introduced Greek culture and Greek blood into these lands, thus preparing them for the development of Hellenistic states after the expulsion of the Indians, who had again ruled there for several generations. The Hellenistic populations here rose to a very high Grecian culture, as shown by their wonderful coins; they were in constant connexion with the Parthians and, later, the Sasanians, as well as with their Indian neighbours, from whom they accepted Buddhism. And, in Gandhāra, by the help of Greek or half-breed artists, Buddhist art rose from classical art, all the types of Buddhist gods, demons, and saints, including that of the Buddha himself, being simply modifications of well-known classical types, such as Apollo, Dionysos, Jupiter, etc.

When the Greeks were conquered by the Indo-Scythians, the latter accepted Buddhism and its Hellenistic art, which zealous missionaries carried across the Pamir and the Karakorum to Chinese Turkistan.

That country was, however, not a Turkish land in early medieval times. In the West there sat, apparently, Iranian Sakas; the South, from Khotan eastward to the Lopnor, was ruled by a North-West Indian tribe, and the whole of the Northern expanse was occupied by Iranian Soghdians. But between Kucha and Turfan these latter were not the governing class—they were subject to the Tokharians, whom we believe to be a Scythic race.

The Uighur Turks appear to have conquered the north-east corner of the land (Turfan oasis) about A.D. 760. They slowly extended their rule over the whole country, and in the tenth century Turkish rulers appear in Kashghar. Islam



advances about the end of that century, and destroys the fine culture of the Buddhists.

This is the background of the lecture, which it is difficult to reproduce here, as it consisted mainly in interesting projections.

The ancient and the modern populations were shown, and it is a remarkable fact that to this day three types are easily recognized, namely the Persian, the European, and the Eastern Asiatic.

These people received Buddhism and its Hellenistic art. Being related to the Greeks and the (unmixed) Indians of the Panjāb, they modified the types but little, handing them over to the Chinese modified, it is true, but still plainly revealing their Hellenistic origin. The Chinese, finding these types absolutely foreign to their own genius, very quickly misunderstood dresses, coiffures, arms, etc., and, changing the features also according to their own beauty-ideal, transformed the whole of this Hellenistic art into Chinese art—which, without this impulse, and without knowledge of the many technical arts that accompanied the Buddhist propaganda, must have taken different lines of development.

In the lecture there were shown (in projections) the finds from the westernmost settlement (Tumshuk, near Maralbashi), where many of the statues are still purely Gandhāran, and from the different establishments near Kucha (middle of the Northern route), which show the gradual changes of these types until they merge into Chinese art.

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*8th November, 1927*

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair.

The President announced the election of Professor F. W. K. Müller as an Honorary Member of the Society, and also deplored the loss to scholarship sustained by the death of Dr. D. G. Hogarth. It was resolved to convey the sympathy of the General Meeting to Mrs. Hogarth and also to the Royal Geographical Society in the loss of their President.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

|                                    |                                     |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Sheikh Md. Iqbal Ahmed, B.A.       | Mr. Jannina Prosad Jain.            |
| Mr. R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, B.A.  | Professor N. Martinovitch.          |
| Mr. Mahadeva V. Bhide.             | Mr. K. B. L. Mathur, M.A.           |
| Dr. Karanjaksha Bonerjee.          | Sir John H. Maynard, K.C.I.E.       |
| M. Jean Burnay.                    | Mr. R. J. Moses.                    |
| Mr. O. K. Caroe.                   | Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain.     |
| Mr. P. Chandra.                    | Mr. Baini Prashad.                  |
| Mr. Iresh Lal Shome Chowdhury.     | Pandit Sarup Narain Rozdon.         |
| Mr. Hans Raj Davar, B.Sc.          | Mr. R. Said-Ruete.                  |
| Capt. A. G. C. Fane, M.C.          | Mr. Kanahya Lal Saqib, M.A.         |
| Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, M.A.         | Mr. Jyotis Govinda Sen, Ph.D.       |
| Mr. S. K. Ghosh.                   | Professor Fradun-e-Zaman Md. Shuja. |
| Mr. F. H. Giles.                   | Mr. Md. Hasan Siddiqi, B.A.         |
| Mr. Ram Sharan Lal Govil.          | Mr. George Hamilton Singh.          |
| Mr. Akhwand Ghulam Hassan, M.A.    | Kunwar Maharaj Singh, C.I.E.        |
| Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.             | Sardar Darshan Singh.               |
| Khan Bahadur Sheikh Nur Iahi, M.A. | Rai Sahib Tara Chand Sood.          |
| Mr. Md. Ishaque, M.A., B.Sc.       | Mr. H. L. Srivastava, M.A.          |
| Mr. T. K. Duraiswamy Iyengar.      | Mr. H. M. S. Thompson, B.A.         |
| Mr. S. N. A. Jafri.                | Sir Lionel L. Tomkins, C.I.E.       |
|                                    | Dr. R. Ramsay Wright, M.A.          |
|                                    | Mr. Suleman Ishaq Yakub.            |

Six nominations were approved for election at the next general meeting.

Mr. G. R. Driver read a paper entitled "The Hebrew *Tetragrammaton*; its original form and pronunciation", of which the following is an abstract :—

The evidence for  $\text{יהוה}$  divine names is found (a) in cuneiform documents, which supply early evidence for the vowels, in the names of Hebrew kings and Jewish traders; and (b) in the Aramaic *papyri* from Egypt and on Jewish inscribed objects.

I. As found in the composition of proper names, the *tetragrammaton* assumed the forms :—

(i) At the beginning of names,  $\text{יה}$ , *Ya-*, *Yau-*,  $\text{יהו}$ ,  $\text{יהוה}$ ,  $\text{יהוה}$ , *Yahu-*, and  $\text{י}$ ;



(ii) At the end of names, יָיו, -*Yau*, -*Ya*, יָירו, יָיה, יָיא, and -*Yāma*.

The earliest form was יָ; there was a gradual tendency to longer forms which ended early in the fifth century B.C.; יָרו and יָה remained constant throughout that century; after this no principle was observed.

The common pronunciation underlying all these forms was *Yā*, whether written *Yāw* or *Yāh* or *Yā'*, owing to the need of a final consonant in Hebrew. The *h* was a mere *litera prolongationis*, seen also in אָבְרָם > אָבְרָהָם and other proper names. When this *h* came to be erroneously pronounced, *Yahw* became *Yāhū* as *saḥw* became *sāḥū*, "swimming."

II. The independent forms were יָרוּה, c. 850 B.C., and יָרוּה, יָרו, or יָה in the fifth century B.C. Again, *Yā* suits all forms but יָרוּה. But, since it is against all analogy for Semites to abbreviate the names of their gods, the latter must be a prolongation of the former. Now *yā* is a universal Semitic exclamation, so that it seems not improbable that the name *Yā* was ejaculatory in origin, like *ἰακχος* or *βάκχος* and *Εὖιος* in Greek. This was prolonged in moments of excitement and emotion, like the Assyrian *yāyaya*, and was then assimilated to and explained by the verb יָהָה (or יָהָה), as it was in some Semitic languages) "became." The new name, which was the symbol of national unity resting on the worship of a national god, was too sacred for common use and was confined to the Scriptures in practical use. The true pronunciation came in course of time to be forgotten; but it was at first widely known, since a Moabite not only knew it, but was careful to use it in recording the triumph of his national god over that of his enemies; to have used *Yā* in place of *Yahweh* would have taken the sting out of the record of a great national victory.

A discussion followed, in which Professor Margoliouth, Dr. Gaster, Dr. Daiches, Dr. Büchler, Mr. Clauson, and Mr. Sallaway took part.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

13th December, 1927

Sir Edward Maclagan, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

|                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Mr. Ahmad Ali Khan, M.A.    | Mr. Manohar Lal Talib, B.A. |
| Mr. A. R. Arunachala Nadar. | Khan Bahadur Nawab          |
| Mr. M. D. Raghavan, B.A.    | Muzaffar Khan.              |
| Mr. Nirunjun Sircar, B.Sc.  |                             |

Fifteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Muhammad Nazim read a paper entitled "Somnath and its Conquest" by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, chiefly taken from unpublished original sources. The following is a summary :—

#### SOMNATH AND ITS CONQUEST BY SULTAN MAHMUD

##### (a) *The origin and the sacredness of the idol of Somnāth*

Nothing is known historically about the origin of the idol of Somnāth, the well-known linga of Mahādeva, in Kathiawar. According to Hindu legend,<sup>1</sup> the idol was set up by the Moon in expiation of his sin. The Muslim authors, on the contrary, connect it with the idol named Manāt, which the Prophet Muḥammad had cast out of the Ka'ba.<sup>2</sup> But, whatever the origin, the idol was of undoubted antiquity. As-Subkī, in his *Ṭabaqātu'l-Shāfi'īyyatu'l Kubrā'*,<sup>3</sup> says that the idol had thirty rings round it, each of which represented a period of 1,000 years, for which it was supposed to have been worshipped.

The worship of the linga was not confined to the idol of Somnāth, as there were numerous similar lingas in the temples of Sindh and Cutch.<sup>4</sup> The idol of Somnāth had become

<sup>1</sup> Al-Bīrūnī's *India* (Sachau's translation), vol. ii, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Gardēzi, *Zainu'l-Akbbār* (King's College, Cambridge, MS. 213), fol. 126a, and Farrukhī, *Diwān* (India Office MS. No. 1841), fol. 19b.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iv (Cairo ed.), p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Al-Bīrūnī, *ib.*, p. 104.



particularly famous for certain reasons, one of which was that its worshippers, probably realizing that the place was well protected from an attack, had given out that Sultán Maḥmūd had destroyed other idols of India with impunity because Somnāth was displeased with them. This enhanced the sanctity of the idol in the eyes of the pious Hindus, who had failed to assign any reason for the sacrilegious treatment to which their cherished gods had been subjected. The temple of Somnāth was exceedingly rich, and its coffers were full of a huge amount of gold and precious stones, which had been accumulated by the votive offerings of generations of pious devotees.

(b) *The original temple and its site*

The original temple did not stand on the site which is pointed out to-day. Ibn Zāfir<sup>1</sup> and Sibṭ Ibnu'l-Jauzī,<sup>2</sup> on the authority of aṣ-Ṣābī's *Dhail Tajāribu'l-Umam*, in which Sultán Maḥmūd's letters of victory to the Baghdad Caliph were preserved *in extenso*, say that the foundation of the temple of Somnāth was laid on huge blocks of stone; that the floor was made of teak planks, the interstices having been filled with lead; that the roof was supported on fifty-six columns of teak, which had been imported from Africa; that there were "thirteen roofs" rising one above the other; that the apex of the temple was surmounted by fourteen spherical knobs of gold, which were visible from a long distance; and that, in the passage leading into the idol chamber, there were niches for ushers to stand, whose duty was to admit pilgrims to the sanctuary. These definite statements prove conclusively that the standing ruins are not those of the temple destroyed by Sultán Maḥmūd, because firstly, they are not spacious enough for this description to be applicable to them; secondly, they are the ruins of a stone building, whereas a large part of the original temple was made

<sup>1</sup> *Akhhāru'd-Duwalu'l-Munqati'ah* (Br. Mus. Or. 3685), fol. 150b.

<sup>2</sup> *Minātu'z-Zamān* (Br. Mus. Or. 4619), fol. 214a.

of wood ; thirdly, they are only about one mile from the mouth of the river Sarasvatī, while Albīrūnī<sup>1</sup> places the ancient temple 3 miles west of the mouth of this river ; and, finally, they could not have been possibly washed by the sea, as they are about 50 feet above its level, and nearly as many feet away from it.

In my opinion the original temple stood near the temple of Bhidia, which is situated on the beach between Patan Somnāth and Verawal, 3 miles to the west of the mouth of the River Sarasvatī. At a distance of about 200 yards from this temple there are the remains of huge blocks of stone, which must have formed the floor or the foundation of a big building. They are partly buried under sand, and the waves of the ocean wash over them at high tide. Close to this site, a linga has been placed in the sea, probably to commemorate the site of the original temple. I am sure that if this site were excavated some new facts about the temple of Somnāth might come to light.

(c) *The route of the Sultān*

It is erroneously believed that on his way to Somnāth Sultān Maḥmūd passed by Ajmere. Firstly, Ajmere was not founded till A.D. 1100,<sup>2</sup> i.e. about seventy-five years after the expedition ; secondly, it would have prolonged the march of the Sultān by about 100 miles without reducing the length of the journey through the desert ; thirdly, it would have necessitated penetration without any particular reason into the hills which protect Ajmere on the north-west ; and, finally, it would have made the Sultān run the unnecessary risk of encountering the numerous Rajput chieftains who held sway on the northern slopes of the Arawalli range. I have been able to outline the route of the Sultān by reference to a *qaṣīda* of Farrukhī,<sup>3</sup> who was one of his court-poets. In the course of the journey, he says, the Sultān passed by

<sup>1</sup> Albīrūnī, *ib.*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxvi, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Farrukhī, *ib.*, fol. 13a.



"Ludrava", which I identify with Lodorva,<sup>1</sup> about 10 miles west by north of the town of Jaisalmer; Chikdúr (?), which was probably the name of the Chiklodar Mata's hill<sup>2</sup>; Nahrwála, modern Patan in Ahmadabad district of the Bombay Presidency; Mundhér,<sup>3</sup> about 18 miles south of Patan; and Dewalwára,<sup>4</sup> modern Delwada, which is situated between Una and the island of Diu.

(d) *The Expedition*

The details of the expedition to Somnáth are too well-known to need repetition at length, but they are usually based on *Tárikh-i-Firishta*, which is not trustworthy. I will, therefore, give a brief summary of the broad facts of the expedition. The Sultán left Ghazna on Wednesday, 22nd Sha'bán, 416 A.H. (18th October, 1025 A.D.), reached Multan on 15th Ramadan (9th November), and stopped there to inquire into the conditions of travel across the desert and to make the necessary preparations for the journey. He left Multan on 2nd Shawwál<sup>5</sup> (26th November), and plunged into the unknown desert. He captured the town of Lodorva, and after replenishing his stores of water, proceeded towards Nahrwála, the ruler of which named Bhím fled at his approach to Kanthkot,<sup>6</sup> in Cutch. The Sultán now marched straight to Somnáth. At Mundhér and Delwada the Hindus attempted to check his advance, but he overcame their resistance, and reached Somnáth on Thursday, 15th of Dhu'l-Qa'da (6th January, 1026 A.D.). The commander of the fort which protected the temple fled to some island at his approach. The Sultán laid siege to the fort. The Hindus defended it with heroism. The following day at the time of the Friday

<sup>1</sup> *Gazetteer of Marwar, Mallani, and Jajpalsmere*, by C. K. M. Walter, pp. 84, 96; and *Imperial Gazetteer, Provincial Series, Rajputana*, pp. 209-10.

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. v, p. 282. It is about 17 miles north of Palanpur.

<sup>3</sup> Jas. Burgess, *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. ix, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbārū'd-Duwalū'l-Munqati'ah*, ib., fol. 150a.

<sup>5</sup> *Mirātu'z-Zamán*, ib., fol. 215a.

<sup>6</sup> Kanthkot is 16 miles south-west from Rao and 36 miles from Anjar.

prayer the Muslims escalated the walls, but before evening the Hindus had driven them away. On Saturday morning the Muslims renewed the attack with greater vigour, and captured the fort. The Sultán now entered the temple, and after it had been divested of its riches, ordered it to be burnt to the ground. The linga was broken into pieces and transported to Ghazna.<sup>1</sup>

After a stay of about a fortnight,<sup>2</sup> the Sultán started on his return march by a more westerly route, because the Hindu Rajas had mustered their forces to intercept him. Instead of returning by way of Nahrwála, the Sultán marched to Cutch, crossed the narrow arm of the sea that separates it from Kathiawar,<sup>3</sup> and attacked Bhím in the fort of Kanthkot, where he had taken refuge. Bhím again fled. The Sultán now continued his march towards Sindh. His army was misled by a devotee of Somnáth in the waterless region of Cutch, but he escaped by good luck and crossed over in safety to Sindh. Khafif,<sup>4</sup> the Qarmatian ruler of Sindh, fled at his approach. The Sultán occupied Manşúrah, his capital, and marched towards Multan along the bank of the River Indus. He was harassed by the Bhátí Jats who hung upon his rear, cut up stragglers, and plundered the baggage. After suffering many hardships, the Sultán arrived in Ghazna on 10th Şafar, 417 A.H. (1st April, 1026 A.D.).

(e) *Stories connected with the Expedition*

The expedition to Somnáth was a military adventure of the most reckless and daring nature, and its fame spread throughout the length and breadth of the Muslim world. The Sultán was looked upon as a national hero, and within a few hundred years a huge mass of legendary literature had grown up round his name, for a few specimens of which see *Tárikh-i-Rauḍatü's-Şafá*, *Tárikh-i-Alfi*, *Tárikh-i-Firishta*, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Alkhbarud-Duwalu'l-Munqati'ah*, ib.; *Mirátu's-Zamán*, ib.; and *Ibnul-Athir*, vol. ix, pp. 240-43.

<sup>2</sup> The Sultán could not have stayed longer.

<sup>3</sup> Farrukhí, ib., fol. 20a, gives a long description of it.

<sup>4</sup> This name is mentioned only by Farrukhí, ib.



*Mantiq'ut-Tair* of Shaikh Faridu'd-Din 'Attâr, the well-known mystic poet. From an historical point of view their collective value is negligible.<sup>1</sup>

A discussion followed, in which the High Commissioner, Sir Atul Chatterjee, Professor Margoliouth, Dr. Thomas, and Sir Denison Ross took part. A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

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<sup>1</sup> Sir E. C. Bayley in his translation of the *Mird'ut-i-Ahmadi*, has tried to prove that there is nothing unusual in the story about Dâbishiîm, but obviously he had not taken into consideration the overwhelming historical evidence against it.

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TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.



## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

|   |   |   |   |                                 |
|---|---|---|---|---------------------------------|
| अ | . | . | . | a                               |
| आ | . | . | . | ā                               |
| इ | . | . | . | i                               |
| ई | . | . | . | ī                               |
| उ | . | . | . | u                               |
| ऊ | . | . | . | ū                               |
| ऋ | . | . | . | r̄ or ṛ                         |
| ॠ | . | . | . | r̄ or ṛ                         |
| ऌ | . | . | . | l̄ or ḷ                         |
| ॡ | . | . | . | l̄ or ḷ                         |
| ए | . | . | . | e or ē                          |
| ऐ | . | . | . | ai                              |
| ओ | . | . | . | o or ō                          |
| औ | . | . | . | au                              |
| क | . | . | . | ka                              |
| ख | . | . | . | kha                             |
| ग | . | . | . | ga                              |
| घ | . | . | . | gha                             |
| ङ | . | . | . | ṅa                              |
| च | . | . | . | ca or <u>cha</u> <sup>1</sup>   |
| छ | . | . | . | cha or <u>chha</u> <sup>1</sup> |
| ज | . | . | . | ja                              |
| झ | . | . | . | jha                             |
| ञ | . | . | . | ña                              |
| ट | . | . | . | ṭa                              |
| ठ | . | . | . | ṭha                             |
| ड | . | . | . | ḍa                              |
| ढ | . | . | . | ḍha                             |
| ण | . | . | . | ṇa                              |
| त | . | . | . | ta                              |
| थ | . | . | . | tha                             |
| द | . | . | . | da                              |

<sup>1</sup> In modern Indian languages only.

|                 |   |   |   |                        |
|-----------------|---|---|---|------------------------|
| ध               | . | . | . | <i>dha</i>             |
| न               | . | . | . | <i>na</i>              |
| प               | . | . | . | <i>pa</i>              |
| फ               | . | . | . | <i>pha</i>             |
| ब               | . | . | . | <i>ba</i>              |
| भ               | . | . | . | <i>bha</i>             |
| म               | . | . | . | <i>ma</i>              |
| य               | . | . | . | <i>ya</i>              |
| र               | . | . | . | <i>ra</i>              |
| ल               | . | . | . | <i>la</i>              |
| व               | . | . | . | <i>va</i>              |
| श               | . | . | . | <i>śa</i>              |
| ष               | . | . | . | <i>ṣa</i>              |
| स               | . | . | . | <i>sa</i>              |
| ह               | . | . | . | <i>ha</i>              |
| ळ               | . | . | . | <i>ḷa</i> or <i>la</i> |
| • (Anusvāra)    | . | . | . | <i>m̐</i>              |
| ◌̣ (Anunāsika)  | . | . | . | <i>m̐</i> } or -       |
| ː (visarga)     | . | . | . | <i>ḥ</i>               |
| × (jihvāmūliya) | . | . | . | <i>ḥ</i>               |
| ॡ (upadhmānīya) | . | . | . | <i>ḥ</i>               |
| ḥ (avagraha)    | . | . | . | '                      |
| Udātta          | . | . | . | .                      |
| Svarita         | . | . | . | .                      |
| Anudātta        | . | . | . | .                      |

#### ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

|    |   |   |   |            |
|----|---|---|---|------------|
| ड़ | . | . | . | <i>ṛa</i>  |
| ढ़ | . | . | . | <i>rha</i> |

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindi करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-ghunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus अँ *ā̃*, आँ *ā̃*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.



## ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ʾ at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ' or alternatively, hamza may be represented by < or

|   |                             |
|---|-----------------------------|
| ب | b                           |
| ت | t                           |
| ث | t or <u>th</u>              |
| ج | j or <u>dj</u> <sup>1</sup> |
| ح | h                           |
| خ | h or <u>kh</u>              |
| د | d                           |
| ذ | d or <u>dh</u>              |
| ر | r                           |
| ز | z                           |
| س | s                           |
| ش | ʃ or <u>sh</u>              |
| ص | ʃ                           |
| ض | d                           |
| ط | t or t <sup>1</sup>         |
| ظ | z or z <sup>1</sup>         |
| ع | '                           |
| غ | g or <u>gh</u>              |
| ف | f                           |
| ق | q                           |
| ك | k                           |
| ل | l                           |
| م | m                           |
| ن | n                           |

<sup>1</sup> Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *t* or ظ by *z*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

و w or v

ه h

ت t or h

ي y

vowels a, i, u

lengthened ā, ī, ū

*Alif-i-maqṣūra* may be represented by ā

diphthongs ay and aw or ai and au respectively

e and o may be used in place of ī and ū

also ē and ō in Indian dialects, ü and ö in Turkish.—

ل of article ال to be always l

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and

for Persian, will be recognized ṣ for ث, ṣ̣ for

ذ, and ṣ̣ for ض

wasla '

A final silent h need not be transliterated,—thus بنده *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

#### ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

پ p

چ c, or ch

ژ z or zh

گ g

Turkish letters.

ک when pronounced as y, k is permitted

ن n



## Hindi, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

ٹ or ت      *t*ڈ or د      *d*ڑ or ر      *r*

ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*) - as in the case of the Nāgarī  
*anunāsika*

## Paṣhtō letters.

ټ      *ts* or *ts*چ      *g* or *zḥ* (according to dialect)ښ      *ṇ*ښ      *ksh*; or *ṣḥ* or *kḥ* (according to dialect)ځ or ځ      *dz* or *ḍ*

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# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1928

PART II.—APRIL

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## The Original Home of the Hittites and the Site of Kussar

BY A. H. SAYCE

THE original home of the founders of the royal dynasties of the Hittites was the country of Kussar. It was of Kussar and Kussar only that Khattusilis, the ancestor of Subbi-luliuwas, the founder of the second dynasty, was king (*KB.* iii, p. 30); so, too, was "the lord" Labarnas or Tabarnas, the founder of the first dynasty (c. 1900 B.C.). From his death-bed in the city of Kussar Khattusilis I issued his last testament to his son and successor Mursilis I, and the only territorial title of the unnamed "great king" in whom Dr. Forrer is probably right in seeing Mursilis I is "king of Kussari". The state records carefully preserved the annals of a still earlier monarch, Anittas "king of Kussara", who describes in them his conquest of the Hittite-land.

Anittas states that after his conquest of the King of Nêsa he was attacked for the second time by Bîûstis "king of the Hittites" who filled "all the land from Zalbu to the sea" with the troops he had brought to assist the people of Zalbu. At an earlier date Ukhnas king of Zalbu, we learn, had carried away his "gods from Nêsa to Zalbu. On this second occasion I, Anittas, the great king, have carried back my gods from Zalbu to Nêsa and have brought Khuzziyas king of Zalbu alive to Nêsa. To the city of Khattusas Bî[ûstis] had



returned (?); I left him there; but when on this second occasion he plotted against [me] my goddess Khalmasuittis gave him away; in the night I took him by surrender and fixed the limit of his reign. O whatever king shall come after me, do you hereafter inhabit Khattusas; Tessub of heaven is pleased with it" (*KBu.* ii, 1, pp. 8, 9).

Khattusas, however, was not fortified or made a royal city till the reign of Mursilis I. His successor Khantilis tells us that "after Khattusilis the king Mursilis his son became king, and he was a powerful king. As long as hostile lands were attacking him he carried all his enemies to Khattusas so that he filled up Khattusas (with them) . . . [but at that time] Khattusas had no fortifications [and] was undefended. In earlier days there were [few inhabitants?]. So no one had built the fortifications of the Hittite city. It was I Khantilis who built the fortifications throughout the country. And I built the city of Khattusas" (*KTu.* ii, i, p. 34).

The royal families of the later Hittite kingdom, accordingly, belonged, not to the Hittite land itself, but to what must have been a neighbouring country, namely Kussar. In fact, most of their names, like that of the goddess Khalmasuittis, are "Proto-Hittite" and not "Official Hittite". The name Khatti, "Hittite," signified "silver". *Khattusas* is represented ideographically by characters which denote "Silver-town", and in the Cappadocian tablets the borrowed *khatim* sometimes takes the place of the Assyrian *kašpu*, e.g. Contenau, *Trente Tablettes cappadociennes*, xiv, 7; (*khatim*), *Tablettes cappadociennes*, 104, 7 (*KÛ-UD khatim*). The Hittites were the "Silver-people" who first worked the silver mines of Asia Minor and made the metal known to the inhabitants of Western Asia. The Egyptian *hez* must have been a loan-word from Asia Minor.

In the time of Anittas the Hittites and the natives of Kussar were still distinct from one another. That was similarly the case at a still earlier epoch, the age of Naram-

Sin, of the dynasty of Akkad (2650 B.C.). In the Hittite copy of the story of his conquests in the north-west the names of some of the subject princes come in the following order (*KTu.* ii, 1, p. 2): "Pamba king of Khatti, Khutuni king of Kanesh, Nur-[Dagan king of Buruskhanda], Akwâruwas king of the Amorites, Tissenki king of Parasi, [. . . king of . . .], Madakina king of Armani, GIS-KIB-BU king of the Cedar-mountain (Amanus), Tisse[nki? king of Ibla]." Khatti would therefore have bordered upon the territory of Kanesh, now Kara Eyuk, N.W. of Kaisariyeh. It is from Kara Eyuk that the Cappadocian tablets are derived.

One of the Cappadocian tablets published by Dr. Contenau (*Tablettes cappadociennes*, No. 10) is as follows:—

"(1) Thus Su-Istar (2) and Ellil-bani (3) to Bazia say: (4) On the day when our letter (*literally* tablet) (5) you shall hear, if it has been settled (*nadu*) that (6) to Samukha and Kusara (7) in accordance with your letter you have not yet [departed?], (8) you must go; your letter for the 3 horses destroy (*literally* break), and (9) in your presence (10) I will transfer (it). But now (11) go at once (*a(na) magadam*). (12) If it has not been settled, (13) to Samukha (14) and Kusara do not go; (15) your letter for the 3 horses (16) destroy, and for (17) Til-Imra I will change it and now for (18, 19) the future it will remain changed. (20) But keep (?) your word and (21) to Khurama I will transfer it. (22) And now (23) we will pay. (24) We . . . (25) thus: do you give advice concerning (26) the transfer (*literally* when I shall transfer it)."

Khurama is again mentioned in another tablet (No. 9):—

"(1) To Inâ says (2) thus Bur-Asir: (3) On the day we send (the goods) (4) [and] pay the cost (5) I for Burus-khatim (6) will start. (7, 8) When I have gone down (to it) (6) the silver in payment for your goods (9) according to the inventory of Samas-tabba (10, 11) I will pay. Your (. . .) (12) some time ago (12) I have sealed and (13) have sent to you. (14) As to your goods in the future (15) the bond of Mama-ilu (for it)



(16) Su-Istar has not given. Su-Anim (17) in Khurama for 3 months (18) has [kept ?] the goods for him."

Khurama or Khurma, which is frequently mentioned in the Boghaz Keui texts is named again under the form of Khurma in a Cappadocian tablet published by Dr. Lewy (*Schrifttexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul*, p. 7, b 4):—

"(1) To Inâ says (2) thus Bur (MAN)-Asir: the inventory (3) of the *garum* of Ganis (4) in Khurma they have taken (5) saying: They . . . (6) on account of the messenger (7) of the *garum* of Ganis to Timel[kia have gone]."

Timelkia is the Tamalkia of the Hittite legal texts, in which the fighting-men of the Manda, of Sâla, Tamalkia, Khadrâ, Zalpa, Taskhiniya, and Khemuwa (or Khimmua), along with the archers, cavalry, and batmen, are enumerated as constituting the foreign element in the Hittite army who in the earlier days of the monarchy received pay instead of land on a feudal tenure.

The Cappadocian tablets show us that Kussara adjoined Samukha, Kusara being the exact phonetic equivalent of Kussar, since a double consonant is always written as a single one in Assyro-Cappadocian. I had supposed that Kussar was a later form of Kursaura, the Garsaura of classical geography, since it occurs in the Naram-Sin text at the end of the list of conquered countries, while Kussar is not found in it. But a Cappadocian tablet (*Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets*, p. 30, a 20) gives us Kursar as distinct from Kus(s)ara: "I have given the things to his sister on behalf of Istar-belakh for Kursar" (*ana akhati-su atin memânim a-sume Istar-Belakh a-Kursar*). And the tablet I have translated above states explicitly that Kusara adjoined Samukha and was in the neighbourhood of Khurma.

We know from the Hittite texts that Samukha was somewhere towards the south-east of the Hittite kingdom, and Professor Garstang is probably right in identifying it with Samosata. The suffix *-kha*, *-khi*, *-khe* signifying "people" or "land of" is common throughout the Mitannian region,

and *sata* may possibly be a similar suffix. In the Hittite texts Samukha is associated with Khurma, just as it is in the Cappadocian documents.

But the Hittite texts also associate Khurma with Kussar. In *KUB.* xv, p. 21, after a reference to "the city of Khurma", the king Dudkhaliyas declares that he will make certain gifts to the "divine mistress of the land of Kussar" (*DAM AN Kussarna*). Khurma, on the other hand, is coupled with the city of Qumanni or Komana (*KUB.* xv, p. 15. 2, 8, 13, 14, 21), and appears elsewhere in connexion with Samukha, Zalpa, and other cities of the south-east. The Mitannian goddess Khebe or Kheba, "queen of heaven," was the tutelary deity of Qumanni and its neighbour Suluppa (*KUB.* xi, 29, 19-21) as well as of Aleppo, Khurma, and the cities of the Tyanitis, Tyana, Kybistra (Khubisna) and Hyde (Uda). Zalpa (also written Zalba, Zalbuwa) was on the high road to Aleppo, Khassuis intervening between them (*KBu.* i, 2, 17, a 28-31). It figures largely in the Cappadocian tablets, especially in those relating to textiles, and may have been the Ana-Zarba of classical geography.

Next to Kanes, however, and "the City" (*ALIM-KI*) of Assur, it is Burus-khatim which plays the leading part in the Cappadocian texts. Burus-khatim is the Bursakhanda of the Sargon story, the Buruskhanda of the Hittite documents. As I have said above, *-kha* was the gentilic suffix, while *-nda* is a common Asianic topographical termination and the combination of the two has been assimilated by the Semites of Kanes to *khatim*. "silver" and the name of the Hittites or "Silver-men". We may perhaps infer from this that it was a Hittite city, and so included within the territory of Kussar. I believe that it is the Borissos of classical geography where the parents of Philostorgius lived (Ramsay, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 308). At any rate the name "Burus of silver" indicates that it was situated in the vicinity of the mines from which the Assyro-Cappadocian merchants obtained most of the metal, and this is further borne out by the evidence of the tablets.



Now the chief silver mines in the neighbourhood of Kanesh and, in fact, in any part of Asia Minor, are those of Bereketli in the Ala Dagh. Sir W. M. Ramsay tells me that the ancient workings extend over several square miles, and when he was there in the early eighties some surface working was still going on. It is therefore significant that on the west side of the mines is the village of Borasta, while on the eastern side of them and on the line of the old road from Kaisariyeh to Northern Syria is Farash, where there are ancient iron mines. It would have been from these latter that the king of Kizzuwadna obtained his iron about which he writes (*KB.* i, p. 48, 20-4): "As for the iron about which [you] write to me, there is none of the best iron (at present) in the treasury of the city of Kizzuwadna; it is bad for working iron; the chief smith (SIB TA-BAR, i.e. *tibira*) who works at the best iron is working it, but has not yet finished; when he finishes I will send it to you; meanwhile [I am dispatching] to you an iron dagger-blade." It is probable that the iron was wanted in Egypt.

Buruskhanda is mentioned in an extract from an inscription of an early Hittite king. Here we read in a mutilated passage: "When I went to Buruskhanda a man of Buruskhanda gave me what is called a *khankutim*, that is an iron seat with an iron footstool. When I went afterwards to the city of Nêsa I took the man of Buruskhanda with me, and when he goes to Zalpa he will be there with its *furniture* (?)." Nêsa was probably the classical Nisos midway between Mar'ash and Samsât (Samo-sata). The mention of the iron objects is interesting as it carries back the working of iron to a much earlier period than we had been accustomed to assign to it. But it is supported by the recent discovery of an iron instrument in the early cemetery at Ur, which Mr. Woolley would place about 3000-2500 B.C.

The main result of the foregoing facts is that Kussar, the original home of the Hittite rulers, was in the mountainous region between Komana and Malatiyeh. Here they adjoined

the territory of the Hittites or Silver-workers, who again, like Buruskhanda, bordered on the district of Kanesh. Here, too, were the sources of the nine sacred rivers, including the Pyramus, the Saros (Hittite Sawri), the Karmalas, and the Euphrates (Tokhma Su), which are repeatedly referred to in the Moscho-Hittite hieroglyphic texts and to which according to *KUB.* xv, 30, 58-9. "Two birds and nine cakes" were offered. Kussar was thus a portion of the later kingdom of Kizzuwadna, which accounts for its disappearance from the historical records after the rise of the latter state. On the Syrian side were the Amorites, the Murrû of the Sumerians, called Murrû-khe, and Murwu-khe in the letter of the Mitannian King Dusratta (i, 11, 14), whose name appears as Mur-las (not Khar-las!) in the Hittite texts. They were the north-western representatives of the Sumerian Subari or people of "the plateau" (in contradistinction to the Nimma or "Highlands") that is to say Mesopotamia and the district east of the Tigris, and had their capital at Aleppo. Somewhere about 3000 B.C. they had been overrun and partly conquered by Semites who established themselves at Assur and made their way as far north as the Halys in Cappadocia. Before the fifteenth century B.C. the Semitic Assyrian dialect extended from Kirkuk (Arpakha, Arrapachitis) on the eastern side of the Tigris to the country north of the Halys where they were known to the Greeks as the Leukosyri or "White Syrians". According to Strabo "Mæandrius writes that the Eneti, coming from the White Syrians, fought as allies of the Trojans, and departed thence with the Thracians and colonized the Adriatic gulf, while those who did not take part in the campaign became Cappadocians" (Strab. xii, 3, p. 473). Arrian of Nicomedia averred that "Cappadox was the son of Ninyas, after whom the name of Assyrians was changed into Cappadocians". So, too, Herodotus describes the "Syrians" as living in the neighbourhood of the Pterian country "on the road to Sinôpê", and expressly states that the Cappadocians were called Syrians by



the Greeks (i, 76, v, 49). The "Pterian country" is usually identified with Boghaz Keui; it is noticeable, at any rate, that *patari* signified "city" in Vannic, like *wedri* in Lycian, while in the Cappadocian tablets "the city" is the common designation of Assur. Khar-Ninuwa, "Mount Nineveh," it may be noted, was in the neighbourhood of Kanes (*BK.* iv, p. 71, 38). Like the Greek traders in later times the Assyro-Cappadocian merchants were attracted to Sinôpê by the cinnabar which is called "the stone of the land of Šinibe" or Sinôpê in one of the Cappadocian tablets (*Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets*, ii, p. 24, 23-4). Šinibe is the Sinuwa of the Hittite texts which couple it with the otherwise unknown Tawanaka (*KB.* iv, p. 71, 45).

After the occupation of Khattusas other places north of the Halys became seats of royalty. In *KUB.* vi, p. 33, 56-61, for example, we read: "The divine bull, the divine bull of the king, the male and female gods of the grandfather of the Sun-god; the male and female gods of the grandfather of the Sun-god; the male and female gods of the grandmother of the Sun-god; the male and female gods of the House of the city of Gazziwara; Istar of the Field of the cities of Ankuwa, Katakhhkas and Uzunni." Gazziwara is evidently the Gaziura of classical geography.

It may be added that in *KUB.* xii, 34. 15, 18, the word for "copper" is written URUD—*Khazzin*, from which we may infer that the Hittite word for copper was *nukhazzis*. Cf. the name of the Nukhassi, "Copper-people" (?), in North Syria.

## The Nizamiya Madrasa at Baghdad

By REUBEN LEVY, M.A.

### I

MR. GUY LE STRANGE, in his *Baghdad under the Abbasid Caliphs*—which is likely to remain for long the standard work on Baghdad's topography—in discussing the site of the Nizamiya *madrasa*, puts it in the southern part of the city, between the Bábu 'l-Azaj quarter and the Bábu 'l-Baṣaliya, now known as the Bábu 'l-Sharqí.<sup>1</sup> The argument for this site rests chiefly—though there are other references which seem to support it—on an ambiguous passage in Yáqút's *Mu'jamu 'l Buldán*,<sup>2</sup> dealing with the Tutushí foundations built by Khamartagín, a slave of the Sultan Alp Arslán's younger son Táju 'l-Dawla Tutush. These foundations are "a bazaar near the Nizamiya *madrasa*, called the 'Tutushí estate', a *madrasa* called 'Tutushiya' near it, for members of Ḥanafite sect, and a hospital, also known as the 'Tutushí' in the Bábu 'l Azaj (quarter)". Equally vague and obscure is another passage in which Yáqút refers to the Nizamiya *madrasa*. It comes during his description of the locality of the Qurayya quarter on the west bank of the Tigris, "opposite," he says, "to the lane leading down to the river from the Nizamiya *madrasa* bazaar."<sup>3</sup>

The historian Sibṭ Ibnu 'l-Jawzī, who came of a Baghdad family and died in A.D. 1257, only a quarter of a century or so after Yáqút, says quite definitely that the *madrasa* was built "on the Tigris bank, at the Mu'allá canal".<sup>4</sup> This would put the school in the north rather than in the south of the city; but there is evidence to support this new view. In his life of the physician Amínu 'l-Dawla, the medical biographer Ibn

<sup>1</sup> pp. 296-300.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Wuestenfeld, i, p. 826.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., iv, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *Mirātu 'l-Zamán*, anno 457 (BM. MS. Or. 4619).



Abi Uṣaybi'a, who died in A.D. 1270, says first that the physician's house lay near the Nizāmiya *madrasa*<sup>1</sup> and then that it was situated in the Perfume Bazaar (Súqu 'l-'Iṭr) and near that gate of it neighbouring on the Willow Gate (Bábu 'l-Gharaba), and lastly that it stood in the lane leading down to the river (*al-mashra'a*).<sup>2</sup> Now the Bábu 'l-Gharaba was the northernmost of the four gates piercing the wall of the Ḥarīm, or Royal Precincts, and the Nizāmiya *madrasa* lane, in which stood Amīnu 'l-Dawla's house, must be identified with the Mashra'atu 'l-Ibriyīn,<sup>3</sup> which is to-day a road that leads to the North Bridge and is called *Mashra'atu 'l-Maṣbagha*, "the Dyers' Watering-place,"<sup>4</sup> while the Súqu 'l-'Iṭr must almost certainly be that which was contained in the Súq 'l-Rayḥānīyīn, or Perfumers' Market, immediately to the north of the Ḥarīm wall.<sup>5</sup> Ibnu 'l-Athīr also lends his support to a northern site for the Nizāmiya when he says that in A.H. 470 the inhabitants of the Súqu 'l-madrasa quarter quarrelled on matters of doctrine with those of the Súqu 'l-Thaláthá quarter.<sup>6</sup> It may be assumed that it was a neighbourly dispute like the everlasting conflicts between the Karkh and the Bábu 'l-Baṣra quarters, which lay alongside one another on the west bank. The Súqu 'l-Thaláthá for the most part of its history lay in the north of the city near the river, and beginning at the north gate (present Bábu 'l-Mu'aẓẓam) of the city, came down to the north wall of the Ḥarīm and then passed through the Súqu 'l-Rayḥānīyīn.<sup>7</sup> Thus Ibn Baṭūṭa describes it when he visited the city in A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327); and he says, further, that the Nizāmiya was actually in the Súqu 'l-Thaláthá,<sup>8</sup> i.e. probably that the main entrance lay

<sup>1</sup> *Uyūnu 'l-Anbā*, ed. A. Mueller, vol. i, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> v. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Massignon, "Les medreschs de Baghdad," *Bulletin de l'Inst. fr. d'Arch. Or.*, vol. vii, pp. 77-86.

<sup>5</sup> Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-2. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 419-20.

<sup>6</sup> x, p. 63 (Thornberg's edition).

<sup>7</sup> Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Defrémery, ii, p. 108.

in the *súq*. A further indication, slight in itself but significant when taken with the other points, is that the latest professors of the Nizámíya were also at the same time teachers at the Mustanşiríya *madrasa*,<sup>1</sup> which still stands, though converted to the uses of a custom-house and a coffee-shop. The fact seems to indicate the proximity of the two buildings of which the latter, according to Ibn Baţúta, stood at the further, i.e. the south, end of the Súqu 'l-Thaláthá.<sup>2</sup>

Probably, therefore, the remains of the Nizámíya *madrasa* at Baghdad are to be looked for amongst the buildings immediately upstream of the present North Bridge, perhaps in the coffee-shop situated there, which lies a little below the level of the *súq* and occupies a room far larger than would seem normal for such a business.

To concede this identification removes the awkward necessity of making the Súqu 'l-Thaláthá a long, winding street, going from the north gate of the city to the south (or Kalwádha) gate.<sup>3</sup>

## II

For the sake of completeness it may be of some use to add some details already known of the *Madrasa* which have not hitherto been put together in one place. The Nizám 'l-Mulk founded the *madrasa* primarily for the Sháfi'í school,<sup>4</sup> and intended that the orthodox system of al-Ash'arí was to be taught there. His idea may have been partly to lend his support to the Ash'arites, who, until he himself stopped the practice, had for long been cursed officially from the city pulpits.<sup>5</sup> The greatest of all Ash'arite teachers, al-Ghazálí, held a professorship at the school for four years.<sup>6</sup> Even he was not free from attack, for amongst his hundreds of students

<sup>1</sup> Wuestenfeld, *Die Akademien der Araber*, pp. 27, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

<sup>4</sup> *Mirátu 'l-Zamán*, anno 457, f. 253b.

<sup>5</sup> Ibnu 'l-Athír, x, 141.

<sup>6</sup> Beginning in A.D. 1091.



there was a certain fanatic, Muḥammad ibn Tūmurt, who violently criticized the professor on the grounds that he wore good clothes and donned a special academic robe for his lectures at the *madrasa*.<sup>1</sup>

At the outset the school was by no means universally approved. Houses were cleared for the building of it, apparently without any compensation to the expropriated owners,<sup>2</sup> and the first *mudarris*, Abu Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, while on his way to the opening ceremony<sup>3</sup> was stopped by a youth who asked how he, the professor, presumably a man of piety, could teach in an institution built on ground unlawfully seized. The *mudarris* promptly returned home, in spite of the large audience which was kept waiting for him for the best part of the day. Only after twenty days' argument was he persuaded to take up his duties, which had meantime been carried out by a substitute professor, Abu Naṣr Abu 'l-Ṣabbāgh.<sup>4</sup>

The Caliph had intimate connexions with the *madrasa*, and his permission was necessary before any *mudarris* could take up his duties there. Yūsufu 'l-Dimishqī was excluded from the Friday assembly in the Caliph's mosque, for having attempted to teach in the *madrasa* after his appointment by the Seljūq Sultan Mas'ūd—without first receiving leave from the sovereign. Even the substitute sent by the prince was refused leave by the offended Caliph until Mas'ūd had in person interceded with him.<sup>5</sup>

Some of the early Universities in Europe had similar connexion with the temporal and ecclesiastical powers and derived authority from them. The University of Paris thus held its position by the authority both of Church and State.<sup>6</sup>

Each new appointment to the post of *mudarris* is noted by the historians and it may be assumed therefore that the

<sup>1</sup> 'Uyūnu 'l-Ta'ākh, Camb. MS. Add. 2922, f. 36a.

<sup>2</sup> Mirātu 'l-Zamān, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Tenth Dhū 'l-Qa'da, A.H. 479.

<sup>4</sup> Ibnū 'l-Athīr, x, 38; Ibn Khall, ed. Wuestenfeld, No. 410, ii, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> Ibnū 'l-Athīr, xi, 100.

<sup>6</sup> L. Massignon, loc. cit.

position was one of considerable importance. It would seem that only one *mudarris* was elected at a time and great difficulty was caused when in 483/1090, two eminent scholars arrived in Baghdad both armed with diplomas of appointment from the Nizámu 'l-Mulk. An arrangement by which the professors lectured on alternate days was the only way out of an embarrassing situation.<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been no restriction on the number of subordinate teachers, *mu'ids* (répétiteurs),<sup>2</sup> or, more generally, *faqíhs*.<sup>3</sup> Easily the most famous in after life of those who thus taught at the *madrassa* was Sa'dí of Shíráz. He tells us that he well earned the salary he was paid at the school, for he was at work day and night—almost like Charles Lamb's Schoolmaster—"in a perpetual cycle" of teaching and repetition.<sup>4</sup> Another teacher who afterwards attained eminence was Baháu 'l-Dín (Bohadin), Saladin's biographer.<sup>5</sup>

Ibn Jubayr describes a lecture given by the *faqíh* Rađíyu 'l-Dín al-Qazwíní, following the afternoon prayer on a Friday. After the class was assembled, the lecturer mounted a platform or pulpit,<sup>6</sup> and the students sitting on stools in front of him intoned a section from the Qur'án. When this was done the Shaikh delivered an address on that or some other section, and was then assailed by questions, some oral and others written, from all parts of the room. By the time he had finished answering them, it was time for the evening prayer, and the class dispersed.<sup>7</sup>

The students (*faqíhs*) gradually acquired a strong corporate feeling which showed itself on occasion; as when in 547/1152 they assaulted an officer of the Caliph who had entered the *madrassa* on duty. One of the *faqíhs*, Ya'qúb the Scribe, died

<sup>1</sup> *Ibnu 'l-Athir*, x, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibn Khall*, tr. de Slane, vol. iv, p. 434, note (6).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibn Jubayr*, ed. Wright (Gibb Series v), pp. 219 and 229.

<sup>4</sup> *Báttán*, vii, l. 147, ed. Graf, p. 341.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibn Khall*, tr. de Slane, vol. iv, pp. 417 f.

<sup>6</sup> Sometimes he sat in the *sudda* "the porch". 'Uyánu 'l-Ta'rikh, l. 90.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibn Jubayr*, op. cit., pp. 220, 231.



in the *madrassa* without leaving an heir, and when the officer came to put his seal on the door of Ya'qúb's room (*ghurfah*), as a token of the sequestration of his property to the Caliph, the man was set upon. He called for the assistance of the porter, who thrashed a couple of the *faqíhs*; whereupon they locked the college gates, threw the "Preacher's Chair" into the roadway, and at night made a disorderly demonstration on the flat roof, inviting others to join them in defiance of the authorities. The *mudarris* was able finally to stop the disorder, but he had to make apologies for it to the Caliph.<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the numerous benefactors of the *madrassa* were the Caliph Náṣir, who built a library for it in 589/1193 and supplied it with thousands of valuable books,<sup>2</sup> and the historian Ibnu 'l-Najjár, who was a friend of Yáqút and who left books to the Nizámíya when he died in 643/1245.<sup>3</sup>

The final history of the institution is obscure. Ḥamdulláh Mustawfí, writing about A.D. 1340 in his *Nuzhatu 'l-Qulúb*, calls the college "the mother of the *madrassas*",<sup>4</sup> in Baghdad, but says nothing about its condition. By that time, however, its professors were dividing their time between it and the Mustanṣiriya. The last of them of whom any mention has hitherto been found, Ghiyáthu 'l-Dín, Ibnu 'l-'Aqúli, died at Baghdad in 797/1394,<sup>5</sup> two years after Tamerlane's capture of the city. There is no reason to believe that the Tartar monarch did any damage to the Nizámíya or any other *madrassa*,<sup>6</sup> but it seems probable that it was gradually merged in the Mustanṣiriya and finally lost its separate identity.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibnu 'l-Athír*, xi, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, xii, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Kutabí, *Fawát*, ed. Búláq, 1283, vol. ii, pp. 329 and 330.

<sup>4</sup> *Ed. Le Strange*, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Wuestenfeld, *Academien*, pp. 28 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Browne, "Persian Lit. under Tartar Dominion," p. 191, for the respect he accorded to learning.

# The Unknown Co-Founders of Buddhism : A Sequel <sup>1</sup>

By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THERE is yet another man, whose original message to his fellow-men has been woven into the earliest teachings we call Buddhism, but whose name his age and after-ages have let die. Not in the first utterances ascribed to the Sakyan founder of the movement,<sup>2</sup> nor in the last things which he is represented as emphasizing and enjoining as teachings do we find this original message. We do not know when, in the forty and odd years of the founder's mission, this lost voice began to make itself heard in the same area of missionary work. We do not know when, not the teacher but his teaching was taken over as part of the stock of Sāsana logia. What we do find is a fourfold exercise, moulded into a formula of distinctive character, and emerging here and there in discourses. We also find passing allusions in the scriptures to the four heads of the formula, and we find two at least of the four expanded separately and in a different connexion.

I am speaking of the teaching which came to be called "the four divine states" (*cattāro brahmavihārā*), or later, "divine-state-jhānas" (*brahmavihārajhānāni*), or later still, "the immeasurablenesses" (*appamaññāyo*). In this order these three names severally occur: once in the Anguttara-Nikāya (iii, 225), once in Dhammasaṅgaṇi (p. 55), once in Vibhaṅga (p. 272). The formula runs thus:—

"He with amity-consorted mind abides suffusing (or *So mettāsahagatena cetasā ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā viharati*, radiating) one quarter, thus-also the second, thus-also *tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ*. *Iti uddham* the third, thus-also the fourth. So above below across *adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbavantam lokam mettā*-everyway, by everywhere-ness the entire world with amity-

<sup>1</sup> To my article, *JRAS*, April, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> The *Buddhacarita* inserts it in the First Utterance. But no one would look for historical evidence to a factitious literary composition like this.



*sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena* consorted mind, with abundant expanded immeasurable *avyāpajjhena pharivā viharati*. *Puna ca param karuṇā-unhate, un-illwill suffusing abides he*. And then again with *sahagatena cetasā viharati ekam disaṃ pharivā . . . Puna ca* pity-consorted mind he abides suffusing one quarter . . . And *param muditā-sahagatena cetasā ekam disaṃ pharivā viharati* then again with gladness-consorted mind he abides suffusing . . . *Puna ca param upekkhā-sahagatena cetasā ekam disaṃ* one quarter . . . And then again with equanimity-consorted *pharivā viharati . . . vipulena . . . mahaggatena appamāṇena* mind he abides suffusing one quarter with abundant expanded *averena avyāppajjhena pharivā viharati*.  
immeasurable unhate un-illwill suffusing abides he."

This is cited from the Tevijja Suttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya (i, No. XIII), it being the first occurrence of the formula in the Piṭakas. But wherever the matter is introduced by way of formula—and this happens about twenty-nine times in the Pali Canon—the essential wording of the practice is exactly the same. The "so", "he", may be varied by "the monk" (*bhikkhu*); the practice may be introduced as a special form of Jhāna, namely by the orthodox preliminary of "putting away these five Hindrances in weakening by wisdom the corruptions of the mind", but the fixed wording itself is a constant.

The frequency with which the formula occurs in the Canon varies greatly according to Piṭaka and book. Let us glance at these in order.

The Vinaya apparently has no use for it. The practice in the case of the first factor "amity" is shown to be familiar, but in the five allusions to it the formula is not cited, and in three of them the "suffusing" is not an expansion to the universal, but is directed to one individual, to wit, a discourteous layman,<sup>1</sup> an elephant,<sup>2</sup> to any monk whom it

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvagga*, vi, 36. The Parivāra summaries mention *mettāvihari* once.

<sup>2</sup> *Cullavagga*, vii, 3.

behoved a fellow-monk to admonish.<sup>1</sup> Of the other two, one is a passing reference to the first factor as an old habit made about himself by the monk Revata, a century after the death of the founder.<sup>2</sup> The other is of great interest in that it gives us a rival formula,<sup>3</sup> wording only the first factor, "amity," wording it also by way of a universalizing expansion, but wording it in terms very different from those of the fourfold formula. It occurs also in the Anguttara, as a noteworthy group of four things in the "Fours Nipāta".<sup>4</sup> But this is not in connexion with the other three factors (that finds separate mention), but because it is a charm or spell against snake-bite from any of the four kinds of snakes! These four "families" (*kula*) are Virūpakkha, Erāpatha, Chavyaputta, and Kaṇhagotamaka. These "should be suffused with a friendly mind" (*mettena cittena phareyya*); then thought should proceed from apods (*apādakā*) to bipeds, quadrupeds, multipeds, culminating in

May all beings, all breathers, all creatures everyone,

*Sabbe sattā sabbe paṇā sabbe bhūtā ca kevalā*

All see lucky things! May no evil whatever come!

*Sabbe bhadraṇi passantu! mā kañci pāpaṃ āgamā ti!*

To this possibly very ancient rune the Sangha, in annexing it, has added a coda making it orthodox, and linked this with the probably original affirmation of the rune: "Worked by me is the warding! Worked by me is the shielding! Let all creatures depart!"

On this and the other Buddhist "warding-runes" I have written in introducing the most elaborate of them: the Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, iii, p. 185 ff. On the curious and interesting names for serpent-"*kulas*" Richard Morris's note on the Bower birch-bark MS., in which a version of the rune was discovered "in the ruined buried city of Mingai, Kashgaria", nearly thirty years ago, should be consulted: *JPTS*, 1893, pp. 61 ff. My concern here is with

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., ix, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., v, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., xii, 2.

<sup>4</sup> A., ii, 72



the mental attitude in the rune. And this is not quite fitly rendered in any translation known to me. Fausböll and Rhys Davids translate "I love Virūpakkhas" and so on.<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Jayasundere and Woodward translate "Goodwill towards Virupakkhas" and so on.<sup>2</sup> The Pali is simple and crude, such as we should expect in a "*viññā*" or spell of popular and ancient usage. It is

*Virūpakkhehi me mettaṃ, mettaṃ Erāpathehi me . . .*

Literally rendered this is "with the Virūpakkhas for me the kind thing (be)", etc. And whereas the Anguttara Commentary passes it over, the Jātaka Commentary supplies the word "with" (*saddhiṃ*), and explains "me" by (the Dative or Genitive) *mayhaṃ*.<sup>3</sup> I have rendered *mettaṃ* as "kind thing", just as *mittaṃ* may be, but *mettaṃ* and *metti* are not unknown as variants of *mettā*.

The other instances of love-suffusion in the Vinaya are the famous taming of the fierce elephant Nālāgiri, and the much less known taming of the discourteous Roja, quoted at length by Oldenberg.<sup>4</sup>

In the Sutta Piṭaka, the Four Nikāyas give the Fourfold Formula 26 times: Dīgha 7 times, Majjhima 3, Samyutta 4, Anguttara 12 times. Besides these there are two cases where three only of the Four are mentioned, twenty-three cases where *mettā* alone is the subject, one where "pity" alone is "practised", and one where *muditā* is to be "practised". It may be noted too, as not insignificant, that in the Etadagga Sutta of the Anguttara (the ascription of "diplomas" of excellence to individual adherents), only one person is named as best in the practice, not of the Four, but of *mettā* only, and that is a woman and a laywoman at that: Samāvatī.<sup>5</sup>

In the Fifth, or Khuddaka-Nikāya, some of which is what

<sup>1</sup> *SBE*, x, and *Vin. Texts*, iii.

<sup>2</sup> *Numerical Sayings*.

<sup>3</sup> Fausböll's *Jātaka*, ii, 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Buddha*, ii, ch. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Eka-Nipāta*.

may be termed apocryphal, there is, in all its fourteen books (I omit the late but included Commentary to the Jātaka) only one citation of the fourfold formula. This is in the Paṭisambhidā-magga. But that the fourfold group was known also to the recorders of the earliest book of the fourteen is seen just once. In the first part of the Sutta-nipāta we find :—

Amity,<sup>1</sup> poise, pity, release  
pursuing and gladness in order <sup>2</sup>  
without repulsion for the whole world  
let him fare alone like a rhinoceros' horn.

And that not only the group of terms but the formula itself may have been familiar to the Sutta-Nipāta repeaters seems suggested by the phrases in verse 507 :—

He passion-rid should repress ill-will  
making to grow the friendly mind immeasurable,  
day and night ever earnestly  
he should suffuse every quarter (with) Immeasurableness.<sup>3</sup>

Here in the last word is even an anticipation of the later name for all four: the immeasurablenesses, or infinitudes. In verse 987, in a passing allusion to *mettā*, we get the word *phasse*, touch, instead of *phareyya*, suffuse :—

Let him touch with amity (things) weak and strong.

In verses 143-52, or Mettasutta, repeated in another little anthology, the Khuddakapāṭha, there is a lovely combination of the first three of the four suffusion-thoughts, in which, without the word "suffuse" (*bhāvāya*: "make to become," is substituted), phrases from both the fourfold formula and the warding rune are wrought together. Here too is the simile, known to many now, of the amity-to-be-thought being as immeasurable as a mother's warding love. It is in this poem that occurs the phrase which may well have given rise to the group-term *brahmavihāra*.

*brahman etam vihāram idha-m-āhu.*

divine (is) this state! here have they said.

<sup>1</sup> Verse 72.

<sup>2</sup> So the Comy. interprets *kāle*.

<sup>3</sup> Each factor was called by the abstract noun.



In the other anthologies only *mettā* is commended: in the Dhammapada once only, in the word *mettāvihārīn*; in the Thera-therī-gāthā Revata is eloquent on *mettā* as his habitual attitude, and so is the tamed bandit Angulimāla, Sañjaya briefly echoing them; Phussa enjoins amity and pity, and the boy Sopāka echoes the mother-simile. This is all!<sup>1</sup> In the Iti-vuttaka is the very glowing eulogy of *mettā* with eloquent similes of moon, sun, and morning star. Here is no fourfold praise, nor formula, but treatment in terms of value, and that with a term of the market: *agghāyati*. This may have been at the time a novel and forced term in religious teaching. It is unlikely to have originated in a monastic atmosphere, and I can well imagine Gotama bringing it out of his own experience and his father's in intercourse with the "court-valuer" (*agghakāraka*).<sup>2</sup> There is also in this work the linking of *mettā* with the term mind-release (*cetovimutti*), the interpolated word, making five, which we saw in the Sutta-Nipāta verse quoted above.<sup>3</sup>

Expanded treatment of the first term only, *mettā*, occurs in the Paṭisambhidā-magga's "Mettakathā".<sup>4</sup> And a special expansion of the second term, pity, as a Buddha-attribute, is given in the chapter "The achievement of the Great Pity", a liturgy of refrains not without aesthetic impressiveness.<sup>5</sup> *Muditā* is never expanded; its solitary separate use in the Anguttara I have noted. The word is just "gladness", but its meaning appears to have been always the special gladness of the German *Mit-freude*, that is, one half only of the meaning of sympathy, just as pity stands for the other half.

Nor is there any expanded treatment of the suffusing of the fourth thought *upekkhā*. Here it is the Buddhist term that is not very fit. Used to express mind-work where there is no awareness of either pleasure or pain, the word has in its back-

<sup>1</sup> Nos. cxxliv, cclv, xlviii, xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> § 27 and *Cambridge Hist. of India*, i, 216.

<sup>3</sup> P. 275, cf. below, p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

ground, so to speak, a positive connotation of evenness or poise<sup>1</sup> (*sama*). This finds expression in the verses describing the tenth and last "perfection" (*pāramī*), developed by a Bodhisat, namely *upekkhā*.

"They who prepare ill for me and they who give me happiness : to all I am even ; granting and grudging exist not.

balanced as to pleasure and pain in honours and dishonours everywhere even am I ; this is my 'perfection of *upekkhā*'."<sup>2</sup>

Now this evenness was of the very stock-in-trade of the monk, who had turned his back on world-experience. He had to face the need of it at every turn. He was especially called upon to suffuse *himself* with it. Hence probably arises the absence of any expansion of the idea of "willing"—for so of course we should say—evenness in others. To this I return presently.

Lastly the Abhidhamma gives twice a place to the fourfold formula : in the first book (*Dhammasaṅgāṇī*), showing it as an adjunct to "good" or *Rūpa-Jhāna*, and in the second book (*Vibhaṅga*), where it occupies a chapter, towards the end, after that on *Jhāna*. There is no expansion anywhere of any separate factor.

Thus much in brief survey of the manner in, and extent to which this very remarkable subject of purposive thought is met with in the Buddhist (Pali) Canon. The reader is now in a better position to weigh the suggestion I put forward. This, I repeat, is that in the teaching, couched and half-hidden in a fixed wording, of a man so worthing and warding his fellowman, nay, his fellow-creatures, as to practise telepathy upon them in four modes for their benefit, his own included, we have the mandate of some man or woman, or both, which was not in the mission of the founder, or of the unknown co-founders of the Buddhist movement, but which was, at some unassignable time in the years of inception,

<sup>1</sup> Lord Chalmers's rendering.

<sup>2</sup> *Cariyāpiṭaka*, iii, 15.



introduced, accepted and annexed, together with the credit thereof.

This is not supported by reference to any other Indian scriptures which may approximately be judged to be contemporaneous with, or prior to the Buddhist Piṭakas. Worthy sayings on amity and pity and on evenness may be found in early Upanishads and the Mahābhārata, albeit not perhaps on "muditā". It is the collocation of the four in a practice of *telepathic thought*, which ranges (the formula hides this) from the individual to the very world, with the idea of thereby healing and benefiting *others*, which no one seems as yet to have detected save in the Piṭakas, that throws the teaching into high relief as both original and in itself distinct from any other gospel, Buddhism included.

It is, I believe, only in the Yogasūtras (i, 33) that we find, in extra-Buddhist literature, the fourfold thought and its "cultivation". But, apart from the post-Buddhistic date ascribed very generally to the compilation of the Sūtras as we have them, they clearly represent, as compared with their wider scope in the Piṭakas, a shrunken practice. They are mentioned in passing as just a needed adjunct to mental stability. The chief aim is there the benefit of the yogin. Emphasis is no more on aiding the fellowman. The unique, the once fresh idea of suffusing is replaced by cultivating (*bhāvanā*).

There is one passage, and one only, of internal evidence, pointing to its being the teaching of persons called "Wanderers (*paribbājakā*) of a different school" (*aññatti-thiyā*). This is inserted, without obvious reason, into the Bojjhanga-Saṃyutta (No. 46).<sup>1</sup> At Haliddavasana of the Koliyas some monks, making a call in the Wanderers' Park, are asked whether the doctrine of the fourfold suffusion—the term is my own; the description is in the Buddhist formula—which the inquiring Wanderers teach, is the same as that which the Samana Gotama teaches, "doctrine for

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v, 346. N.B.—There is no *Brāhmanikāra-Saṃyutta*!

doctrine, teaching for teaching," or is there a difference ? The monks hastily return and consult their fountainhead.

His reply as to wherein his own method and outlook were, not contradictory, but a taking up of the suffusing practices into something that was not merely ethical but religious, is, if it contain a true echo of the Man's words, of very great significance. He is said to have answered : " You should ask them ' How is each one of the four developed ? What does it lead to ? What is its perfect form ? What is the result of it ? What is its goal ? ' "

These are the words of a genuine religious pioneer. The rest of the reply is so different, so obviously monkish, so according to code, that I leave it there.

Not long before his death, Gotama is shown enumerating certain points which his disciples were well to learn, pursue, make to become (*bhāvetabbā*) and expand, as he had taught them, to serve for the welfare and happiness and good of mankind. These amount to seven groups, thirty-seven in all, and have been classed as the thirty-seven doctrines belonging to enlightenment (*bodhi*). Now the Fourfold Formula of suffusion is *not among them*.<sup>1</sup>

Again, I repeat, no disciple, let alone eminent disciple, stands out in the " official list " as best (*agga*)<sup>2</sup> in the fourfold suffusion. Seventy-six men and women are thus distinguished, two of them more than once. There are upwards of seventy ways, in life, character and mind, for which they are distinguished, but of Brahnavihāras there is not a word save concerning the amity-habit of just one laywoman.<sup>3</sup>

There is another reason for finding, that the Brahnavihāra code of practice is not of endogenic growth in what we may call the original mandate. No cult, unless it be that of the Hebrews, has more emphatically based itself as a religion on morals (*sīla*) than did Buddhism. The first Suttanta in the first book of its Sutta-Piṭaka is, in its first half, a setting forth

<sup>1</sup> Nor, it is true, are the " Four Truths ! "

<sup>2</sup> *Anguttara*, i, 23 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Manorathapūraṇī* (*A. Comy.*), i, 418 ff.



of the good life as a threefold graded *Sīla*. And it is no fleshless code, but a triple grading of values, *as worthed* more or less by the judgment of its founder and *put by him into practice*. This triple *Sīla* is repeated, fully or in part, in nine of the twelve following Suttantas. Here then if anywhere should we have expected to find the fourfold *brahmavihāra* brought in, as either the climax of *brahmacariya*, the holy or divine living, or as a special development in the carrying out of it.

We look through the first and eight of the following connected Suttantas, each showing a different occasion for the appeal to the body of *Sīla* doctrine, in vain. Not till the last Suttanta, the *Tevijja*, does it come, and then just where we should have looked for it: as the culmination in reply to the question: "And how, *Vāsetṭha*, is his conduct good?" Five stages in the purifying character and conduct are given in reply, then the ensuing joy and peace, and *then* does "he, with amity-consorted mind suffusing one quarter" and the rest, proceed to exercise the telepathic warding and helping of his fellow-beings.

But why here only? The *Brahmavihāras* are mentioned here and here only, because of a tradition which had come down to the editors of the *Piṭakas*, that *Brahmavihāra* practice meant attainment after death to rebirth in the *Brahmaworld*. Thus elsewhere a monk who is an habitual practiser is called *brahmapatto*, just as a monk who is an habitual "*Jhāna*-practiser" is called, for reasons that I suggest elsewhere, *deva-patto*.<sup>1</sup> And the *Tevijja* Suttanta theme is how best to insure joining the community of the *Brahma-devas*. *That* is why we find it here.

Whence came this association of the *Brahmavihāras* with what was, or was believed by Buddhists at one time to be, the goal of Brahman aspiration? "I thought, sir," *Sāriputta*, himself an ex-brahman, is made to say to his leader, "that as these brahmans' hearts are set on the heaven of *Brahmā*,

<sup>1</sup> *Anguttara*, ii, 184; cf. "Dhyāna in Early Buddhism", *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Dec., 1927.

I would show the way to union with Brahmas.”<sup>1</sup> But I have nowhere seen it contended by any book old or new, that the fourfold suffusion or irradiation of beings is supported by anything in Brahman literature. On the contrary, the Brahman was *not* taught to interest himself in his fellow-beings with all social and other barriers thrown down, such as the Buddhists termed *an-adhiso*. And even had the practice originated among the founders of the Buddhist movement, many of whom were ex-Brahmans, they would have taught and sanctioned it out of goodwill to their fellows, and *not* for the attainment of a particular world in rebirth. The layman was so to live as to win Sagga, happy rebirth; the monk was so to live as to win no rebirth.

I think that the founder of the social gospel of the Brahmavihāra attitude and practice may have been also an “ex-Brahman”, living the homeless life as a Wanderer, and teaching the multitude the good life *in his own way*, just as Gotama taught in his. He too would find that the many were just then waking to the significance, for man’s present and future happiness, not so much of the sacrifice, the chanted mantra, the priestly celebrant, as of the worthing and warding of the fellowman. He may well have found in popular use runes of warding off danger seen and unseen by the power of what we now call the will, but for which, *with no such word to hand*, he called thought or mind (*citta*). This negative idea in the runes of warding from danger the *willer* he, as a pioneer in advance of his age, converted into a willing of “well” to the object or *person willed*. And so much of the mother was there, as there is in all warding of creatures, in his gospel, that not only will he have had many women among his disciples, but he or they will have given expression to mother-care in his teaching. There was little interest in the mother as such for the Buddhist monk. As giver and warder of life, of “becoming” (*bhava*), she would arouse in him

<sup>1</sup> *Majjhima*, ii, Dhānañjāni Sutta.



repulsion rather than veneration. Hence I should place the credit for the mother simile of the Sutta-Nipāta to the influence of this unacknowledged source. And with that the credit also of the simile, used but not invented by Buddhaghosa, comparing the fourfold suffusion with the mother's care for her four children: tenderness for the babe; pity for the hurt child; joy in the success of the schoolboy; poise for the busy young man.<sup>1</sup>

I would not say that there is anything in this gospel of "Ignotus"—or shall we call him just Mānava, "young Brahman," as was called one of the to us Ignoti in the Theragāthā?<sup>2</sup>—that Gotama could not have taught, did not teach in his own way. The facts in the evidence are, that compared with the way usually ascribed to him, the way of the Fourfold "telepathy" strikes the critical eye (and ear) as something from without, exotic, much as does the upthrust of igneous rock through stratified rock. And his own abstention from claiming it as part of his programme in the Suttas of assertion or "Lion-roars", such as that in the Vinaya, Pārājika I, and in Majjhima, Sutta XII, or where the disciple asserts for him, as in the Sampasādāniya Suttanta, is a point not to be overlooked. Those Sayings are not, for me, Gotama's—he was too great a man to call himself a great man—but his editors'. But it remains, that the Fourfold Practice is *not adduced as essentially his teaching*.

I do not say, that any one of the points I put forward to show this is in itself convincing, but there are several points, and taken together they do constitute an obstacle to the usual assumption, that the Brahmavihāras are originally Buddhist teaching.

I do say that, both in tradition and by the whole purpose and work of his long mission-career, the first "state": amity or goodwill, is a true attribute of Gotama. It was the ninth (not the first) of the ten "perfections" developed by a

<sup>1</sup> *Visuddhi-Magga*.

<sup>2</sup> No. lxxiii.

Bodhisat. True also of him is the attribute of pity, albeit this is not reckoned as a "perfection". Of the third state : "muditā," we do not find, either in Buddhological tradition, or in his mission-years, anything of *muditā* that we can single out as characterizing him. (I am open to correction.) The fourth state : poise, on the other hand is both a "perfection" (the tenth), and is testified to in the Suttas. But it tended to fall behind the others. Not without reason certain "Northern" schools maintained,<sup>1</sup> that if the Buddha were without passionate feeling, he could not feel the boundless pity for man and the world which the Buddhist literature constantly associates with his name. We certainly find him teaching to others *mettā*, and with it, to a very limited degree, pity and poise. But he has his own way of teaching it, according to the Sayings, and that way is *usually not* the way of the Ignotus-gospel: the way of taking one of four sentiments and letting the mind so charged brood over a section of humanity, then another and so on. The method is singular among Pīṭaka methods; the terms are singular. "Suffusing, radiating" (*pharati*) is rare, and is restricted elsewhere, I believe, to the *subject*, in moments of strong emotion; here it is to affect the *object*. So little do we bear this in mind in poise, that both Buddhists and we tend to see, especially in the radiating of poise, a boomerang bringing benefit not to the object but only to the subject after his orgy of altruistic emotion.<sup>2</sup>

That Gotama, when he came to hear of this man (or woman), and his teaching, rated it highly and adopted it, I fully accept. It was like him to appreciate the best thought and work of his day. He appreciated the new worthing of natural causation, the Sāṅkhyan study of body and sense and mind as distinct from, and not to be identified with the *attan* or *puggala*

<sup>1</sup> Uttarāpathakas, *Points of Controversy*, xviii, 3.

<sup>2</sup> In fact Spence Hardy and to some degree Oldenberg do see in the Four a sort of subjective orgy. Cf. the selfish treatment of "poise" in *Vissuddhi Magga*, p. 317.



(*puruṣa*); he studied Jhāna and applied it variously, chiefly for commerce with other worlds; he saw the importance of the mantra in the efforts of his Society to frame its own Vedarunes and refrains. And here was a modern teaching after his own heart; it was man worshipping man, giving himself to man, warding and raising man. How could he do other than welcome it?

And yet Gotama and "Mānava" never met! But this is not stranger than, not so strange as, Gotama and Vardhamāna, the Jain, never meeting. Around each was his "world". The seniors, the Jains, held their great man aloof from the younger pretender. May not the possibly senior Sakyaputtas have held Gotama aloof?

Or the welcome may have been rejected by Mānava's world, not because Mānava will not have thought highly of Gotama, but possibly because of tendencies among Gotama's disciples over which Mānava shook his head. What might these be?

As brahman Mānava may have remained in word and in practice a worshipper of Brahman, or even and also of some personal projection of that impersonal Brahman. But I drop this as pure guessing, and suggest in the literature of the fourfold formula itself a possible guide to disagreement.

Gotama, like other great Helpers of man, perhaps more especially than any other, addressed his message to what we may call the man-in-man—the *puggala*—who is "neither body nor mind".<sup>1</sup> This it was that man should seek to find<sup>2</sup>: so ran his first utterances. Now his age was much preoccupied with the analysis of mind and its action through sense on body and matter. And just as it is with us now, the man, the user of mind and body, the layer down and taker up of bodies, was being suffered to drop out of sight, was coming in fact to be reckoned as a "complex" of body and mind, and nothing more. But Mānava's teaching was an appeal to the man, and

<sup>1</sup> The Second Discourse, and *passim* in Suttas.

<sup>2</sup> "Were it not better for you to seek the self (*attānaṃ*)?"

through the man to the fellowman, first in the individual and then to the group and the whole without class or sex or race or other distinction. In the formula, which will be the work of the formula-making Gotama-men, this *individual objective* is lost sight of. But that it was and remained the traditional way of the practice we can see by the Paṭisambhidā-magga's and Visuddhi-magga's descriptions of it. The man was to let his "thought", really his *will*, work on the thought, the will of a man. By this intensive telepathic willing the *object*, the fellowman, was to come himself to feel amity for the willer instead of dislike, to feel the warmth of a man's compassion, to feel the cheer of sympathetic friendship, to feel the balance he needed if tossed about by praise or blame, etc. The expanded willing, besides being as the French would say *ce qui fait beau dans le paysage*, is more likely to benefit the willer than the willed. We saw this in "poise"! It is by radiating amity and the rest to society, to races, to the world, that we ourselves shall in our word and deed get on in promoting the world's peace and happiness. But it is by working on the *individual* man, woman and child, that we can help with any certainty of effect. Buddhism has tended to lose sight of this in its ejection of the "man-in-man", and its skandha scheme of man's instruments as the man, in its preoccupation with the type, the class, the process,<sup>1</sup> in fact with something like a herd-psychology of its own.

There is another possible barrier between Gotamakas and Mānavakas in the tendency betrayed by the word release (*vimutti*), which is often interpolated in the formula, notably where the Wanderers word their practice in the Buddhist formula, *without it*, and where the reply *inserts it*. *Vimutti*, whatever else it meant to India as "mokṣa", meant in Buddhism (a) release from the world and (b) release from rebirth, both for the monk. But what if Mānava, as a friend of

<sup>1</sup> Practically the whole of the Abhidhamma is a study of fixed type, group and process.



man and of men, was no friend to monkdom, and disapproved of its growth among the Gotamakas?

In such tendencies I see quite enough to deter a teacher from associating in personal intercourse with the leader of a group so tending. It may have cost him much to keep aloof. He has paid heavily. To us he is as if he had never been. But not, it may well be, to beings elsewhere.

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## Is there a Gabri Dialect of Modern Persian ?

By D. L. R. LORIMER

IN the latest addition to the series of the *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Dr. Karl Hadank, of Berlin, has presented Iranian philologists and students of Persian dialects with a work of great interest and importance.

The series was initiated by the late Oskar Mann (ob. 1917) and the present volume, Abt. III, Band I, 1926, as well as its predecessors is based chiefly on the material collected by him. Its main contents are described in the title: *Die Mundarten von Khunsâr, Mahallât, Natânz, Nâyin, Sâmnân, Sîvând und Sô-Kohrûd*.

The studies of these dialects, however, are preceded by a lengthy Introduction, amounting to nearly a third of the volume, in which Dr. Hadank takes occasion to discuss a number of questions relating chiefly to the nature of the popular speech of Persia common to the bulk of the lower-class uneducated population, and the danger of mistaking for dialect what really belongs to this common speech.

It is with regard to one of these side questions that I propose to offer some remarks.

In talking of Nâyini Dr. Hadank quotes a remark by a British Consul, Keith E. Abbott, referring to the year 1849, to the effect that the inhabitants of Nâyin spoke a language of their own. This language was stated to be the old language of the Gabrs who had inhabited this place up to a not very remote date in the past. This and a remark by P. M. Sykes give him an occasion to set off on an excursus of some twenty pages regarding "the question of the existence of a special *Gabri* dialect". It appears that Dr. Hadank is himself the discoverer, if not the creator, of the doubt implied.

It may save others time if I mention that the problem is raised, in the terms just given, on p. LXVI, and is developed



and explained on p. LXXXIII as centring on two hitherto generally accepted propositions :—

(1) That there is one language *Gabri* common to all Persian Parsees.

(2) That there is a fundamental distinction between the Gabr-speech of a locality and the speech of the Muslim population of the same locality.

His judgment on the first proposition is that it is an arbitrary and erroneous assumption, p. LXXXIII.

His judgment on the second is given at some length on p. LXXXVI in the following terms :—

“ I do not propose to dispute that the modern so-called Fireworshippers of Persia have preserved to the present day a series of old and characteristic expressions, especially such as are connected with their religion and customs. But this need by no means imply a special Parsee dialect. For that, morphological peculiarities would be required.

“ Even if now and again divergencies may have existed, and may still be found, between the speech-usage of the Parsees and of the Muslims of the same place, owing especially to the strong favouring of Arabic by the latter, still this conservative attitude on the part of the Parsees, their inclination to retain the traditional Iranian, does not suffice to justify the conception of a distinct ‘ Parsee Language ’.”

It follows from the views held by the author that *Yezdi*, to which he sometimes refers, is the one and only language spoken in Yezd, whether by Muslims or Zoroastrians, and that *Kermani* is similarly the one and only language spoken in Kerman, whether by Muslims or by Zoroastrians.

This *Yezdi* of his I understand to be synonymous with what I call *Yezdi Gabri*, and his *Kermani* with my *Kermani Gabri*.

We are now in a position to follow the steps in the argument by which the author arrives at his conclusions. We are less likely to get lost or side-tracked in the course of a long procession of details if we start with a distinct knowledge

of the points at which the author is aiming and the conclusions to which he wishes to lead us.

Dr. Hadank starts with the introduction of the term "Gabri" by Anquetil du Perron in 1771, and comments on the contribution of each author who has since then dealt with the subject. What brought our author originally to doubt the existence of a separate Gabri language appears to have been the curiously mixed and unhomogeneous nature of the material presented by a number of the chief "authorities". We may briefly summarize his principal notes and comments.

The first inquirer to furnish Gabri texts was the Russian Berezin in 1853. Dr. Hadank quotes a number of forms from his work which appear to be incompatible with each other, some approximating to ordinary Persian, others totally differing from it, and some seeming highly improbable; and he points to Berezin's complete misunderstanding of the Agential forms of the Personal Pronouns. He concludes that it is evident that in his texts Berezin has forcibly blended inconsistent records from various dialects to form one Gabri dialect.

He adds the statement: For later inquirers "Yazdi", which was still unknown to Berezin, was simply the "Parsee language".

In 1854 H. Petermann collected from Zoroastrians specimens of "Deri",<sup>1</sup> their own name for their language, which were published after his death by Justi, with additions from Berezin's Gabr dialect. Justi preferred the name Gabri.

Rahatsek followed in 1873 with *Deri Phrases and Dialogues* in which Dr. Hadank finds inconsistencies in the conjugation

<sup>1</sup> The term "Deri" gave rise to claims that Gabri was identical with "Deri", the name applied by certain Oriental writers to the old court language of Persia. The word has been represented as derived from *der* "door". These claims have been long ago disposed of, cp. Huart in the *Journal Asiatique* *Sième série* tome XI 1888 (the volume is twice misquoted by Hadank as IX, pp. LXX and LXXIV).

May the term Deri = Gabri not be referable to Persian *der* "in", and bear the sense "internal", "domestic", or "esoteric"? †



of the verbs and the same misunderstanding of the Agential Pronouns as in Berezin. A special feature is the recurrence of medial *z* for *d*.

In 1879 Houtum-Schindler collected material, chiefly in Kerman, which he published in 1882. Like his predecessors he shared the illusion of the existence of a single Parsee language throughout all Persia. Only in exceptional cases does he distinguish between Yazdi and Kermani. Unlike Petermann who left his material in Arabic-Persian script, Houtum-Schindler presents his only in transliteration. Hadank believes that Schindler must have worked, at least in part, from material in Arabic-Persian script, points out variations which may be due to faulty revision, and remarks that many of his assertions disagree with the evidence of more careful observers.

In 1897 Professor E. G. Browne published a "Dari" text in Arabic-Persian script with a Persian translation, both provided by a Yazdi Zoroastrian, Ardashir Mihrabān. Browne added a transliteration in Roman characters, and an English translation. Dr. Hadank comments on the curious use of symbols in the Gabri text and states that the Persian translation does not entirely agree with the Gabri text and that there are errors in Professor Browne's transliteration and translation. These criticisms are not wholly unjustified, but Dr. Hadank errs in the one instance he has chosen for an illustration.

He says that the Persian translation in verse 12 has آورد where it should have been بُرد.

The text has وَرْت *wurt* or *wort*, which is the preterite of *wurtmūn* or *wōrtmūn* "to bring".

Mn.P. *burd* is in Gabri *bert*.

In this case Professor Browne's translation "carried them off" is at fault; it should be "brought them along".

The fact seems to me to be that the text, as Ardashir Mihrabān meant it to be read, is sound, as after all is only to be expected, but no one without his help, even though

possessing some knowledge of Gabri, could hope to give a correct phonetic transcription of it. This is my own experience of the attempt of a Zoroastrian to write Gabri in Arabic-Persian script. And this will account for many errors in the work of inquirers who have relied on records in Arabic-Persian script and have subsequently undertaken to transliterate them.

The text appears to be free of contradictory and extraneous forms of the kind complained of in Berezin and Rehatsek, and had I taken it down in phonetic script from Ardashīr Mihrabān's dictation I think it would agree in all essentials with the texts which I so obtained from four other Gabr narrators.

The next contributor mentioned is J. de Morgan, who in his *Études Linguistiques* devotes a few pages to the "Dari" Dialect of Tehran. His work, says Dr. Hadank, doubtless contains much that is useful, it is only unfortunate that one never knows how far one can trust de Morgan's data. He resembles Rehatsek in giving a number of forms with *z* for *d*.

My own "Notes on Gabri" (*JRAS.*, 1916) are then referred to at some length. It is remarked that I make some attempt to distinguish Yezdi and Kermani forms and that I have "at least theoretically" arrived at the view that the two dialects "in their characteristic forms present some differences of vocabulary and pronunciation". I was, however, wrong and inconsistent in basing my commentary on the derivative and uncritical statement of Geiger and not on the original authorities. It is open to doubt whether my Yezdi authority may not have tended to confuse the two dialects and make them appear more similar in my work than they actually are. My method shows weakness in failing to quote the authority for every form given. I adhere to the idea of "Gabri" but remain half-way in distinguishing between Yezdi and Kermani.

To these and other personal criticisms I shall respond further on.



The author's conclusion after this review of the sources of information is that any attempt to establish "Yazdi" comes up against the contradictory accounts given of it by the various authorities. He illustrates this by examples. On some of these I may be permitted a few remarks: "day" Petermann-Justi روز, Ard. M. روز, Lorimer rūj (= روح).

I do not think I ever heard anything but rūj; but in the Arabic-Persian script which I possess written by one informant, where I recorded rūj to his dictation, he has written روز.

This illustrates the phonetic unreliability of Arabic-Persian script texts written by Gabrs.

"Wall" Romaskevič dīvōl, Lorimer zōr, Houtum-Sch. zār.

I have also zār; a Gabr would simply write زار.

dīvōl is merely an adaptation of the ordinary Persian dīvāl.

One must always be prepared for the intrusion of ordinary Persian forms in place of the Gabri ones. Probably all Gabrs, certainly all one would do language work with, know and every day speak ordinary Persian, and all the educated ones write it. Ordinary Persian is the dominant language.

-v- (w) for literary Persian medial -m-. This phenomenon occurs, but in my experience -m- is more general.

The *nīcak* "salt" quoted from me is also G.Y. (i.e. Yezdi Gabri).

I have also the metathesized form *minak*.

For *zavīn* quoted from me, I have also *zamīn*.

Infinitive endings: As regards the alternative Infinitive endings -mūn and -vūn, Dr. Hadank justly complains of an ambiguity in my statement regarding them. This is due to ignorance; but I can clear up the matter to this extent: I think I have recorded in my texts, etc., only -mūn, but I have a note that there is also -vūn as well as -mūn. This probably represents the answer to a direct inquiry and indicates that my informant (I think the Yezdi Burzū) recognized and admitted the form -vūn. I should take it that it is a general alternative for -mūn with any verb, and

not that it is used only with certain verbs to the exclusion of *-mūn*. (See below, p. 307.)

Following this the author, after turning down an assertion of de Gobineau's that the Persian Zoroastrians talk a form of Kurdish, proceeds to combat a remark of Zhukovski's that the resemblance of the dialects of the Parsees of Yezd and Kerman and the dialect of Kasha could be explained by the assumption that the area stretching from the mountains of Kohrūd to those of Natanz was at one time, possibly not very long ago, occupied by fire-worshipping Parsees.

Dr. Hadank quotes a few Gabri and Keshai words and forms to show that "Yezdi and Kermani unmistakably stand nearer to literary Persian than Keshai".

The veteran W. Geiger next receives his critical attention in regard to the acceptance by him of unhomogeneous material and incorrect forms from various authorities, and contempt is poured on his assertion that the special dialect of the Parsees of Yezd and Kerman, with its tinge of antiquity, can be accounted for by their communal isolation. On the contrary, says our author, they have been in constant business intercourse with the Muslims and have been subject not to communal isolation but to contempt, special taxation and persecution. Is there, however, any real antithesis here ?

At this point Dr. Hadank announces that he has been dealing with the "*arbitrary assumption*" that there is one form of speech common to all the Parsees of Persia and that this may now be rejected. He then states his second proposition, but I shall pause before following him in his discussion of this, to reply to the criticisms of my own contribution the "Notes on the Gabri Dialect of Modern Persian" (*JRAS.*, 1916) already referred to.

I may first mention the grounds on which I claim to speak with some authority regarding the language of the Gabrs of Yezd and Kerman and that of the Muslims of at least Kerman.

I resided and worked in Kerman as British Consul from January, 1912, to November, 1914. Throughout the greater



part of that time I expended considerable labour in collecting words locally supposed to be peculiar to the Muslims of Kerman. This resulted in a collection of hundreds of words, many of which will doubtless prove not to be limited in use to Kerman ; my wife also obtained the texts of the Kermani portion of the *Persian Tales* (Macmillan, 1919) and a number of nursery rhymes. I also collected a quantity of verse current in Kerman and its neighbourhood. All this material was obtained from Muslims and the language is throughout quite distinct from Gabri.

From June to October, 1914, as stated in the "Notes" I collected Gabri texts and vocabulary from Gabrs.

I was again in Kerman from August, 1916, to October or November, 1917. Throughout this period my health was unsatisfactory, and I could do little beyond what was required by my official duties, but I did some work on Gabri with a new Gabri informant and secured one long text and a quantity of grammatical notes. I also added to my stock of Muslim Kermani verse.

The "Notes on Gabri" were based on the earlier Gabri material and were drawn up in Chitral in 1915.

Now for the criticisms : I fully recognize the inconvenience of the form of the contribution judged from the point of view of a self-contained essay on the language, but such it does not claim to be. I had only limited leisure at my command and could not possibly undertake anything resembling a formal treatise. On the other hand I could pass a running comment on the résumé of existing Gabri material drawn up by a German scholar of high repute, supported by all the cumulative authority of an encyclopædic monument like the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, which stood as the last word of scholarship on the language and was presumably generally accepted as such. My article was simply a criticism principally of the material on which it is based. As such I think it was justified, and as such Dr. Hadank does not appear to find fault with it.

His complaint is really that I did not write a totally different and much more extensive work. That in my circumstances was out of the question.

He blames me for not having had recourse to Geiger's original authorities: Berezin, Rehatsek, Justi, Houtum-Schindler. He seems to have missed my statement on the first page of the article that I had tried to obtain their works but had failed. It is technically incorrect to say that I did not even know of the existence of Professor Browne's work. It is mentioned at secondhand on p. 477.

Briefly the extensive use that Dr. Hadank has been able to make of my article seems to provide sufficient justification of its publication.

In regard to the second criticism: a weakness in my method in not in every case having stated the source of a word, I would draw his attention to my explanation on p. 426 where the exact value of my Y. (Yezdi) and K. (Kermani) is explained.

I added "where no indication of source is given Y. is to be understood, but in such cases it is believed that the K. forms would be substantially the same".

This is, however, perhaps one of the "many obscurities of the exposition" which "detract from the usefulness of the treatise".

As regards the distinction between Y. and K. it has more importance for Dr. Hadank than for me.

I stated my views regarding the existence of two "sub-dialects" of Yezdi and Kermani (sc. of Gabri) guardedly on p. 425 of which Dr. Hadank quotes only part of one sentence. What I wrote was: "The same man will vary his pronunciation of the same word almost in one and the same breath. A further complication is introduced by the existence of the two sub-dialects of Yezdi and Kermani, which in their characteristic forms present some differences of vocabulary and pronunciation, but appear to intermingle to a considerable extent in the ordinary speech of the ordinary man. The two types are, however, in a general way distinguishable . . ."



I am not prepared to express any more final views until I have made a full comparative study of my material and am clearer as to what is necessary for the differentiation of sub-dialects—a matter really for the professional philologist.

According to information procured by me in 1917 one-third of the present Gabr population of Kerman immigrated thither from Yezd during the forty years lying roughly between 1867 and 1907. After the latter date, up to 1917, only a few more families are said to have come from Yezd.

If this is correct and if there were originally distinct Yezdi and Kermani sub-dialects of Gabri, one might now very well expect to find a considerable intermixture of them in the speech of the present-day Kermani Gabrs.

We may now pass on to Dr. Hadank's second proposition that *the existence of a fundamental difference between the Gabr language of a locality and the language of the Muslims of the same locality may only be accepted with certain limitations.*

Firstly he takes the case of Yezd and postulates that only those investigators who have themselves lived in Yezd and have there actually compared the language as spoken by Muslims and "Fire Worshippers", are competent as witnesses. This rules out Ouseley and Rehatsek. E. G. Browne's standing is not beyond doubt (he spent only three weeks in Yezd). Browne writes (I quote Browne's original English) :

"This Dari dialect is only used by the Guebres amongst themselves, and all of them, so far as I know, speak Persian as well. When they speak their own dialect even a Yezdi Musulmán cannot understand what they are saying, or can only understand it very imperfectly. It is for that reason that the Zoroastrians cherish their Dari, and are somewhat unwilling to teach it to a stranger."

Further on he says :—

"To me they were as a rule ready enough to impart information about it."

Elsewhere Dr. Hadank quotes the opening sentence of

Browne's "Specimen of the Gabri dialect of Persia," *JRAS.*, 1897, which runs as follows:—

"The *Gabri* dialect, as is well known, is spoken only by the Zoroastrians, or 'Guebres' of Persia (by whom it is called '*Dari*'), and is consequently almost confined to the towns of Yazd and Kirman."

Against these quite definite statements by a man of Professor Browne's calibre Dr. Hadank opposes quotations from two other authorities which he considers cancel Browne's evidence. He says:—

(1) "H. Petermann says of Yazd: 'Here also people seem not to recognize the Arabic *f*, hence they also say *pursi* for *fāresi*. From this one perceives that here as in Shiraz they pronounce the long *a* as *o* or *u*' . . ."

(2) "Napier Malcolm says: (in the original English) 'The Yezdi<sup>1</sup> realizes the link of a common language, but by this he means a common dialect'."

I have not been able to consult the first passage in the original, but I see nothing in what is quoted to indicate that Petermann was doing more than comparing the speech of the Muslims of Yazd with that of the Muslims of Shiraz. There is nothing to show that he had Gabrs in his mind when he wrote: "*Scheint man hier auch.*"

I have Napier Malcolm's *Five Years in a Persian Town* before me. It is quite clear that he in no way contemplates the Gabr community of Yazd. He is talking of connecting bonds subsisting between Persians in Persia. He opposes a Yezdi to an Ispahani and to a Bushiri. "The Yezdi regards the Ispahani as a foreigner," etc.

What Dr. Hadank fails to realize is that Gabrs simply do not exist when it is a question of generalizations about Persia, or Persians, or the population of a Persian town. They do

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hadank renders "The Yezdi" by "the inhabitant of Yazd (Der Bewohner von Yazd)". As will be pointed out presently, the two are not synonymous. "Yezdi" would ordinarily mean a "Muslim of Yazd origin".



not come into the picture at all unless they are specifically mentioned.

A "Yezdi" is a Persian Muslim of Yezd, similarly a Kermani an Ispahani, a Shirazi, etc., are all Muslims.

A Gabr is a Gabr, as opposed to a Muslim of his own or any other town. If you want to specify where a Gabr hails from you do not simply say "this man is a Yezdi", but "this man is a Yezdi Gabr" or "this man is a Gabr of Yezd" (*gabr i yezdi* or *gabr az yezd*); you speak of "the Zoroastrians of Yezd" (*zarduštīān i yezd*) and so on.

Members of the Gabr communities, just as members of the Jew and Armenian communities in Persia, are always spoken of as such. They are never considered as being included in the body of Persian Muslims: nor do they rank with them as like with like.

I am then mentioned as in my "Gabri Notes" opposing a "Muslim Kermani Persian" to the Gabri of the title of my article. All that Dr. Hadank here does to establish his contention that these are not two forms of speech but one and the same, is to assert that my Muslim Kermani Persian is "an artificial creation", and that judging from the examples I give I seem to understand by it a somewhat elevated language which accordingly lacks the expected dialect-colour.

I do not see how this advances the author's argument. I defined my Kermani Persian as "the Kermani dialect of Modern Persian (spoken by the Muslim inhabitants of Kerman City)". "Dialect" is possibly too strong a term, "form" might have been the better word. I was not then, nor am I now, concerned to discuss the exact position of Kermani Persian in relation to literary, or "ordinary" Persian. It is sufficient that it is distinct from Gabri and that it remains so, even if, as is probable, it is only a variant of ordinary Persian.

Incidentally I would ask whether any case is known of a distinct dialect being spoken in at all a pure form by the

majority of the Muslim population of any of the larger Persian towns.

I made no attempt to discuss the nature of Kermani Persian and it is wrong to say, as the author does, that " what Lorimer regards as *par excellence* a peculiarity of Muslim Kermani Persian—the use of *dāštan* as an auxiliary verb—is least of all so ".

All that I did, after quoting

Gabri Y. *mè dōrè tō.è* " I am (in the act of) doing "

and other similar expressions was to say : " These exactly correspond with the common idiom in Kermani Persian :—

*dāram mi.āyam* ' I am (in the act of) coming '

*dāshtam mi.āmadam* ' I was (in the act of) coming '

which I do not recollect to have noticed in other parts of Persia."

Dr. Hadank quotes a number of writings by Zhukovski on the use of *dāštan* in the Persian narrative language and states that " he reckons the future with *dāshtan* among the peculiarities of the low popular language ". Whether this is the construction illustrated by me I am not sure. I am not clear that mine contains the conception of the future even to the extent of meaning " I am just going to come ", " I am on the point of coming ".

But whether the particular idiom is common to all, or any, other forms of Persian or not does not affect the argument.

On my failure to obtain any tales or verse apparently belonging in any peculiar way to the Gabrs Dr. Hadank remarks that this would be " a disillusionment only for those, who, like himself, had approached the inquiry with the preconceived idea of the hermetical isolation and strongly self-centred life of the Persian Parsees ".

I may say that when I came to Kerman I knew very little about the Zoroastrians in Persia and I doubt if I was even aware that there was a community of them in Kerman. I only started to study their dialect after I had been one and a half



years in the place and that was probably soon after I first came to hear that they had a separate dialect.

On the other hand during my residence in Kerman I did, from observation of the facts, form very strong views regarding their communal isolation. That is a subject in itself. Suffice it to say that it is only in commerce that the merchant class of the Zoroastrians at all freely meet the Musulmans. They have no part in the communal, social or domestic life of the Muslims. I do not remember having ever met Muslims and Gabrs together except in the course of legal or official proceedings, as in bankruptcy cases.

It is stated by various authorities that previous to 1860 Gabrs were not even permitted to engage in trade. For long after that they continued subject to many legal disabilities and obligations, and to the present day there is in Muslim minds no question as to their exclusion from Muslim life and their inferior social status. On the other hand the Zoroastrians have their own separate communal life, emphasized by their own religious observances and ceremonial, their own festivals, and by the maintenance of their own schools and teachers, and the possession of their own language.

They are just as distinct from their Muslim fellow-townsmen as the Armenians of Julfa (Ispahan) are from the Muslims of Ispahan. But though the Armenians speak Persian when in the company of Muslims or Europeans he would be a bold man who would assert either that the Armenian which they speak among themselves is the same as the Persian of the Muslim inhabitants of Ispahan, or that the latter speak Armenian among themselves.

As regards the Gabrs of Kerman it is quite possible for Europeans, whether Consuls, Missionaries or business men, to reside and work for years in the town without realizing that the Gabrs have a language of their own so different from the ordinary Persian in general use that they would be quite unable to understand it. This fact I have lately attested by inquiry. It is quite natural, if one remembers that the

Gabrs speak only ordinary Persian in business and mixed society and that no Muslim speaks Gabri. As Professor Browne says, I doubt if any Muslim would fully understand it if he heard it spoken.

I may now proceed to sum up what I can say positively of my own knowledge about the speech of the Persian Gabrs and its relation to the speech of the Muslim inhabitants of the places in which they live ; and what I have more or less sound reasons for believing :—

(1) The Gabri spoken by the Gabrs of Kerman is quite definitely distinct morphologically and to some extent in vocabulary from the Persian spoken by the Muslim inhabitants of Kerman beside whom they live.

A few features in which Gabri differs from ordinary Persian may be mentioned in illustration. The list is of course in no way complete, but it is perhaps sufficient to establish the status of Gabri, as an independent dialect *vis-à-vis* Modern Persian and Kermani Persian :—

(i) The Agential Passive construction of the past tenses of Transitive verbs.

(ii) The use in this construction of pronominal forms possessing Agential force.

(iii) The forms of the Personal Pronouns (except the first and second plural).

(iv) The loss of the final consonants of the personal endings of the 1st and 3rd singular and 3rd plural of the present tenses of verbs (restored in the negative of the 1st and 3rd sg.).

(v) The forms of the verbal prefix in the present and imperfect tenses, *i*, *è* and variants.

(vi) The 3rd sg. forms of the enclitic “is” characterized by an *-n* e.g. *-un*, *-unè*, *-nè* and other variants.

(vii) The present base of the verb “to do”, *ker-*.

(viii) In certain cases Gabri *z* = Mn.P. *d*

|   |           |   |   |           |
|---|-----------|---|---|-----------|
| „ | <i>v</i>  | = | „ | <i>b</i>  |
| „ | <i>v-</i> | = | „ | <i>g-</i> |



(ix) Many differences in vocabulary :—

|       |                  |                 |
|-------|------------------|-----------------|
| Gabri | <i>vōtmūn</i>    | "to say"        |
|       | <i>šudmūn</i>    | "to go"         |
|       | <i>pēnōrtmūn</i> | "to take"       |
|       | <i>niftmūn</i>   | "to send", etc. |

Kermani Persian shares none of these features except the loss of final *-d* in the 3rd sg. and pl. of verbs. It differs from Gabri further in the following points :—

(i) Accusative suffix *-a*.

(ii) 3rd sing. enclitic "is", *a*.

(iii) Reduction of Mn.P. final *-ft* to *f*.

(iv) 2nd pl. verbal ending *-ēn*.

(v) The appearance of an intrusive *-t-* in the forms of transitive verbs before an accusative or dative pronominal suffix.

Kermani      *mīziditiš* = "she used to beat her"

*bigūtiš* = "say thou to him", etc.

(2) The Gabri spoken by the Gabrs of Yezd is in all essentials the same as that spoken by the Gabrs of Kerman.

(3) The Gabrs of Yezd and Kerman form the bulk of the Gabr community in Persia :—

According to figures given to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson in or about 1903 by the Secretary of the Zoroastrian Amelioration Society in Tehran,<sup>1</sup> which were probably as near the mark as such figures can be in Persia, the Zoroastrian population in Persia was distributed as follows :—

|                             |   |   |   |                         |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|-------------------------|
| Yezd and vicinity           | . | . | . | between 8,000 and 8,500 |
| Kerman                      | . | . | . | approximately 2,400     |
| Tehran                      | . | . | . | 324                     |
| Kashan                      | . | . | . | 45                      |
| Shiraz                      | . | . | . | 42                      |
| Kum, Ispahan and Sultanabad | . | . | . | 18                      |
| Total about                 |   |   |   | 11,000                  |

<sup>1</sup> *Persia Past and Present*, 1906, p. 425.

The following figures obtained by me in Kerman in 1917 are probably based on too high an estimate of souls per household :—

|  | <i>About.</i> |   |
|--|---------------|---|
| Kerman City. . . . .   | 2,300         | } said to have<br>been enumerated<br>in 1916. |
| Kerman District and villages . . . . .   | 550           |   |
| Yezd City . . . . .  | 5,000         | } rough estimate.                             |
| Yezd District. . . . .   | 5,000         |   |
| Tehran (including traders from<br>Yezd and Kerman living in<br>temporary quarters) . . . . . | 200           |   |

The presence of Gabrs in Shiraz, Kashan, and Resht was also mentioned, but no figures were obtained.

Houtum-Schindler's figures for 1879 are smaller all round, but the items are in much the same proportion.

In all cases the number of Zoroastrians living outside Yezd and Kerman districts is very small, both relatively and absolutely. I have no reason to believe that the small communities in Tehran and elsewhere, which are in part not permanent, do not speak Gabri, but even if they do not that is comparatively a matter of small importance. It would not disturb the fact that more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole Zoroastrian population of Persia do speak one special language : Gabri.

The Muslim population of Kerman City numbers probably not less than 40,000 souls.

(4) I have no positive knowledge about the Muslim speech of Yezd, but I have every reason to believe that it is as much akin to ordinary Persian as the speech generally current in, say, the towns of Kerman and Ispahan, and therefore as much removed as theirs from Gabri.

I have never heard that European missionaries or business men had to learn a special dialect to carry on their work, and I have known several such who had lived in Yezd.

(5) It is safe to assume that the common language of the Gabrs is not identical with the Muslim speech of Yezd.



(6) I have heard nothing to suggest that the Gabri dialect, or anything closely resembling it, is spoken by the Muslims resident in any of the districts or villages of Kerman. Popular verse and individual words current in certain districts of the Kerman province give no evidence of any close relationship to Gabri.

(7) Of any dialects that may be current in the districts and villages of Yazd I have no personal knowledge.

(8) There are, however, features in the dialects illustrated in the K.P.F. III, i, particularly Nāyini which recall features of the same type in Gabri, e.g., the Agential Pronoun forms with the past tenses of transitive verbs, besides resemblances of vocabulary ; but it is not my business to discover affinities of Gabri with dialects lying outside the towns of Kerman and Yazd.

(9) In considering Gabri the fact is never to be lost sight of that it has been kept alive largely artificially, by a conscious exercise of will, in presence of, and subject to, the constant pressure of a dominant language, and this without the assistance of a written literature either ancient or modern.

I hope that Dr. Hadank will not regard this article as unduly "polemical". I have naturally dwelt chiefly on matters regarding which our views differ, and his criticisms have necessitated an active defence on my part.

Whether I succeed or fail in altering his views about myself and my work is a matter of small consequence, but I hope that he will allow himself to be convinced, or will himself take effective steps to ascertain the true facts, regarding the relationship of Gabri to Kermani Persian. Failing this he will be responsible for the propagation of error, which would be an unhappy offset to his arduous labours in the cause of truth.

I now proceed to give short typical specimens of (a) Kermani Gabri ; (b) Kermani Persian.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I had prepared a specimen of Yazdi Gabri, but lack of space has prevented its inclusion. It will be remembered that I do not myself lay stress on any strong and certain distinction between Y.G. and K.G., so that from my point of view the omission is not a matter of serious moment.

From the specimen given it will be seen that Gabri is not the *olla podrida* that the forms quoted by Dr. Hadank from Berezin and Rehatsek might lead one to suppose, though the casual displacement of true Gabri forms by ordinary Persian ones is only to be expected in the speech of a bi-lingual people.

The verbal forms are consistent. An exception is found in the present subjunctive and imperative of the verbs "to come" and "to bring" which have the *bi-* prefix of ordinary Persian (instead of Gabri *vē-*), e.g. :—

Y. G. 1st sing. pres. subj. *bīyoiyè* } and variants  
2nd sing. impv. *bī.ū* }

*bi-* also occurs sporadically in other cases.

The Kermani Persian is taken from the text of one of the "Persian Tales", No. 13, which according to his theory Dr. Hadank assumes to have been recorded in Kermani Gabri (v, p. LXXV, note 2).

It was written down by my wife, but had I made the record, it would certainly not have differed materially from hers.

This specimen fairly represents, I think, the speech of the lower middle-class Muslim of Kerman. It was dictated by a Kermani, Mirza Agha Ahmad, a man of education, whose own speech would be of a more sophisticated and literary style. It happens to contain no peculiarly "Kermani" words, and seems in most respects to be a debased form of "Ordinary" or Literary Persian. Another Kermani feature which is not illustrated is the ending *-ēn* for the 2nd person plural of verbs. A similar ending (*-īn*) is found in Bakhtiari and other Lur dialects, and I believe in Kurdi. Of the dialects illustrated in *K.P.F.* III, i, it seems to occur only in Samnani. It does not occur in Gabri.

The main phonetic characteristic of Kermani is the very common substitution of *i* for *a* (this occurs especially where the *a* is in unstressed or enclitic syllables; a stressed *a* is palatalized to *i* when followed in the next syllable by *i* or *ī*).



This and the frequent loss of final consonants in certain verbal endings are evident throughout.

It is to be remembered that such short extracts display only a few of the peculiarities of the dialects which they represent. They do not exhaust them.

Since writing the above article I have been able to discuss Gabri questions with a Persian Parsee, Isfandiār Mobed Khudā Murād, who is the son of a Zoroastrian priest of Yezd and who was brought up in that town. Later he was educated in the C.M.S. school at Ispahan and became converted to Christianity. He has resided for some time in Kerman and has at least visited Tehran and Shiraz.

He confirmed the fact that the Dari of the Zoroastrians of Yezd and Kerman is essentially one dialect and is distinct from the Persian spoken by the Muslims of those towns. He professed a dislike for Dari and asserted that it was dying out. He wished himself that it should be given up as an inferior form of speech of no practical utility at the present day. Even from the point of view of secrecy it was of doubtful efficacy; they never knew how much a Muslim would understand of what they might say in it. He implied that it was not much spoken by Zoroastrians outside Yezd and Kerman, and stated that it was falling out of use in Kerman. It is never written.

He put the Parsee population of Persia at about 20,000, about 12,000 of these being resident in Yezd.

He said that the term "Parsee" was being generally adopted to denote all those of Zoroastrian origin. It had an essentially "national" connotation covering individuals like himself who had changed their religion, to whom the term "Zardushti" was not applicable.

All Persian Parsees, including the children, could speak ordinary Persian. In his own home they had spoken half Dari and half Persian. He admitted later, however, that it was possible that a small proportion of the women, say one per cent, cannot speak ordinary Persian.

Only the Zoroastrians of the higher ranks had access at all to Muslim society, but relations between the adherents of the two religions were tending to become freer.

I asked him about the *-mūn*, *-vūn* ending of the Infinitive. He asserted at first that only *-vūn* was used, but afterwards on reflection admitted that *-mūn* sometimes occurred as an alternative. One might say for instance :—

|               |               |                |            |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>dīdmūn</i> | <i>vōtmūn</i> | <i>nāštmūn</i> | as well as |
| <i>dīdvūn</i> | <i>vōtvūn</i> | <i>nāštvūn</i> |            |

I should consider that it is probably safe to regard *-vūn* as the typically Yezdi form.

He had no clear ideas about the morphological distinction of dialects and could only describe Muslim Yezdi as being "rougher" than Muslim Kermani, and Gabri as representing pre-Islamic "pahlavi".

He understood and accepted specimens I read him from my texts of Y. and K. Gabri and Kermani Persian.

He spontaneously remarked that a large number of the Kerman Gabrs are of Yezd origin, implying that this would have affected the speech of the Kermani Gabrs.

He also stated it as a well-known fact that Zoroastrians had subsisted in Nayin, Natanz and such places up to a hundred years ago. This is interesting as giving further evidence of the popular belief of the survival of "Fire Worship" in Central Persia in other places than Yezd and Kerman until a comparatively recent date.

This belief is mentioned by Keith E. Abbott and Sir P. M. Sykes (as quoted by Dr. Hadank) and probably suggested to Zhukovski his hypothetical explanation of the resemblance he saw between Gabri and Kashaī. The belief in itself proves nothing, but it would warrant an investigation of the question, if such be possible.

Isfandiar Khuda Murad's expressed distaste for Dari and lack of interest in what he would call "vulgar" forms of Persian, detracted from his value as a witness in linguistic matters, and the disorientation of his mind by his European education and the adoption of Western religion and ideas have probably affected to some extent his general outlook.

I therefore preferred to make this separate summary of his views and statements and not to try to incorporate them in what I had already written.



## SPECIMENS

The value of the symbols used in the following specimen texts is as explained in my "Notes on the Gabri Dialect of Modern Persian", *JRAS.*, July, 1916.

Very roughly the correspondence with the symbols of the International Phonetic Association is as follows :—

|             |                                 |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| My <i>ā</i> | I.P.A. <i>a</i> (and <i>a</i> ) |
| <i>ā̇</i>   | <i>q̇</i> (and <i>q̇</i> )      |
| <i>ā̈</i>   | <i>æ</i>                        |
| <i>a</i>    | <i>ʌ</i>                        |
| <i>e</i>    | <i>ə</i>                        |
| <i>ē</i>    | <i>e</i> (and <i>e</i> )        |
| <i>ē̇</i>   | <i>ɛ</i> (and <i>ɛ</i> )        |
| <i>ī</i>    | <i>i</i> (and <i>i</i> )        |
| <i>ī̇</i>   | <i>ɪ</i>                        |
| <i>ō</i>    | <i>o</i> (and <i>o</i> )        |
| <i>o</i>    | <i>ɔ</i>                        |
| <i>ū</i>    | <i>u</i> (and <i>u</i> )        |
| <i>u</i>    | <i>ʊ</i>                        |

The following abbreviations are used :—

Mn.P. stands generally for Standard Persian as written and spoken by the educated upper classes of Modern Persia. No attempt is made to represent it phonetically.

O.C.P. is Ordinary Colloquial Persian, i.e. what one may hear in ordinary conversation, represented phonetically. It includes forms which would not be written. Definitely low-class speech I have indicated by "Vulgar Persian".

G. Gabri, or Dari.

Y. Yezdi Gabri (i.e. forms given by an authority who claimed to speak Yezdi Gabri, or described by Kermāni Gabrs as Yezdi).

K. Kermāni Gabri (i.e. forms given by Kermāni Gabrs, or alleged by the Yezdi authority to be Kermāni).

Ker. P. Persian as spoken by the bulk of the Muslim popula-

tion of Kermān City, more or less excluding the more cultured who definitely aim at speaking Literary Persian correctly.

It is to be noted that I do not claim to be able to apply these terms with rigid scientific accuracy. The things which it is attempted to define do not in nature exist secluded in watertight compartments.

SPECIMEN A  
KERMĀNI GABRI

THE STORY OF THE MUSHKIL GUSHĀ PEA

Extract from a Kermāni Gabri Text, dictated on 14th October, 1914, by Mullā Bihzād, son of Sām, Zardushti, of Kermān, by profession a school teacher.

*Qasīda i Naxud i Muškil-Gušā mō.i bēda :*

- Mērdē xārkašī bo der ahd i qadīm, xārkešī šē kah vē rūj  
bi rūj emr o mē.āš i xadoš rā bi faqīrī šē veddrnddē vē hīc waqt  
az xadumī tawaqqū uš na kart. Zīvna vīn jī az mō dunī šēda  
5 bo. Yēkī dōtēr mas vē rasā uš dārta bo, kē xidmat i vīn šē kah.  
Hama dēm Xudā rā šē šukr hēkah va mašyūl i kār i xadoš bo.  
Waqtī bo tālē vīn zaf rasād. Yēk rūj dōtēruš der xide tēnhā bo,  
vē čumē uš nē.izārta bo, ve uš na dārt kē vē.izra. Būdī jayerī  
az xailī hamsoiya.uš bah itumād šō pazād. Dōtugē be būnē.i kē  
10 vēšūt taš agōra šō xēdi hēmsoiya. xiyāl šē dāl xa kah, "yana  
jayer paxa, šoiyad šē tēm vē.izra." xailī diluš šē vī.āst. Šō  
taš uš garaft. Yēk misqāl az qālī.ē paxa, kē būduš šē pūz bo, šō  
na dād. Nā.umīd ōma xēda. Šau bo. Bideruš ōma az xārkešī xēda.  
Oš dīd dōtuš yustaxār gōšē.i xēda nāšta. uš vāt : "čērd hē fikrī  
15 nāšti ?" Uš vāt : "Pidēr, emrūj emsoiya qālī.ē.i jayerī šō  
kah. Būdōš ōma ē pūz i mē xart xailī dīl i mē šē vī.āst. Šōyē bu  
būnē.i taš garaftmān, šoiyad yak lup um ātēn. Šō na dād,  
vašna jī bōyē." Uš vāt, pider : "Yōš ma kūd. Ērdā kē šōyē  
kulē.i hīzma rā vēšter ikēne, i pušt ikērē, ibērē vījār, hērdšē,  
20 nūn igārē xud i yakī jayer. To vēpēš, vēxu, arzū dē del ber sūt.  
Mē xudum jī az bē-qūewafī i rāh na šē raftē. čē vē.ikrīm ?  
Čārē.i dārīm ; Xudā buzurg un." Mō šave rā xuštēn. Čūn  
suv bo, mērdug šō dumbāl i xārkešī xa. Ō rūjē az ō zaf i tāle kē



*rasâda bô xâr o izmâ vēšter az er rûj uš kênâd, kî pušt kêra,*  
 25 *bē.âra šahr. Dîr waxt bo, šau bo, uš na tûnâst bēyâra. xadôš*  
*ba berde.î kē oš bo šahr ōma. Kûlê.î xâr râ êmrûj šî nê.î vârtâ,*  
*vê.îrdâša, nûn âgôra, xêda dt. Az šarm è iyâl e xada na šo. Ser*  
*râh nazdik i xada nâšt. Šau dîr bo az her rûj. Dôtêruš šo az*  
*ber xêda ber, vevîna ĕim bêda pideruš xêda nê umda. Šah dumbâl*  
 30 *vîn gertâd, uš dîd ser kičê.î ha, ve qemgîn onê, poi.î zâr nâšta.*  
*Uš vât : “ ċerâ mōnê.î nâštî ? Êmušt, vēšim è xada. Ċerâ der*  
*fikrî ? ” Uš vât : “ Ferzênd, êmrûj xâr mî kênâda bo kē bî.âre*  
*šahr vēhêrdâšê. Dîrwaxt bo, um na tûnâst bî.âre. Xadom ba*  
*berde.î xâlî umdê. Az xajâlat tûxda nê umdê, nûn o ċâštî*  
 35 *bē.âre.” Dôtêr uš vât : “ Pidêr, bîvrê vešim azuštîm. Xudâ*  
*buzurg ha.”*

*Translation of the Kermāni Gabri Text*

The story of the Mushkil Gushā Pea has been this : There was in former times a thorn-gatherer man. He used to gather thorns and from day to day he passed his life and existence in poverty and at no time entertained hopes from anyone. His wife too had departed from this world.

He possessed one big and grown-up daughter who used to serve him. He used continually to give thanks to God and was occupied with his work.

There was a time when his fortunes had reached a feeble state. One day his daughter was alone in the house. She had eaten nothing and she had nothing to eat. The smell of a liver which they were cooking kept coming from a neighbour's house there was.

The girl, on the pretext that she was going to get fire, went to the neighbour's house. She thought in her heart : “ It is cooked liver, perhaps she will give me (some) that I may eat (it). ”

Her heart longed for it. She went and got the fire (but) they did not give her a single *misqāl* of the fried liver of which the smell came to her nose.

Disappointed she returned to (her) house. Night came on.

Her father returned to the house from thorn-gathering. He saw his daughter sitting sorrowful in a corner of the house.

He said : " Why are you sitting there moping (lit. in thought) ? " She said : " Father, to-day (our) neighbour made fried liver. The smell of it came and affected my nose. My heart longed for it. I went on the pretext of getting fire (thinking) " perhaps they may give me a mouthful." They did not give me any, and I was hungry too."

The father said : " Don't worry. When I go (lit. went) to-morrow I shall dig up a bigger load of firewood, put it on my back and take it to the bazaar and sell it, and buy bread and with it a liver. Do you cook and eat it (that) the longing (for it) may quit your heart. (But) I myself too from weakness cannot walk. What are we to do ? We have a resource, God is great."

That night they slept. When it was morning the man went off for his thorn-gathering. That day, owing to the decline of fortune which had come on him, he pulled up more thorns and firewood than on other days (lit. every day) to put on his back and bring to the town. It became late, night came on, and he was unable to bring them in.

He came himself to the town with the spade which he had. To-day he has not brought a load of thorns (which) he may sell and buy bread and come home. From (fear of) shame before his family he did not go home. He sat down on the road near the house.

At night he was later (of returning) than other days, and his daughter went out from the door of the house to see what has happened that her father has not come home.

She wandered about looking for (lit. after) him and saw that he is at the end of the street, and is sorrowful seated at the foot of the wall. She said : " Why are you sitting here ? Get up and let us go home. Why are you troubled ? "

He said : " Child, to-day I had pulled up thorns that I might bring them to the town and sell them. It became late. I was unable to bring them in. I have come back myself, empty-



handed, with my spade. From shame I haven't come to the house (as I was not able ?) to bring bread and breakfast."

His daughter said : " Father, come along and let us go and sleep. God is great."

They went home.

*Notes on the Kermani Gabri Text*

l. 1. *mō.i bēda*, *mō* " this ". *bēda* perhaps *ibēda*. *šē kah*, 3rd sing. imperfect of *kertmūn*.

l. 3. *rūj*, so pronounced, but written by Bihzad *rūš* رُوْش *šē vedārndē*, 3rd sing. impf. of *vedārndmūn*, causative of *vidertmūn* || *divertmūn*, corresponding to Mn.P. cs. *guzrān(ī)dan* from the intransitive *guzaštan*. Script ودارند.

l. 3. *hē*, the ordinary Gabri form is *hēš*, *hēs*. *xadumi* " anyone ". Variant forms are : Y. *xudum*, K. *kudum*, *kudām*, and *xadum*, also Y. *kōm*, K. *kum*. These frequently take the suffix *-i*. They are used as interrogative, relative, and indefinite pronouns and adjectives. They correspond to Mn.P. *kudām* (colloq. *kudam*) and also take the place of *kasi*. *zīva* " wife ", also K. *zi.āna*, Y. *zīva*. *vīn*, Y. *īn* " that one ", " he ", etc.

l. 4. *šēda bo*, 3rd sing. pluperfect ; *šēda* ppc. of *šudmūn* " to go ", Y. *īšta*, also used by one, K. authority. *rasā* " probably " = Mn.P. *rasīda* " fully grown ".

l. 6. *hēkah* for *ēkah*, imperfect of *kertmūn*. This prothesis of *h* to the verbal prefix is common in K. The script here has هک.

l. 7. *tālē vīn zaf rasād*, *tālē* is probably the subject.

l. 8. *ixārta bo*, pluperfect of *xārtmūn* " to eat ".

l. 8. *vē.ixra*, 3rd sing. subj. of *xārtmūn*. *būdi*, i.e. *būd i* or *būdī i*. *xadi*, for *xada i*. This contraction is usual.

l. 9. *itumād*, 3rd sing. imperfect of K. *umēdmūn* " to come ". Y. has *itomōdē* ; K. I think usually *itomaiyē*. *šo pazād* pret. of K. *pazādmūn* : *pax*, *pēs*- " to cook " ; Y. *paxōdmūn* : *pēs*-. v. line 20 below, impv. *vēpēs*. I have elsewhere recorded K. *vēpax*. The grammar of this sentence is

questionable. *dötugè* "the girl", K.Y. *dötug* "girl", as opposed to K.Y. *döt* (v, l. 14), K. *dötèr* (l. 30) "daughter".

l. 10. *dil za, za* = Mn.P. *xud* "self", "own". Note the omission of the *izāfa*. *yana jayer para*. I am not sure what *yana* is. My MS. has *ya na jayer para* and the script *پنه جهر پاره* *para* seems to be a passive pc. or adj. = "cooked", cp. line 11, *qalī.ē para*.

l. 11. *še tēm*, 3rd sing. pres. subj. of *dōdmūn* "to give" + -m "she may give to me". *diluš šè vi.āst* and Y. *vyōst*, etc., serve as the past tense of Y.K. *vau* "must", "ought", and of Y. *ō*, K. *ū*, "to wish", "desire."

l. 12. *qalī.ē para*. *qalī* Ar.P. "frying in a frying pan", so "the fry", as in English we say "the stew".

l. 14. *γustazār* for *γuṣṣaxwār*. Script غصه خوار.

The *t* in pronunciation is supported by another K. instance, and also appears in Kermani Persian, v. Specimen B, line 31. I have also, I think, in Y.G. *al qista* for *al qisṣa*. *nāšta, nāšta*, script نشته.

l. 14. *hè* for the usual preposition *è* "in", cp. l. 16, *è pūz*. The script in both cases has چه.

l. 17. *atèn*, script آتن. This variant of the verbal prefix I have recorded as *a-*, *ā-*, and *ā-* frequently with this verb *dōdmūn*, and with *garaftmūn* and one or two others, v. "Notes on Gabri", p. 458.

l. 18. *yōs* "anger", "grief", cp. Mn.P. *jūš*, K. *yōsnādmūn*, Y. *yōsnōdmūn* : *yōsn-* "to boil", v.t., Mn.P. *jūšāndan*.

l. 19. *hèrāšè*, 1st sing. pres. (= fut.) of *hèrdtmūn* : *hèrāš-* "to sell". Y. *hèrōtmūn* : *hèrōš-*.

l. 20. *vèzu*, impv. of *xārtmūn* "to eat", but script وخور.

l. 21. *mè . . . na šè raftè* "I cannot go", *raftè* is a lapse into ordinary Persian. It should, I think, be *šōyè*. The verb "to be able" is *ša*, *šā* (invariable) followed by the preterite of the 2nd verb with personal endings:—

Y.K. *mè ša kertè* "I can do"

Y.K. *mā ša kertīm* "we can do"



In the negative I have Y. *na ša* ; K. *ne šē* (or, as here, *na šē*). The Past Tense forms, also invariable, are : Y. *šustē* and *šōdē* ; K. *šāstē*, *šāste*, *šustē*. The only Y. examples at present to hand are followed in all persons by the short form of the preterite of *kertmūn*, viz. *kah*, *ka*, which remains invariable. K. examples show *šāstē* followed by the ordinary preterite *kert*, *kušt*, etc., for the pret. ; but for the perfect as followed by the pret. inflected for person. In the past tenses the pronoun agent is usually in the form used with the perfect : *mē mē*, *ta di*, etc. (not *mē'm*, *ta'd*, etc.).

*Preterite.*

Y. *mē mē šustē* (or *šōdē*) *ka* " I could do (it) ".

Y. *šumā do šustē* (or *šōdē*) *ka* " you could do (it) ".

K. *mē mē šāstē kert mo kār rā* " I could (was able to) do this thing ".

K. *šumā dū šāstē kušt gyap i ajemi rā* " you could (were able to) speak Persian ".

*Perfect.*

K. *mā mū na šāstē kuštīm gyap i ajemi rā* " we have not been able to speak Persian ".

The combination *ša kert* and *šāstē kert* seems also, at least in K., to be used in the simple sense of " to be able " in which case it is accompanied by the Pres. Subj. :

K. *mē mē na šāstē kert gyap i ajemi bikūdē* " I was not able to speak Persian ".

The above is to be regarded merely as a tentative statement, but I think it is correct as far as it goes.

L. 25. *uš na tūndst* " he was not able ". This implies an Infinitive *tūndstmūn*, cp. literary Persian *tawānistān* ; vulgar Persian *tūnistān*. I have also in K. forms which imply an Infinitive *tūnādmūn* :

|                                 |                    |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| Pres. <i>mē tūne</i>            | " I can "          |
| <i>ta tūnī</i>                  | " thou canst "     |
| Pret. <i>mē mē (na) tūnoiyē</i> | " I could (not) "  |
| <i>mā mu (na) tūnoiyīm</i>      | " we could (not) " |

These are followed by the Pres. Subjunc. as in O.C.P.

l. 27. *dt*, 3rd sing. pres. subj. of *omodmūn* (*umèdmūn*) without the prefix, for the usual K. *bī.āt*; Y. *bīyōt*.

ll. 28-9. *šo az ber zēda ber* = Mn.P. *raft az dar i xāna bīrūn*. *ēm* properly *ēn* as in script. Mn.P. *čūn*, elsewhere *čīn ībda* (Y. form given as K.).

l. 30. *gertād*, corresponding in form to Mn.P. *gerdūd* and in meaning to Mn.P. *gašt*.

l. 30. *ha* = Mn.P. *hast*; *ōne*, and *un*, l. 23 = Mn.P. *ast*, O.C.P. *a*.

l. 31. *mōnē.i* "here". Y.K. *mōnē* "here", *ōna*, *ōnē* "there". *ēmušt* for *hēmušt* "get up" from K. *hēmuštādmūn*; Y. *hēmuštōdmūn*. Note failure to pronounce initial *h* as in *ēmsoiya*, l. 16. The script seems to be *همسایه* and *امشت*.

l. 35. *bīvērē*, 2nd sing. impv. "come!". An alternative for K. *bi.ā*; Y. *bi.ā*.

*axuftīm*, 1st pl. pres. subj. of K. *xuftmūn* "to lie down, sleep"; Y. *xōptōdmūn* (and *xōptmūn*?). Note the *a*-prefix.

#### SPECIMEN B

#### KERMANI PERSIAN

#### THE STORY OF FĀTIKŪ

Extract from a Kermani Persian text, dictated in 1914 by Mirzā Āghā Ahmad, of Kerman, by profession a teacher.

#### *Qissa Fâtikū*

*Fâtikū duxterī būd. Piderī dāšt o madderī. Be mullā mīraft, mullā's 'am duxterī dāšt, ismīs Fâtikū būd. Šuver i mullā's murda būd. Yē rūzī mullā's yē zerfī dāditiš, guf ke: "burō tū xōnūtūn ve madderit bugū 'yuzūr sirka berā ma bide'. Hamči 5 ke xāst sirka bi.āra bugu 'nemūxām' ta az tū xum i haftumī. Vaxti ke be haftumi rasīd o xam šud sirka verdāra pās e bigīr bindāzitiš ve tū xum o ser i xum e bigīr o bi.ā pās i man." Ūn 'am hamī kār kerd. Ī šud bīmadder. Čan rūzī az ī muqaddama guzašt. Yē rūz mullā's bē's guf: "burō yuzūr siyādūna 10 bekun ver serit. Šab vaxti ke piderit mi.āya puf kun čirāy e xdmūs kun o siyādūnā re betukūn berīza tū ātišā. Piderit*



*mīge* : 'bābā, inā cīz a ?' *Bugū* : 'āza, gul i bīmāderī hamūn a. *Māder* ne dāram, serīm šipīš zīda.' *U vaxt piderit mīge* : 'hālo če kār bekunam ?' *Bigūtiš* : 'yē zīni bistūn  
 15 *ke berā man māderī bekuna.*' *Mīge* : 'kī re bistūnam ?' *Bugū* : 'burō yē jigerī bi.ār, verkaš ver der i xōna, her ke ōmad bār i avval seriš e zad vašiš hamūn e bistūn."

*Īn 'am hamī kār kerd. Piderē jigarī istūnd o verkašid ver der i xōna. Mullā vaxtī ke xaber šud verxistād ōmad tū xōna*  
 20 *inā o seriš e zad ver jiger. Ū vaxt guft : "Ēvdāi cī būd ke seram derd ōmad ?" U vaxt merdika qisse re berāš naql kerd o istūnditiš.*

*Māder i Fātikū bād az cīl rūz gāv i zerdī šud, az tū zum ōmad bīrūn. Zīn i pider gāv e dād be Fātikū o guf : "rūzā i*  
 25 *gāv e biber bečerūn."* *Fātikū rūzā gāv mīburd mīčerūnd. Zīn i pider rūzā pamba ziyādī mīdād be Fātikū mīguft : "inā re birīs."* *Ī bača būd nemūtūnist pamba hama re birīsa. Šab ke mīšud zīn i pideriš mīziditiš. Yē rūz nišes bind kerd be girya kerdan. Gāv ōmad pīš, pamba re xurd o dūmī berāš*  
 30 *bīrūn awurd, ve rūzā dige her rūz gāv hamī kār mīkerd. Yē bārī yē gul i pamba.ī bād burd tu cā.ī. Ī bind kerd yusta xurdan o girya kerdan ke : "če kār kunam, zīn i pideram mīzīnitam."* *Gāv be zībun ōmad, guft : "burō tu cā, yē dīvī ūnjō hast a. Vašiš salām bekun o her kār be tū mīge ver āka bekun, o gul i*  
 35 *pamba bisitūn bi.ār."* *Ī ōmad o raf tu cā.*

### *Translation of the Kermani Persian Text*

#### *The Story of the Fātikū*

There was a girl Fatiku. She had a father and a mother. She used to go to a (female) mulla. Her mulla also had a daughter, her name was Fatiku. Her mulla's husband had died.

One day her mulla gave her a vessel and said : "go to your home and say to your Mother 'Give us a little vinegar'. When she proceeds to get the vinegar go with her. As she proceeds to draw vinegar from each jar (in succession) say 'I don't want (that)' till (she draws it) from the seventh jar.

When she comes to the seventh and stoops to draw the vinegar catch her legs and throw her into the jar and cover over the top of the jar and come (back) to me."

She (Fatiku) too did this. She became motherless. Some days passed after this affair. One day her mulla said to her : " go and put a little coriander seed on your head. At night when your father comes (home) give a puff and put out the lamp and shake the coriander seed so that it falls into the fire. Your father will say ' Child what are these ? ' Say ' Sir, the flower (i.e. result) of motherlessness is just this. I have no mother, my head is infested with lice '. Then your father will say ' Now what am I to do ? ' Say to him ' Take a wife who may act as a mother for me '. He will say ' Whom am I to take ? ' Say ' Go and fetch a liver, fix it up on the door of the house, whoever comes first and strikes her head against it, take her '."

She (Fatiku) did this. The father got a liver and hung it up on the door of the house. Then the mulla when she heard of this got up and came to their house and struck her head against the liver. Then she said : " Ai wai, what was it that my head ached (i.e. has begun to ache) ? "

Then the man repeated the story to her and took (married) her.

The mother of Fatiku after 40 days became a yellow cow, and came out of the jar. The wife of her father (i.e. the step-mother) gave Fatiku the cow and said : " Take this cow away every day and graze it." Fatiku every day used to take the cow and graze it. The stepmother every day used to give her a lot of cotton and say to Fatiku " spin this ". She was a child, and was not able to spin all the cotton. When night came her stepmother used to beat her.

One day she sat down and began to cry. The cow came forward.

It ate the cotton and brought out a ball of thread for her, and other days (i.e. in the future) every day the cow did the same thing.



Once the wind carried a flock of the cotton into a well. She (Fatiku) began to grieve and lament (saying) "What am I to do, my stepmother will beat me?" The cow found tongue and said: "Go into the well, there is a Div there. Salam to her, and whatever she says to you, do the opposite, and take the flock of cotton and bring it back."

She came and went into the well.

*Notes on the Kermani Persian Text*

1. 1. *Fâtîkû*, diminutive of Fâtîma.

1. 3. *dâdûtiš*, this interjection of -it- or -t- between a verb and a pronominal suffix is a feature which I do not remember to have met with except in Kermani.

In Kermani it occurs constantly with the 3rd sing. of the preterite and the 3rd sing. pron. suffix, but it also occurs with other persons both of the verb and of the suffix. See in the present text:

|                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. 7 <i>bindâzitiš</i>  | "throw thou her"       |
| 1. 14 <i>bigûtiš</i>    | "say thou to him"      |
| 1. 22 <i>istûnditiš</i> | "he married her"       |
| 1. 28 <i>mîziditiš</i>  | "she used to beat her" |

elsewhere *çi mîditam* "what wilt (lit. dost) thou give me" *guf* = *guft*; so usually *raf* for *raft*, *haf* for *haft*, *juf* for *juft*, etc.

1. 4. *yuxûr* = O.C.P. *yak xurda.î* "a little".

1. 6. *verdâra* = *berdârad*. The final *d* of the 3rd sing. pres. indicative and subjunctive is regularly dropped. *ver* is regularly used for *bar*, cp. *ver serî*, l. 10.

1. 6. *pdš e bigîr* = Mn.P. *pā.āš rā bigîr*. *e* for *rā* as the determinate accusative suffix, cp. *zum e*, l. 7; *čirāy e*, l. 10, etc. *re* for *rā*, however, occurs after vowels, cp. *sîyādûnâ re betukûn*, l. 11. *hama re*, l. 27; *pamba re*, l. 29, etc.

1. 7. *ve tû* = probably Mn.P. *ba tû*.

1. 8. *hamî* and *î*, for *hamîn* and *în* as in lower O.C.P.

1. 10. *šab*, in lower class speech one would get *šau*. *šab* changes to *šib* when followed by the *izāfa*, so *šib i ārûšî* "the night of the marriage". Kermani Persian is very fond

of the sound of short *i*; *a* tends to change to *i* in unstressed syllables and even the *a* of a stressed syllable turns to *i* under the influence of a following *-i*, of the *iẓāfa* and of a secondary unstressed *i*. Thus: *zan* "wife", "woman"; *yē zinī būd* "there was a woman"; *zin i . . .* "wife of . . ." *zad* "he struck"; but l. 28, *mīziditiš* "she used to beat her".

l. 11. *berīza*, 3rd sing. subj. for 3rd pl. *dišā* plural.

l. 12. *mīge* = Mn.P. *mīgūyad*. Kermani Persian uses contracted forms of the present base tenses of *guftan*, *raftan*, *dādan*, *šudan*, such as are common in many places, probably everywhere in the lower class speech.

*īnd ēiz a*, *a* as the equivalent of *ast*, also general in lower class speech, cp. *gul . . . hamīn a*, line 12. Here with a plural subject. *ēiz* for *či ēiz* also very common; *ēi* or *či ēi* is still less refined, cp. *ēi būd*, line 20.

l. 17. *vašiš* "against it, on it", perhaps the same as the Gabri *višuš*, more often *šē viš*, or *vēš*.

l. 19. *verristād* = Mn.P. *berxāst*.

l. 27. *nemītūnist* = Mn.P. *namūtawānist*; *tūnistān* is common everywhere in low class speech, cp. Specimen A, line 25, note.

l. 30. *dige* = Mn.P. *dīger*.

l. 31. *yusta* = Ar.P. *yuzṣa*, cp. Specimen A, line 14, note, *yustaxdr*.

l. 32. *mīzinitam* = Mn.P. *mīzanadam*. The *t* may here possibly be the *d* preserved.

l. 33. *hast a*. For *a*, cp. note, line 12. This duplication is common in Kermani Persian. *vašiš*, cp. line 17, note. Here it seems to be equivalent to Mn.P. *pīšaš*.

15th July, 1927.





## Kandalānu and Ašurbanipal

(From notes left by the late C. W. H. Johns, D.D., Litt.D.,  
Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, with additional material from the Ashmolean Museum.)

By S. LANGDON

**A** MONG the unfinished papers left by the late Dr. Johns, Mrs. Johns has found one which he was preparing on the dated tablets of the reign of *Kandalānu*, last Assyrian viceroy of Babylonia, who succeeded *Šamaš-šum-ukīn*, brother of Ašurbanipal of Assyria. It is certain from a group of tablets from Dilbat, now in the Ashmolean Museum (Weld Collection), that *Kandalānu* (Κυνδαδάνοῦ) and Ašurbanipal were the same persons; for this group of tablets from the same collection has the following dates: 1924, 487, *Belibni*, year 2, month Šabat, day 29; 1924, 489, *Ašur-nādin-šumi*, year 4, month Adar, day 2; 1924, 491, *Ašur-aḫi-iddin*, year 6, month Tebit, day 27; one in possession of Major A. H. Burn, C.I.E., Delhi, India, *Ašur-aḫi-iddin*, year 8, month Ab, day 8; 1924, 490, *Kan-da-la-nu*, year 15, month Kislev, day 9; 1924, 485, *Kan-da-la-nu*, year 19, month Nisan, day 14; one in possession of R. S. Cooke, Esq., Ministry of Awqaf, Baghdad, *Kan-da-la-nu*, year 17, month Šabat, day 3; 1924, 482, *Kan-da-la-nu*, year 15, month Kislev, day 9; 1924, 484, *Ašur-bāni-apli*, year 23, month Nisan, day 29; 1928, 1, excavated at Hursagkalamma in 1927 by M. Watelin, but dated at Erech, *Ašur-bāni-apli*, year 18, month Ululu, day 21.

It is obvious that Ašurbanipal on the Dilbat tablet and on the Erech tablet found at Hursagkalamma, can be no other than *Kandalānu*, his pseudonym in Babylonia, and that he lived twenty-three years after the death of *Šamaš-šum-ukīn*. The Ptolemaic Canon and B.M. 86379, Rev. 3, Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 24, give the length of the reign of *Šamaš-šum-ukīn* as twenty years. His name is written









and written by the scribe Marduk-eṭir, son of *Arrabtu*. Among Dr. Johns' copies of unpublished contracts in the British Museum I find also the following contracts :—

- (1) 82-3-28, 163, *Kandalānu*, year 12, month Ṭebit, day 4th.
- (2) 82-3-23, 155, *Kandalānu*, year 19. No month.
- (3) 84-2-11, 435, *Kan-da-[la-nu]*.

These three texts, copies of which by Johns are given here, are cited by Strassmaier as Nos. 15, 16, 17 in his article on *Kandalānu*, *Actes du Huitieme Congrès international des Orientalistes*. In No. 2, line 10, the sign is *TUK*, as in line 14, i.e. *Ušarši-ilu*. From notes by Pinches, he cites also 81-11-3, 187, dated at Dilbat, reign of Kandalānu; 82-3-23, 192, 13th year, Ṭebet 12th; 82-3-23, 270, 15th year, Ajar 10th; Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, Cat. No. 3, 10th year, Kislev 12th; 81-11-3, 268, 18th year, 19th of Nisan, dated at Babylon.

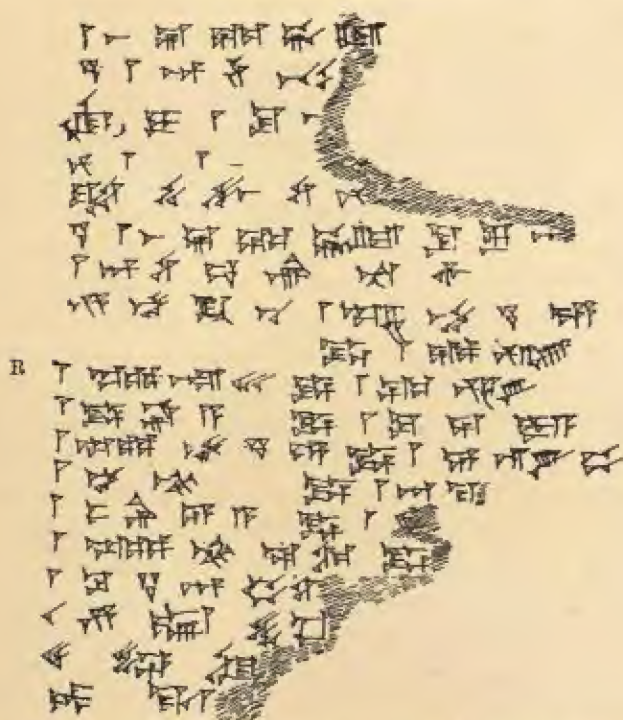
Now the unregistered B.M. tablet cited from Pinches has "At Babylon, Araḥsamna, day 2nd, year 22nd, after Kandalānu", which can only mean that Napolassar must have been in possession of Babylon as early as the 22nd year of Kandalānu, or already in 626 B.C., which would be the year of his succession to the throne, his first full year being 626/5 B.C. The Babylonian Chronicle B.M. 86379, Rev. 4, has *arki Kandalānu ina šatti reštūti Nabu-apal-ušur*, "After K. in the accessional year of N." Hence Kandalānu, i.e. Ašurbanipal, lost the capital (Babylon) one year before he died, but Dilbat, only 12 miles south of Babylon, remained in his possession, and also recognized his son *Ašur-eṭil-ilāni*, whose stamped bricks recording his restoration of the temple of Urašā at Dilbat have been found there, Langdon, *OECT.*, i, 37, and he even restored the coffin of Šamaš-ibni, king of the province Bit-Dakuri to that king's capital, although Šamaš-ibni had been a notorious rebel against Assyria, Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, No. 43. See Meissner, *OLZ.*, 1918, 220-3. Bit-Dakuru, the capital of this province, was near Dilbat, and not far south of Babylon. See also S. Smith, *The First Campaign of Senecherib*, pp. 19-20.

## TRANSLATION OF W. 1928-1

(1) Seventeen shekels less  $\frac{1}{4}$  shekel<sup>1</sup> of silver, of Mardukzēribni, son of Nergaleṭir, which is the possession of Nergaleṭir, son of Bēlikbi.

(3) From the first of Tešrit on one shekel the interest shall increase by  $\frac{1}{4}$  shekel (monthly). (4) Arrabi his son is surety

B.M. 84-2-11, 435.



for Mardukzēribni. (6) No other creditor shall have right to it, until Mardukzēribni is paid.

Witnesses Nabu-eṭir son of Nabuzēribni, Nabugamil son of Nanā-aḫi-uṣri Nādin-šumi son Nergaleṭir and the scribe Šatap-Nabi-šū,<sup>2</sup> son of Nanā-uballit.

<sup>1</sup> *ribātu imoffi*; cf. Oppert, *ZA.* 10, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Šatpi-Anum*, Ungnad, *Materialen*, p. 90.





## Pictographic Reconnaissances. Part IX and Index

BY L. C. HOPKINS

ALL things must come to an end, and this series of papers, now running for ten years, is herewith concluded. This final instalment consists of an index, enabling a reader to find at once any character discussed in the series, with the year of the *Journal* and the page in the latter where the character appears. Naturally the years cannot pass without disclosing much that could be added or improved or qualified. But remembering that he who begins by revising may end by rewriting, I have left these studies as they were published in the *Journal*.

Certain additional space being at my disposal, it seemed desirable to fill it by bringing to notice an English rendering of a novel and stimulating conjecture advanced by Mr. Tadasuke Takata, in his *Ku Chou P'ien*, which affects both the characters 龍 *lung* "dragon" and 易 *i* "change", "mutation". Whether Mr. Takata's theory, ingenious and plausible, is destined to hold its own, may be uncertain, but without doubt it ought to be known and will have to be reckoned with. It will be found in *chüan* 98, p. 31 (under 易 *i*), and pp. 34-6 (under 龍 *lung*). To enable Takata's argument to be more readily followed, I add below several of the most characteristic variants of the archaic type, found alike on ancient bronzes and the Honan relics, merely noting that these forms do not there stand for the word "change" (now pronounced *i*), but most commonly for a syllable, once a homophone of the latter, but now having the very different sound *ts'ü*, and meaning to "bestow", "grant". The most ancient sound of both was, it seems probable, approximately "dig".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p 82.





K.C.P.



M.K.T.



K.C.P.



K.C.P.



K.C.P.

H. 800  
(in c.).H. 751  
(in c.).

H. 443.



H. 117  
(in c.).


H. 139.

K.C.P. = Ku Chou P'ien.

M.K.T. = Mao Kung Ting, 毛公鼎.

H. = Hopkins Collection.

Under the modern character 易 *i* the author of the *Ku Chou P'ien* inserts the two forms  and  as in his opinion the most faithful representatives of the original pictogram. They are quoted from the 韋易幣 coin, cited in the *Ch'i Ku Shih Chi Chin Wen Shu*<sup>1</sup> of Liu Hsin-yüan 劉心源, and Takata then enters on an examination in detail of the character, and puts forward the very suggestive conclusions he has come to about it, as well as his conjecture as to the true sense of the word now pronounced *i* (or *ik*), and now usually meaning change or mutation. Let us listen to his thesis as he frames it.

"This form," he says, referring to the type in two variants given above, "issuing though it does from the hand of a Chou scribe, is thoroughly seized of the archaic significance (甚得古意); it is the true shape of the character 易 *i*; Liu Hsin-yüan is wrong in deciphering it as 豕 *shih* 'swine'. The *Shuo Wen* explains the [Lesser Seal, ] form as '蜥易 *hsi i*, "Saurian" or "lizard", or 蜥蜴 *yen t'ien*, or 守宮 *shou kung*, the Japanese Gecko. A pictogram, 象形 *hsiang hsing*.' Which means to say that what was called the *hsi i* was not at first the true *i* (蓋謂曰蜥蜴者元非真易), and the single word 易 *i*,—that was the true *i*.

"In my opinion the ancient I-reptile was the Dragon (古易蟲即龍也). The form 龍 *lung* was originally a pictographic one. In later times it was composed with 肉

<sup>1</sup> 奇觚室吉金文述.

*jou* 'flesh', and with 童 *t'ung* 'immature beast or person', contracted, as the phonetic [quoted from the *Shuo Wen* in part], and written 𪛗 and 𪛘, where 𪛗 is plainly the character 易 *i*.

"Hsü is in error when [in the *Shuo Wen*'s analysis of the character 龍 *lung*] he writes, 'the figure of flesh flying, 肉飛形 *jou fei hsing*.'

"The *lung* or Dragon had two designations (名), one was written by a Pictogram, the other as a Phonetic Compound, and the terms for them in speech also differed.<sup>1</sup> And so in high antiquity, when P'ao Hsi [= Fu Hsi] made the Changes or Mutations [作 易 *tso i*, viz. the Eight Trigrams or 八卦 *pa kua*], he took their title from the I-reptile, 取名于易蟲 *ch'ü ming yü i ch'ung*. In later times King Wên of the Chou explained these Trigrams in the Annexed Sentences 繫辭 *hsi tz'ü*, and in these the author always uses the word 龍 *lung* 'Dragon', and not 易 *i*.<sup>2</sup>

"Thus what in Chou times people called *lung* 'Dragons' were the I-reptiles of high antiquity.

"Now if so, what was the shape and conformation of the I? In the [archaic] character 𪛗 *lung*, the element 𪛗 must at first have been written 𪛗, afterwards corrupted to the Lesser Seal 𪛗, and these forms [viz. the two at the commencement of Takata's note above] are in fact also the same, thus showing that the shape was like that of the 蜥易 *hsi i* 'Saurian', but with a horn (or horns). On a scrutiny [of the old character] the general shape [of the animal] can be descried.

"Further, the group of I-reptiles is not scanty in numbers, and the members of the group very commonly have the word

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise and more simply expressed, there were two words *lung* and *i* for one creature.

<sup>2</sup> Thus at the opening of the *I King* or *Book of Changes* we find 潛龍 *ch'ien lung* "the concealed Dragon", and 見龍在田 *hsien lung tsai t'ien* "the Dragon appears in the fields".



lung 'Dragon' as a syllable of their name. In the 中庸 Chung Yung Book of the *Lí Chí* occurs the passage 龍 蛟 蛟 龍 yüan t'o chiao lung 'great Saurians, alligators, and flood-dragons'. The *Shuo Wen* treats 蛟 yüan as the original form of the first character.<sup>1</sup> [The author] Hsü writes [under 蛟 yüan], 'The yung yüan or shê i; utters its call through the snout 以注鳴者.' The character is sometimes written 蛟 yüan. The *Erh Ya* has 蛟 蛟 蜥 蜴 yung yüan hsi i 'the yung-yüan (or) hsi-i'. In the *Records of the Chou* in the *Historical Memoirs* [of Ssü-ma Ch'ien] occurs a passage running 龍 化 爲 玄 蛟 注 蛟 蜥 蜴 也, 'The Dragons' fluid changed into a dark Saurian. Commentator's Note: The 蛟 yüan is the 蜥 蜴 hsi-i.'<sup>2</sup>

"Again, under the character 蛟 t'o, Hsü writes, 'A water reptile; like the hsi-i, but larger and longer.' The *San Ts'ang* (三 蒼) asserts that the t'o resembles the 蛟 chiao [so-called hornless Dragon], but is larger. In the *Supplementary Pê Wu Chih* (續 博物 志), we read, 'Another name of the t'o is the Earth-Dragon, 蛟 一 名 土 龍 t'o i ming t'u lung.' Again, Hsü says of the 蛟 chiao that it is of the Dragon kind, 龍 之 屬 也 lung chih shu yeh. And Kuan Tzû (管 子) affirms that the 蛟 龍 chiao lung is the Divine Spirit of water reptiles, 水 蟲 之 神 者.

<sup>1</sup> I do not quite see on what Takata bases this statement. The *Shuo Wen* contains both characters, but under neither does it make nor, so far as I can see, imply such an assertion.

<sup>2</sup> This quaint fairy story should be read in its entirety in Chavannes' French rendering in his *Mémoires historiques*, vol. i, p. 282, from which I quote part of his note 4. "Pourquoi les femmes étaient-elles nues? c'était peut-être afin que l'écume surnaturelle entrât dans l'une d'elles et que le prodige fût ainsi exorcisé; l'hypothèse est plausible puisque nous voyons que c'est cette écume, transformée en lézard, qui produit la grosseur de la petite fille du sérail. Cette écume semble avoir été le liquide spermatique des dragons." In rendering into English the Chinese passage above cited I have preferred to use the term saurian instead of Chavannes' word lézard, for what the *Shuo Wen* says, under 蛟 yüan, that it utters its call through the snout, though applicable to the alligator or other large Saurian, is not so to lizards, small creatures like the house-lizard, the gecko, and the chameleon, which do not possess snouts, nor utter sounds. May I mention here that no species of chameleon is found in China.

"These passages should also be evidence in favour of the actual identity of the 易 *i* and the 龍 *lung*, though under different names."

Takata then adds that he has written a separate investigation into the *I* and the *Lung*, which therefore he need not here repeat. This separate research appears, in fact, under the very next character in his book, which is 龍 *lung* "Dragon".

This small essay of his well deserves an extended notice, but space is not available here either for the reproduction of Takata's views, nor for the presentation of the arguments for and against their acceptance, and there is a good deal to be said on each side. But I hope, if space hereafter should be forthcoming, to deal faithfully with the Dragon, and if the distinguished Japanese author has raised a reptile to the skies, I, it may be, shall draw a Dragon down—with apologies to the Poet Dryden for the misquotation.

Index to archaic Chinese characters studied in Pictographic Reconnaissances and other papers in the *JRAS.* from 1916 to 1928:—

| <i>Character.</i>      | <i>Meaning.</i>  | <i>Year of Journal.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
|------------------------|--|-------------------------|--------------|
| Chên 眞 . . .           | Genuine . . .  | 1927                    | 778-81       |
| Ch'ên 晨 . . .          | Dawn . . .   | 1918                    | 392-3        |
| Ch'ên 沈 . . .          | To immerse . . .   | 1917                    | 784-5        |
| Ch'êng 丞 . . .         | Deputy . . .   | 1924                    | 417-8        |
| Chi 即 (or Tsi) . . .   | To approach . . .  | 1917                    | 801-4        |
| Chi 既 (or Ki) . . .    | To finish . . .  | 1917                    | 805          |
| Chi 祭 (or Tsi) . . .   | To offer sacrifice . . .                                   | 1918                    | 399          |
| Chi 己 (or Ki) . . .    | Self . . .   | 1924                    | 421-7        |
| Chi 藉 (or Tsi) . . .   | C e r e m o n i a l<br>ploughing by<br>the Sovereign . . . | 1927                    | 773-4        |
| Chi 卑 . . .            | To raise (obsolete)  | 1922                    | 54           |
| Ch'i 七 (or Ts'i) . . . | Seven . . .  | 1916                    | 754-6        |
| Ch'i 柒 (or Ts'i) . . . | Seven . . .  | 1916                    | 756-7        |



| <i>Character.</i> | <i>Meaning.</i>                | <i>Year of Journal.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Chia 田 (= 甲)      | Plate, scale, bud              | 1921                    | 34-7, 42-4   |
| Chiao 交           | To join                        | 1919                    | 383-5        |
| Ch'ien 千          | Thousand                       | 1916                    | 765          |
| Chih 雉            | Pheasant                       | 1916                    | 738          |
| Chih 麇            | Swine                          | 1917                    | 785-6        |
| Chih 執            | To grasp                       | 1922                    | 50-1         |
| Chin 盡 (or Tsin)  | Finished                       | 1924                    | 429-30       |
| Ching 京           | Capital city                   | 1918                    | 396          |
| Ch'ing 卿          | Nobleman                       | 1917                    | 806-7        |
| Chio 角            | Horn                           | 1917                    | 792          |
| Chiu 九            | Nine                           | 1916                    | 758          |
| Chiu 玖            | Quartz                         | 1916                    | 758          |
| Chiu 舊            | Old                            | 1926                    | 475-6        |
| Chou 州            | Eyot, region                   | 1919                    | 382-3        |
| Chu 祝 (or Chou)   | To invoke, imprecate           | 1918                    | 401          |
| Chu 主             | Lord, to control               | 1924                    | 431          |
| Ch'u 出            | To go or come out              | 1926                    | 476-9        |
| Chung 中           | Middle                         | 1922                    | 58-61        |
| Chüeh 爵           | Goblet                         | 1917                    | 781-3        |
| Erh 二             | Two                            | 1916                    | 740          |
| Erh 式             | Two                            | 1916                    | 740          |
| Erh 貳             | Two                            | 1916                    | 741          |
| Fang 方            | Region, side                   | 1926                    | 479-83       |
| Fêng 風            | Wind                           | 1917                    | 377-9        |
| Fêng 鳳            | Phoenix                        | 1917                    | 379-82       |
| Fu 孚              | To capture, a prisoner of war. | 1924                    | 412-3        |
| Fu 服              | To control, tame               | 1924                    | 413-4        |
| Fu 簞              | A quiver                       | 1924                    | 418-21       |
| Fu 伏              | To crouch                      | 1925                    | 455-6        |
| Fu 負              | To carry on the back           | 1922                    | 65-7         |

| <i>Character.</i> | <i>Meaning.</i>                   | <i>Year of Journal.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Hou 后 . . .       | Ruler, legitimate successor . . . | 1921                    | 37-42        |
| Hsi 卅 . . .       | Forty . . .                       | 1916                    | 762          |
| Hsi and Hsien     |                                   |                         |              |
| 洗 . . .           | To wash, basin . . .              | 1923                    | 385-6        |
| Hsi 奚 . . .       | Menial servant . . .              | 1924                    | 409-12       |
| Hsi 席 . . .       | Mat . . .                         | 1926                    | 469-70       |
| Hsia 下 . . .      | To descend, lower . . .           | 1922                    | 53           |
| Hsiang 鄉 . . .    | Village . . .                     | 1917                    | 805-7        |
| Hsiang 象 . . .    | Elephant, like . . .              | 1917                    | 796          |
| Hsieh 謝 . . .     | To thank . . .                    | 1926                    | 468-70       |
| Hsien 暎 . . .     | Sunshine . . .                    | 1918                    | 395          |
| Hsing 行 . . .     | To go, pass . . .                 | 1919                    | 371-3        |
| Hsüeh 雪 . . .     | Snow . . .                        | 1918                    | 391-2        |
| Hsün 旬 . . .      | Decade of days . . .              | 1922                    | 63-5         |
| Hsün 訊 . . .      | To question . . .                 | 1923                    | 386-90       |
| Hu 柅 . . .        | Cheval de Frise . . .             | 1916                    | 749-50       |
| Hu 虎 . . .        | Tiger . . .                       | 1917                    | 799          |
| Hu 胡 . . .        | Turkic . . .                      | 1925                    | 452-4        |
| Huo 火 . . .       | Fire . . .                        | 1917                    | 787          |
| I 一 . . .         | One . . .                         | 1916                    | 737          |
| I 弌 . . .         | One . . .                         | 1916                    | 737-9        |
| I 壹 . . .         | One (also read Yin, q.v.) . . .   | 1916                    | 737-40       |
| I 翌 or 翊 . . .    | To-morrow . . .                   | 1917                    | 788-91       |
| I 伊 . . .         | He; also a personal name . . .    | 1918                    | 393          |
| I 易 . . .         | Change . . .                      | 1928                    | 327-31       |
| I 抑 . . .         | To press down . . .               | 1918                    | 410-7        |
| I 邑 . . .         | City . . .                        | 1918                    | 417          |
| I 已 . . .         | To finish . . .                   | 1919                    | 375-9        |
| I 夷 . . .         | The I tribes . . .                | 1925                    | 467-75       |
| I 以 . . .         | To use, cause . . .               | 1919                    | 380-2        |
| I 台 (and T'ai)    | I, me . . .                       | 1919                    | 380-2        |



| <i>Character.</i>             | <i>Meaning.</i>                         | <i>Year of Journal.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------|--------------|
| I 益 . .                       | To overflow . .                         | 1919                    | 386          |
| I 異 . .                       | Strange . .                             | 1922                    | 55-6         |
| I 彝 . .                       | Certain sacrificial<br>bronze vessels . | 1925                    | 457-8        |
| Jê 若 . .                      | Compliant, thus                         | 1917                    | 793-5        |
| Jih 日 . .                     | Sun, day . .                            | 1917                    | 775          |
| Ju 如 . .                      | Like, as . .                            | 1924                    | 407-9        |
| K'ê 克 . .                     | To support, able<br>to . . . .          | 1926                    | 470-1        |
| Kua 卦 . .                     | Diagrams of<br>divination .             | 1927                    | 786-8        |
| Kuang 光 . .                   | Glory . .                               | 1917                    | 787          |
| K'un-wu 昆吾                    | A name, ? vase .                        | 1916                    | 752-3        |
| Kung 弓 . .                    | Bow . .                                 | 1917                    | 780          |
| Kung 龔 or 龔                   | To offer, proffer .                     | 1922                    | 61-2         |
| Kung 公 . .                    | Public, duke . .                        | 1922                    | 62-3         |
| Lang 狼 . .                    | Wolf . .                                | 1926                    | 463          |
| Lei 耒 . .                     | Plough-handle .                         | 1927                    | 771-7        |
| Liao 燎 . .                    | To make a burnt-<br>offering .          | 1922                    | 53-4         |
| Lin 霖 . .                     | Continuous rain                         | 1918                    | 390          |
| Ling 霽 . .                    | Gentle rain . .                         | 1918                    | 390-1        |
| Ling 陵 . .                    | Mountain height                         | 1926                    | 462-3        |
| Liu 六 . .                     | Six . .                                 | 1916                    | 753-4        |
| Lu or Liu 陸 . .               | Plateau . .                             | 1916                    | 754          |
| Mai 狸 . .                     | To inter . .                            | 1917                    | 783-4        |
| (Normally read Li = wild cat) |   |                         |              |
| Man 蠻 . .                     | The <i>Man</i> tribes                   | 1925                    | 460-5        |
| Ming 明 . .                    | Bright . .                              | 1917                    | 776-80       |
| Mu 莫 . .                      | Not; evening . .                        | 1918                    | 395          |
| Ni 麇 . .                      | Fawn . .                                | 1917                    | 807-9        |
| Pa 八 . .                      | Eight . .                               | 1916                    | 757          |
| Pa 捌 . .                      | To split, eight .                       | 1916                    | 757          |
| Pao 豹 . .                     | Leopard . .                             | 1917                    | 800          |
| Pè 百 . .                      | Hundred . .                             | 1916                    | 762-5        |

| <i>Character.</i>                         | <i>Meaning.</i>                                    | <i>Year of Journal.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
|---|--|-------------------------|--------------|
| Pei 掬 . .                                 | A quiver . .                                       | 1924                    | 418-21       |
| P'êng 朋 . .                               | String of shells,<br>associate . .                 | 1917                    | 382          |
| Pi 鄙 . .                                  | Rustic . .   | 1919                    | 370-1        |
| P'i 匹 . .                                 | Mate, to match                                     | 1922                    | 57-8         |
| Pu 不 . .                                  | Not . .  | 1926                    | 468          |
| Sa 卅 . .                                  | Thirty . .   | 1916                    | 761-2        |
| San 三 . .                                 | Three . .  | 1916                    | 741          |
| San 式 . .                                 | Three . .  | 1916                    | 741          |
| San 叁 . .                                 | Three . .  | 1916                    | 741          |
| San 參 (also shên, q.v., ts'ên, and ts'an) |  | 1916                    | 741-4        |
| Shang 上 . .                               | To ascend, upper                                   | 1922                    | 51-2         |
| Shên 參 . .                                | The constellation<br>of Orion . .                  | 1916                    | 741-4        |
| Shên 申 . .                                | (1) To stretch, (2)<br>Name of a cycle<br>sign . . | 1918                    | 418-22       |
| Shih 十 . .                                | Ten . .  | 1916                    | 758-60       |
| Shih 拾 . .                                | To pick up . .                                     | 1916                    | 760          |
| Shih 矢 . .                                | Arrow . .  | 1917                    | 786-7        |
| Shih 氏 . .                                | Family name . .                                    | 1924                    | 414-7        |
| Shu 黍 . .                                 | Millet . .   | 1926                    | 474-5        |
| Sou 叟 . .                                 | Old man . .  | 1917                    | 787-8        |
| Ssü 四 . .                                 | Four . .   | 1916                    | 744-7        |
| Ssü 死 . .                                 | Dead . .   | 1917                    | 793          |
| Ssü 汜 . .                                 | River name . .                                     | 1919                    | 374          |
| Ssü 巳 . .                                 | Name of a cycle<br>sign . .                        | 1919                    | 374-5        |
| Ssü 厶 . .                                 | (Obsolete in this<br>sound) . .                    | 1919                    | 380-2        |
| Su 夙 . .                                  | Early . .  | 1918                    | 396-8        |
| Sui 歲 . .                                 | Harvest, year . .                                  | 1919                    | 370          |
| Tai 戴 . .                                 | To carry on the<br>head . .                        | 1922                    | 56           |



| <i>Character.</i>                | <i>Meaning.</i>                     | <i>Year of Journal.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Tan 彈 . . .                      | Bullet . . .                        | 1917                    | 780-1        |
| Ti 帝 . . .                       | Sovereign Ruler . . .               | 1926                    | 465-7        |
| Tien 電 . . .                     | Lightning . . .                     | 1918                    | 392          |
| T'ien 天 . . .                    | Heaven . . .                        | 1917                    | 774-5        |
| To 多 . . .                       | Many . . .                          | 1918                    | 399-400      |
| T'o 它 . . .                      | Other, burden . . .                 | 1918                    | 422-8        |
| Tsai 災 . . .                     | Calamity . . .                      | 1919                    | 385-6        |
| Tsao 早 . . .                     | Early . . .                         | 1925                    | 458-60       |
| Tsao 皂 . . .                     | Black . . .                         | 1925                    | 458-60       |
| Ts'ao 草 . . .                    | Grass, vegetation . . .             | 1925                    | 458-60       |
| Tsé 戾 . . .                      | Slanting . . .                      | 1918                    | 394-5        |
| Tsu 俎 . . .                      | Table for<br>sacrificial meat . . . | 1915                    | 400-1        |
| Tung 冬 . . .                     | Winter . . .                        | 1926                    | 472-4        |
| Wan 萬 . . .                      | Myriad . . .                        | 1916                    | 766-9        |
| Wan 𠂔 . . .                      | Myriad . . .                        | 1916                    | 770-1        |
| Wei 爲 . . .                      | To do, make, act . . .              | 1917                    | 797-9        |
| Wên 文 . . .                      | Lines, ornament . . .               | 1922                    | 67-9         |
| Wu 五 . . .                       | Five . . .                          | 1916                    | 747-50       |
| Wu 吾 . . .                       | I, my . . .                         | 1916                    | 750-2        |
| Wu 武 . . .                       | Armed force . . .                   | 1927                    | 769-71       |
| Yeh 也 . . .                      | A final particle . . .              | 1922                    | 69-73        |
| Yen 燕 . . .                      | A swallow . . .                     | 1924                    | 430-1        |
| Yen 輿 . . .                      | Colander . . .                      | 1925                    | 475-8        |
| Yin 尹 . . .                      | Leader . . .                        | 1918                    | 393-4        |
| Yin 印 . . .                      | Seal . . .                          | 1918                    | 409-17       |
| Yin 因 . . .                      | To follow, cause . . .              | 1924                    | 428-9        |
| Yin-yün 壹 壹<br>氤 氤<br>細 縕<br>烟 烟 | Blended, con-<br>centration . . .   | 1918                    | 402-9        |
| Yu 囿 . . .                       | Park . . .                          | 1919                    | 373-4        |
| Yu 猷 . . .                       | Plan. . .                           | 1923                    | 383-5        |
| Yu 猶 . . .                       | Still, as if . . .                  | 1923                    | 383-5        |

| <i>Character.</i> | <i>Meaning.</i>               | <i>Year of<br/>Journal.</i> | <i>Page.</i> |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| Yung 隄 . .        | Lake, marsh . .               | 1917                        | 791-2        |
| Yü 昱 . .          | To-morrow . .                 | 1917                        | 788-91       |
| Yü 聿 . .          | Pen . . . .                   | 1917                        | 795          |
| Yü 雨 . .          | Rain . . . .                  | 1918                        | 390          |
| Yü 玉 . .          | Jade . . . .                  | 1927                        | 782-5        |
| Yü 毓 = 育 .        | To rear, give<br>birth to . . | 1921                        | 37-41        |
| Yüan 元 . .        | Prime, chief . .              | 1926                        | 464-5        |
| Yüeh 月 . .        | Moon . . . .                  | 1917                        | 776          |





## Pauṣkarasādi

BY JARL CHARPENTIER

THE late Professor Buehler, in his admirable work on Indian palæography,<sup>1</sup> points to the name of an old species of writing, otherwise unknown, called the *puṣkarasārī* or *pukḥharasāriyā*, and mentioned by Buddhist and Jain authors. He quite correctly connects this name with that of *Puṣkara*<sup>o</sup> or *Pauṣkarasādi*, an old authority mentioned by some grammarians,<sup>2</sup> Āpastamba, etc. But as far as I am aware, neither Buehler nor any other scholar has gone further into the possible problems connected with this name. Becoming slightly interested in this question, I tried to make a collection of the few passages mentioning *Pauṣkarasādi*, which are, unfortunately, not very illuminating.<sup>3</sup> Still it may not be wholly out of the way to present here the meagre outcome of my investigations.

The name *Puṣkarasādi* or *Pauṣkarasādi* is in some way connected with a form *Puṣkarasād*, but the connexion is by no means clear; nor does it seem quite clear whether the name *Puṣkarasād* really exists outside the grammatical literature. The *gaṇa bāhvādi* to Pāṇ. iv, i, 96, mentions *Puṣkarasād* as the source of derivation; but according to that *sūtra* we could only expect \**Pauṣkarasādi* (and not *°sādi*), just as we get *Saumitri* or *Daurmitri* from *Sumitrā* and *Durmitrā* mentioned in that same *gaṇa*. However, the *sūtra* vii, 3, 20 (*anuśatikādīnām ca*) deals with formations that seem to show *vr̥ddhi* in both the members of a compound<sup>4</sup>; and the *gaṇa anuśatikādi*, of course, quotes *Puṣkara-*

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, i, 11, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Buehler has committed a slight mistake in saying that *Pauṣkarasādi* was mentioned by Pāṇini, cf. *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> For a preliminary collection of passages concerning *Pauṣkarasādi*, cf. also Pischel, *Sitz. ber. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1903, p. 193 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Some similar formations are enumerated already in vii, 3, 19; but they are, according to our present philological opinions, misjudged by the Hindu grammarians as, e.g., *sauhārda* is not formed immediately from *suhṛd*, etc.



*sad* as belonging to the number of words that give rise to such formations.<sup>1</sup> But it seems quite clear that in *Pauṣkara*<sup>2</sup> or *Puṣkarasādi* the second member of the compound is to be explained in accordance with Pāṇ. vi, 2 (40–)41. Just as we have there *go-sādi*, which means something like “bullock-rider”,<sup>3</sup> we have *Puṣkarasādi*, meaning originally “sitting on a *puṣkara*”, whatever that means.<sup>4</sup> From *Puṣkarasādi* we have the derivation *Pauṣkarasādi*, which would, anyhow, be possible. But it seems more probable that *puṣkara* and *paṣkara* mean the same thing, so that both forms could be used promiscuously. This also sometimes seems to be the case.

The *gaṇa yaskādi* to ii, 4, 63, also enumerates *Pauṣkarasādi*, which means that, if we derive this name from *Puṣkarasād*, its masculine plural should be *Puṣkarasadaḥ* (and not *Pauṣkara-sādayaḥ*), while the feminine plural ought to be formed from the derivative itself. Finally, according to the *gaṇa taulvalyādi* to ii, 4, 61, the form *Pauṣkarasādi* cannot denote alike the father and son.<sup>4</sup> But as all these rules rest on the wrong assumption that *Pauṣkarasādi* is a patronymic from *Puṣkarasād* they need no longer detain us here.

In Pāli we find a form *Pokkharasāti* which should apparently be identified with *Pauṣkarasādi*.<sup>5</sup> Passages in the literature

<sup>1</sup> Several of the words enumerated in this *gaṇa* are quite doubtful. Some instances are wrong too, as when *para-strī* is quoted as being the substrate of a derivation *pāra-strāṇeya*. For this is quite apparently derived from a word *\*para-strāṇa* (on *strāṇa*, cf. A.V., iv, 34, 2; Pāṇ. iv, 1, 87, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Originally simply “sitting on a bullock (cow)”, cf. *go-sādi* (“sitting on cows”), the name of a bird, *Vāj. Saṃh.*, xxiv, 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Puṣkara* here means either “a blue lotus”, which is most probable, or “a white crane”. But I know of no mythical person riding on a crane (cf. however, the name *Balābhāṣva*, *M.Bh.*, xii, 1717; xiii, 203). Of course, *puṣkara* as well as the synonym *sārasa*, “a white crane”, could also mean *hamsa*. In that case *puṣkarasādi* would mean either “sitting in the lotus” (*Brahmā*) or “riding on the *hamsa*” (*Brahmā*).

<sup>4</sup> The same rule is found in the *Candrarvṛtti*, ii, 4, 122.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. M. Sylvain Lévi, *JA.*, 1912, 2, p. 501. There is also in Pāli *pokkharasātaka*, “a species of crane, *Ardea Sibirica*” (*Jātaka*, vi, p. 539), with which cf. Skt. *puṣkara-sāda*, “a certain bird” (*Vāj. Saṃh.*, xxiv, 31). The words *puṣkara-sāda* and *\*sādi* are related to each other in the same way as are

where this name occurs can be gathered from E. Müller, *JPTS.*, 1888, p. 57 (cf. Grimblot, *Sept Suttas Pālies*, pp. 339, 343). In the *Sutta Nipāta*, 594 sq., two pupils of the great Brahmins *Pokkharasāti* and *Tārukkha*<sup>1</sup> visit the Buddha in order to settle a point in dispute; these pupils claim to be well versed in the three Vedas, to be *padakas* (conversant with the *Padapāṭha*), grammarians (*veyyākaraṇa*), and to equal their master in the recitation of *mantras*.<sup>2</sup> Explanations of the name *Pokkharasāti*, wholly fanciful of course, are found in the *Paramatthajotikā* (ed. H. Smith), ii, 462, and in the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* on *Dīgha N.*, iii, i, 1, 15 (vol. i, pp. 244 sq.); in the second passage *Pokkharasāti* is said to have been a Veda-scholar and the "foremost Brahmin in this world" (*Jambudīpe aggabrahmaṇo*).

The Northern Buddhists instead of this use the form *Puṣkarasārīn*, which probably owes its existence to some sort of popular etymology. In the *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 620 sqq.,<sup>3</sup> there is a lengthy account of the dealings and discussions between the Brahmin *Puṣkarasārīn*, who is said to have been a past-master in all the Vedas and sciences, and *Triśaṅku*, a king of outcasts (*Mātaṅgarājā*). Both persons reveal themselves as great authorities on Vedic lore, astronomy, etc. Besides there is, as already mentioned, the word *puṣkarasārī* as denominating an unknown species of writing. This word occurs in the *Lal. Vistara*, i, p. 125 (ed. Lefmann), and in the *Mahāvastu*, i, p. 135,<sup>4</sup> in enumerations of the various modes of writing, familiar to the Bodhisattva. In the former passage it is mentioned in the third place after Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī, in the later one it comes between them.

*go-sāda* and *go-sādi* (Pāp. vi, 2, 41). However, Mahīdhara (*Vāj. Saṃh.*, xxiv, 31) apparently read *puṣkarasādīn* as he explains: *puṣkarasādī puṣkare sādātī kamalabhakṣī pakṣivideṣaḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> Skt. *Tārūkya* (cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, i, 391).

<sup>2</sup> The text has *jappe* with the v.l. *jape*; however, the meaning must be that of *jape*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Burnouf, *Introduction*, pp. 205 sqq.; Kern, *Festgruss Roth*, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pischel, *Sitz. ber. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1903, pp. 193 sq., 744.



*Paṣkarasādi* is quoted as an authority on grammar—or rather phonology—especially in the *Taittirīya Prātisākhya*. In v, 37, he is said to have endorsed the view that a *ś* does not become *ch* when followed by a consonant; nor is, in that case, a preceding *n* transformed into an *ñ*.<sup>1</sup> In v, 38, he is made to teach, with Plākṣi, Kaundinya, and Gautama, that an *h* preceded by a *d* becomes *dh*, etc. (*tad dhiranyam*), which is, of course, a well-known and generally practised rule. But curiously enough the commentary on v, 42, tells us that *Śaityāyanādīnām* in the sūtra means Śaityāyana, Kauhalīputra, Bharadvāja, Sthavira-Kaundinya, and *Paṣkarasādi*; and these five taught, according to the same authority, that instead of writing—as in normal Sanskrit—*arvāḡ ghy enam* we ought to write *arvākgh hy enam*, which does indeed look curious enough.<sup>2</sup>

The rule xiii, 16 (*prktasvarāt paro lo ḍam Paṣkarasādeḥ Paṣkarasādeḥ*) is far from clear, though it seems to infer that after a "mixed vowel" (*prktasvara*), i.e. *ṛ*, an *l* should become *ḍ*, but the instances are by no means clear.<sup>3</sup> According to xiv, 2, *Paṣkarasādi* taught the doubling of mutes when preceded by *l* or *v*, so that we ought really to write *kalppa*, etc.<sup>4</sup> And finally, xvii, 6, contains a rule concerning different modes of *svārīta* and *anudātta*, which is brought back to old *Paṣkarasādi*. It should be remarked that in the *Taittirīya Prātisākhya* this grammarian is quoted no less than five times—besides being twice mentioned in the commentary—which is more

<sup>1</sup> The instances, according to Whitney, would be *pāpīyān śreyase* and *ādityān śmaśrubhiḥ* (*Taitt. Saṃh.*, i, 5, 7, 4, and v, 7, 12).

<sup>2</sup> Personally I feel inclined to think that the whole thing is fairly simple. *arvākgh hi* is, of course, impossible, and only a conservative way of writing what ought properly to be *arvāḡ hi*. This again simply means to express a sort of aspiration before *h*, the same as before sibilants (cf. *infra*).

<sup>3</sup> The discussion of this rule in *JAOS.*, ix, pp. 281 sqq., is very lengthy and tedious, but ends in a *non liquet*.

<sup>4</sup> This seems reasonable enough. But according to *JAOS.*, ix, p. 285, *Paṣkarasādi* also wanted to apply, in this case, the rule expressed in xiv, 1, and consequently to write *kallppa*, etc. This enormity is restricted by xiv, 3.

than any other authority with the exception of *Plākṣi*, whom we also meet with there the same number of times.

Curiously enough the *Prātiśākhya* does not quote *Pauṣkarasādi* as the authority of the rule xiv, 12. For this is exactly the same rule that we find in the third *vārttika* to Pāp. viii, 4, 48 : *cayo dvitīyāḥ śari Pauṣkarasādeḥ*,<sup>1</sup> and which means that a tenuis becomes aspirated before a sibilant; this means that we ought really to write *khṣīram*, *vathsaḥ*, *aphsarāḥ*, etc., according to what was undoubtedly at one time the real pronunciation.<sup>2</sup> The same rule is found in the *R.V. Prātiśākhya* CDXXX, in the *Vāj. Prātiśākhya*, iv, 119, and in the *Ath. Prātiśākhya*, ii, 6, but no author, with the exception of the *vārttikakāra*, ever mentions the name of *Pauṣkarasādi* in this connexion.

Passages from other grammatical works quoting *Pauṣkarasādi* are not known to me; consequently, his name as that of a grammarian has only been preserved to us by Kātyāyana, and by the unknown author of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*.

Now, *Puṣkara* (or *Pauṣkara*-) *sādi* must also have been an authority on sacred law, as he is quoted as an authority by at least two well-known Brahmin law-givers. Āpastamba, *Dharmasūtra*, i, 6, 19, 7, gives the following rule : *śuddhā bhikṣā bhoktavyaikakuṇikau kāṇvakutsau tathā puṣkarasādiḥ*, which means that "pure food may be eaten when given as alms according to Eka, Kuṇika, Kāṇva, Kutsa, and also according to Puṣkarasādi".<sup>3</sup> And in the same text, i, 10, 28, 1, we find the following : *yathā kathā ca parapari-graham abhimanyate steno hi bhavātīti kautsahārītau tathā kanyapuṣkarasādi*, which seems to mean that "he who, under any conditions whatsoever, covets another man's possessions is a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, xiii, 400. 423; Kielhorn, *I.A.*, xvi, 104.

<sup>2</sup> On questions connected with this phonetic rule, cf. e.g. Benfey, *Vollst. Gramm.*, i, p. 26 (cf. p. 38); Ascoli, *Kritische Studien*, p. 260, n.; Whitney, *JAOS.*, vii, 404; ix, 298 sq.; Jacobi, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachf.*, xxv, 603 sq.; Kirste, *VOJ.*, iv, 44; Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i, p. 132, and especially Johansson, *Shāhbāzgarhi*, ii, p. 21 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Büchler, *SBE.*, ii, p. 70.



thief; thus Kautsa and Hārīta as well as Kaṇva and Puṣkara-sādi."<sup>1</sup> However, the readings do not seem to me to be quite well established. In the first passage one manuscript (G<sup>1</sup>) reads *kāṇvapūṣkarasādi*, while in the second one four manuscripts (Md.; N.U.; G<sup>1</sup>; G.U.<sup>2</sup>) read *kāṇva* (instead of *kaṇva*<sup>3</sup>) *pūṣkarasādi*.<sup>2</sup> None of these manuscripts is admittedly too good;<sup>3</sup> but still I do not hesitate to suggest that in i, 6, 19, 7, the original reading was something like *ekakuṇikau tathā kāṇvapūṣkarasādi*, and in i, 10, 28, 1, simply *tathā kāṇvapūṣkarasādi*. This, however, matters little to us at the present moment. It is more important to notice that the form of the name with which Āpastamba was familiar was *Puṣkara-sādi*, and not as usually *Pauṣkarasādi*.

Closely connected with the school of Āpastamba is that of Hiraṇyakeśin.<sup>4</sup> Consequently we are scarcely astonished to find our author quoted also by that school. In Hiraṇyakeśin's *Gṛhyasūtra*, i, 6, 6 sqq., we find the rules for teaching the Brahmin boy the *Sāvitrī* at his initiation. Hiraṇyakeśin himself thinks that if the future *brahmacārin* has had no previous teacher he should wait for three days ere the holy formula be repeated to him, but *Pauṣkarasādi* was of a different opinion, as is evident from i, 6, 8, which runs: *sadyaḥ Pauṣkarasādiḥ*.<sup>5</sup>

Finally we find *Pauṣkarasādi(n)* (or *Puṣkarasārīn*) as an author of astronomical works. A fragment of such a work ascribed to him was edited from the Weber MSS. by the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Buehler, Lc., ii, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> G.U.<sup>1</sup> has the senseless reading *kaṇvapūṣkarasādiḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Buehler's edition of the *Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra*, p. 1 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Buehler, *SBE.*, ii, pp. xvii, xxiii sq.; Winternitz, *Geach. d. ind. Literatur*, i, p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> All the manuscripts read *Pauṣkarasādiḥ*, but the late Dr. Kirste introduced the reading *Puṣkara* with the remark "but see the comm." What this means I am at a complete loss to understand. For not only does *Mātṛ-datta* himself read *Pauṣkara*, but he also expressively denounces *Puṣkara* as being a false reading (*apapāṣha*), cf. Kirste's edition, p. 105. However, the Grantha MS. of Hiraṇyakeśin perused by Kirste after the publication of his text, undoubtedly reads *Puṣkarasādi* (cf. *Sitz. ber. Wiener Akad. Wiss.*, 1891, 4, p. 7).

ate Dr. Hoernle,<sup>1</sup> but is of no special interest to us here. It does, however, tally with the tradition of the *Divyāvadāna*, according to which *Puṣkarasārīn* was a great authority on the *Jyotiṣa*.

It is obvious that the grammarian *Pauṣkara* (or *Puṣkara*<sup>o</sup>) *sādi* was not known to Pāṇini, or at least has not been quoted by him as a grammatical authority. But he is well known to the author of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, who apparently belongs to a later date than the greatest amongst Indian grammarians.<sup>2</sup> He is also known to Kātyāyana, the author of the *vārtikas* to Pāṇini's grammar. And an authority on religious law, called *Puṣkarasādi* or *Pauṣkarasādi*, and who may well have been identical with the grammarian, has been quoted by Āpastamba and Hiranyakeśin. From these coincidences one possible conclusion may be drawn. We know, from the testimony of his successor Patañjali, that Kātyāyana was a *dākṣiṇātya*; and we likewise know that Āpastamba—and consequently also Hiranyakeśin—belongs to the South. As for the author of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, nothing absolutely certain is known about the land of his birth. But it has been suggested, with great probability, that several otherwise unknown authorities quoted by him belong to the Deccan.<sup>3</sup> The obvious conclusion is that *Pauṣkara* (or *Puṣkara*<sup>o</sup>) *sādi* was an old grammarian or law-giver who also had his home in the South, possibly in the Deccan.

As for the date of Pāṇini, I have suggested, some time ago, that it should be placed somewhere about 500 B.C.,<sup>4</sup> and I feel more and more convinced that such a suggestion is mainly correct. It is too well known to be repeated here that Goldstücker, one of the greatest authorities on Sanskrit grammar ever living, wanted to place his date still further back in

<sup>1</sup> *JASB.*, vol. lxii, i (1893), p. 9 sqq. Cf. Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Literatur*, iii, p. 557.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Liebhich, *Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, ii, p. 47; Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Literatur*, iii, p. 382, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Liebhich, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik.*, ii, 147 sqq.



time; but it may be well to suggest that he lived just about the period when the Persians began to administer the North-Western Frontier Province and the valley of the Indus. Kātyāyana, the *vārttikakāra*, may well be a couple of centuries younger, and the time of Āpastamba, Hiraṇyakeśin, and the *Taittirīya Prātisākhya* may easily coincide with a date somewhere about 400–200 B.C.—if not later. If, then, *Pauṣkarasādi* lived somewhat later than Pāṇini—which is, of course, not wholly sure, as a Southern grammarian need not necessarily have been known to the great *Śālātūrīya*—his date may have been something like 400 B.C., or even somewhat earlier.

Of the mode of writing ascribed to *Pauṣkara* (or *Puṣkara*?) *sādi* we, unfortunately, know absolutely nothing. But the following suggestion may perhaps not seem altogether too hazardous.

In North-Western India the Persians introduced, at their conquest,<sup>1</sup> an Aramaic alphabet, which, slightly modified according to the necessities of Indian languages, is known to us by the name of *Kharoṣṭhī*. This, according to my opinion, is the *lipi* which is called by Pāṇini *yavanānī*, the writing of the Yavanas, i.e. the Westerners.<sup>2</sup> This is the only mode of writing known to Pāṇini, and as far as we are aware it never penetrated into Central or Southern India. But in the South—say in the Deccan proper—there lived at one time (possibly in the fifth century B.C.) a Brahmin grammarian called *Pauṣkarasādi* (or *Puṣkarasādi*) who perpetrated some sort of modification of a foreign alphabet according to Indian needs. This alphabet then became known as the *pauṣkarasādi lipi*, and perhaps spread from its original home towards different directions.

But the name of the inventor of this alphabet, *Pauṣkara-*

<sup>1</sup> The North-Western Provinces may first have been conquered by Cyrus, and then reconquered by Darius shortly after 520 B.C. (Cf. *Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik*, ii, 147 sqq.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Festgabe H. Jacobi*, p. 277, n. 4; *BSOS.*, iv, 343. It is, of course, not absolutely sure that Kātyāyana's *yavanānī lipyām* likewise applies to Pāṇini.

*sādi*, soon fell into oblivion. And people then began to interpret the name as the "writing invented by Puṣkarasad", i.e. Brahmā.<sup>1</sup> Such an idea was, of course, easily fostered by the fact that Brahmā was believed to be, from all eternity, the author of the *śruti*, and consequently he ought also to have been the inventor of everything that had to do with writing and literary occupations. The consequence was that the writing hitherto known as the *pauṣkarasādi lipi* became commonly known as the *brāhmī lipi*. But in literary works the old name was preserved besides the new one, though its original meaning had already been completely forgotten.<sup>2</sup>

The consequences of these suggestions are obvious. If there be anything at all in them then, of course, the opinion of Buehler concerning the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet would have to be thoroughly revised. For neither could, in that case, the Brāhmī have been introduced into India at such an early date as about 800 B.C.<sup>3</sup> nor could it have been derived from a Northern Semitic alphabet—e.g. that found in the inscriptions of King Meša. It is, however, quite clear that Buehler's date is wholly fanciful, as the works on which he founded such a suggestion are certainly by no means as old as he then thought. We must always keep in mind that the oldest inscriptions in which the Brāhmī is found used only belong to the middle of the third century B.C. And though

<sup>1</sup> It is, unfortunately, unknown to me at what time Brahmā was first thought of as being born from and sitting in the lotus. The epithets such as *abjaia*, *padmayoni*, etc., and the myth itself do not seem to belong to the earliest parts of the epics. Cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 191. However, in the Brāhmaṇas the Creator (*Prajāpati*) is seated on a lotus-leaf; and this idea does not seem to be foreign even to the aborigines of India (cf. *JRAS.*, 1926, p. 129).

<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered that the name *brāhmī (lipi)* is, as far as we know, a rather late one. The oldest works which are acquainted with it seem to me to be the *Lalitā Vistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, which may well belong to one of the first centuries of our era (cf. Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Literatur*, ii, 193, 199 sq.). But it may be remembered that the enumerations of different alphabets also contain that of the *Hūnas*, and may be considerably much younger. The Jain works which mention the *brāhmī* are of quite uncertain date.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Buehler, l.c., p. 18 sq.



we must admit that at an earlier time this alphabet was apparently written *βουστροφῆδόν*—and still earlier from right to left—it is scarcely needed to suppose that this development would have occupied a period of more than half a millennium. Nor has Buehler, ingenious though his conclusions are, ever *proved* that Brāhmī was derived from an alphabet closely connected with that of the Meša inscriptions.

My hypothesis would instead, lead to the conclusions mainly endorsed by Taylor,<sup>1</sup> viz. that the Brāhmī alphabet is the outcome of the importation into India of a South Arabian mode of writing; but, unfortunately, such an assertion could only be proved by a scholar equally at home in Indian and Semitic palæography, and the present writer can lay no claim whatsoever to either. This South Arabian alphabet would, in that case, have been introduced into India by means of commercial intercourse, and it would have made its first appearance at the great Western ports of yore such as Broach or Sopāra.<sup>2</sup> But I am wholly at one with Buehler<sup>3</sup> in thinking that only a learned Brahmin (or Brahmins) could have modelled that Semitic alphabet into the pliant and admirable means of expressing Indian languages that is the Brāhmī already at its very first appearance. And personally I should venture to think that the Brahmin who originally performed this great feat was called *Paṣkarasādi* or *Puṣkara-sādi*, and was a grammarian and law-giver of Deccanese origin. His date I should venture to place somewhere in the fifth century, or perhaps about 400 B.C.

I am well aware that this is perhaps only a web of idle speculations. But of this at least I feel certain that the theories of Buehler concerning the origin and date of Brāhmī, which seem to have become the generally accepted ones, are somewhat in need of revision.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. Max Müller, *Orient. Lit. Zeit.*, 1912, col. 541 sqq., who also pleads for a South Arabian origin of the Indian alphabets, but whose opinions are otherwise rather confuse.

<sup>2</sup> On this place, cf. *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 111 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *L.c.*, p. 18.

## Brother Jordan of Sévérac

BY A. C. MOULE

THE late Monsieur Henri Cordier's parting gift to students of the East was his edition of the *Mirabilia* of the Dominican Brother Jordan of Sévérac. This was nothing less than a complete facsimile of the unique manuscript of the *Mirabilia* which is now in the British Museum. The facsimile is accompanied with an Introduction, a French translation and notes, and a transcript of the Latin text.<sup>1</sup> The transcript is little more than a copy of that of 1839,<sup>2</sup> and students will be wise to read the Latin text from the facsimile. But it is not my purpose here to review or criticize the book. Cordier, like Yule before him, thought it worth while to print in addition to the *Mirabilia* such other fragments of Jordan's writing as survive. Yule published versions of two letters by Jordan in *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1866, and Cordier prints the Latin text of these same letters (one of them twice over) in his *Notes Préliminaires* and adds to them two texts of another letter which is attributed first to Bartholomew, Custos of Tauris, and secondly to Francis of Pisa. All these texts are taken at second-hand from the *Biblioteca Bibliografica della Terra Santa* by G. Golubovich, O.S.F. These four letters, which may in fact be reduced to two and

<sup>1</sup> *Les Merveilles de l'Asie par le Père Jourdain Catalani de Sévérac* par Henri Cordier, Paris, Geuthner, 1925. *Mirabilia Descripta*, by Henry Yule, Hakluyt Society, 1863. The MS. is now marked Add. 10513.

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, tome iv, 1839, the text transcribed and edited by Baron Coquebert de Montbret. The following are a few examples of the Baron's errors which reappear in the new edition: p. 110, *for ex quibus read est quod*; p. 111, *for dietas fere V [sic] read dietas fere. l.*; *for manutegnii read manutergii* (both Yule and Cordier translate "on their sleeve" ("sur leurs manches") *for* "instead of a towel"); *for occidentales read omnes*; p. 112, *for ullatenus read nullatenus*; *for sufficiet circiter read sufficeret comuniter*; p. 113, *for hoia read litera, for spittaci et read psitaci id est*; p. 115, *for eximie read extra mire, for aliter read animal*; p. 119, *for ales—alitis read animal—animalis*; p. 122, *for Mari Nigro read mari nostro*, etc. Nevertheless the debt we owe to M. Cordier for his book remains very great.



part of a third, are concerned with the martyrdom of four Franciscan Brothers at Tana near Bombay in April, 1321. This martyrdom seems to have roused extraordinary interest at the time. It is described at length by Odoric, who passed Tana shortly afterwards and carried some of the bones of the Martyrs to Ch'üan-chou in China for burial. There is a long account (attributed to Odoric) in the unpublished Chronicle from which the letters of John of Monte Corvino are taken; a short and seemingly independent account is to be found in the Chronicle of Paulinus of Venice. The earliest account to reach the West was that given by Bartholomew, who enclosed a copy of Jordan's first letter and reported the story as told him by Jordan's messenger, a young Genoese merchant. Finally the longest account of all is in an appendix to the *Chronica Generalium Ministrorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, and of this account nearly half consists of extracts from letters of "Brother Jordan the Preacher".<sup>1</sup> These extracts reached the compiler of the

<sup>1</sup> The references for Jordan's writings other than the *Mirabilia* are as follows: The "First Letter" is in these MSS., British Museum, Nero A 9, fol. 99; Paris, Bib. Nat., Latin 5006, fol. 182r°, v°; Assisi, Comunale MS. 341, fol. 134v°; and (in part) MS. 329, fol. 186r°, v°. It was printed from the Paris MS. (not quite correctly) by Quétil, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, i, pp. 549, 550, and from the London and Assisi MSS. (again with small inaccuracies) by G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa*, ii, pp. 69, 70, 113; and translated by Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd ed., iii, pp. 75-8, and by F. Balme, in *Année Dominicaine*, 1886, pp. 24, 25. The "Second Letter" is included among the extracts from Jordan's letters printed below from the *Chronica Generalium*, where they are scattered over fol. 182r°-187r° of the Assisi MS. 329. It was first printed as a separate letter by Wadding in *Annales Minorum* (2nd ed., tom. vi, pp. 359-61) and translated by Yule and Balme as above. The translation which accompanies the transcript below is slightly expanded from the intervening extracts and other sources in order to make the extracts from Jordan coherent. The whole text of the *Cronica Generalium* carefully edited by the College of S. Bonaventura appeared in *Analecta Franciscana*, iii, 1897, where the Martyrdom, of which there appear to be five manuscripts, occupies pp. 597 to 613. The fact that this text was not used by Cordier either in 1914 or in 1925 justifies the printing of the fragments of Jordan here direct from the MS. 329. Cf. also "Cathay and the Way thither" in *The New China Review*, iii, 1921, pp. 216-28.

*Chronicles* in a letter from Francis of Pisa, as will be seen below, but there seems to be no reason to doubt that they are genuine extracts from letters written by Jordan from India, and they are transcribed here from photographs of the Assisi MS. 329 which I owe to the kindness of the Franciscan Fathers M. Bihl of Quaracchi and E. Tannitto of Assisi.

## TEXT

ex epistolis fratris iordani de ordine predicatorum socii 182a  
sanctorum.

Ibi ergo per dies viii. morantes persuaserunt predicti christiani quod aliquis ex nobis quinque iret in parroth ciuitatem vbi plurimi nomine christiani erant set non baptizati. ut sic in fide christi instruerentur et post baptizarentur. Concilio igitur omnium ego frater iordanus de ordine predicatorum cum persicam linguam plenius scirem predictum iter ad tales homines baptisandos assumpsi. accipiens etiam mecum duos seculares christianos in socios quorum vnus in persicam et in indianam linguam optime expertus se mihi pro interprete optulit ascendentes ergo nauiculam paruam deuenimus ad ciuitatem quandam nomine superam. vbi. hedificata condam erat ecclesia pulera per beatum thomam apostolum set destructa a paganis alia fuit ibi per christianos erecta. Ibi ergo ego dictus predicatorum frater pauperculus usque ad .xx<sup>ii</sup>. baptisauit et eorum confessionem audiui et sacram communionem eis dedi. Post dies vero .xvi. proficisci cupiens ad optatam parroth ciuitatem nauigium procurauit Set ecce subito mirantibus cunctis in serenitate optima lignum ipsum ascendens iuxta litus antequam iter assumerem profundatum est illud lignum nichil tamen passi mali. Stupens ergo de tanto prodigio et ignorans quid angelus sathane circa minores quos in tana dimiseram ageret suspicatus nichilominus ad scribendum eis per nuncium specialem me posui. Et contra morem ignorans quid dicerem scribere cepi. Reuerendis patribus fratribus thome de tolentino iacob de padua petro de senis et demetrio preconibus gloriosis et cetera. Et per illos duos socios christianos eis misi. Et erectis in celum luminibus in prefata ecclesia orabam suspiciosius ut sociorum meorum fratrum actus dirigeret | dominus ihesus christus. Erat autem feria .vi<sup>ta</sup>. ante ramos palmarum. et die precedenti facta fuerunt que dicturus sum



de morte fratrum sanctorum que penitus ignorabam. nocte vero sequenti subito a christianis excitatus suaserunt me fugere asserentes meos socios sanctos captos esse. at ego in bono ihesu confisus prompte respondi. Absit ut fugiam et meos socios sic vinetos relinquam. Ibo ergo concitus tanam festinanter. et coram mellico promptus astabo. Et quia linguam persicam plus ceteris sum expertus ad interrogata responsa dabo. Assumens igitur iter versus tanam. veni ad quandam casale vbi reperiens socios christianos quos cum literis miseram mirari cepi cur tanam non iuissent Set cum uultus eorum et aliorum plurium turbatum aspicerem petere cepi quenam noua haberent. At illis formidantibus mihi narrare rugiente me clamore magno super eos affuit qui diceret socios meos sanctos esse interemptos. Talis autem fuit modus et processus ipsorum passionis ex epistola fratris iordani predicatoris.

182c

Tunc cadinus respondit. sacerdotes tui. scilicet christiani fratres predicti venerunt et ad me tuam causam deducis ? | At illa. linguam nostram non bene noueru[n]t et ideo inter me et virum meum iudicare nescirent. Verbum autem recipiens sarracenus quidam de alexandria nomine osepe dixit quod fratres franci id est latini essent reuera homines maxime <et><sup>1</sup> docti in scripturis et ideo bonum esset cum eis de fide disputare. Et exiens ad mellicum hoc est ad potestatem pretorem uel presidem ciuitatis accessit et persuasit de fratribus predictis. Quod mellicus audiens eos ad se accersiri fecit. Et interrogans vnde essent et quo irent. responderunt sancti ad omnia per ordinem ut decebat quod scilicet latini erant christiani et quod propter christum peregrinantes tale iter assumpserant. Post uerba autem huius [modi] a mellico benigne dimissi cum gaudio ad domum sunt reuersi. Quod cernens dictus osepe alexandrinus et totus in corde gladius ait mellico quod illi fratres et eorum similes latini nominis erant sarracenorum inimici. Ac mellicus dissimulans usque in crastinum iterum pro eis misit Et diligenter investigans de fide & statu francorum et gratam in omnibus habens responsionem eorum iterum eos illesos ire permisit. Post dies autem aliquos canis ille famelicus alexandrinus ad fratres uenit. et quod eos mellicus uocaret dixit. Responderunt sancti. Quid petit a nobis mellicus Pauperes christi peregrini sumus et in hac vita nichil possidemus. At

<sup>1</sup> Or read maximo [scientie] et

canis ille ait. Sequimini me nichil timentes et bibliam uobiscum ferte. Tunc sancti mellicum adierunt et post plurima uerba interrogati an librum aliquem haberent ei bibliam optulerunt. Qui admirans libri pulcritudinem petiuit quid in ea scriptum esset. Ac illi dixerunt. quod antiquam et nouam legem ipsa contineret. Tunc mellicus ait. Jsti libri sunt apud uos aprobat. Responderunt. Sunt et ille. Aleoranus ergo | apud uos non est aprobat. Dixerunt. 182d  
Non. Et mellicus. Quare non? liber dei est et missus a deo. Et cepit plura dicere? [sic] de fetidissima sua fide subdens in fine. Fides nostra et uestra bona est. Responderunt sancti. Nostra bona est. At ille. quasi conminatorie ait. Quid dicitis. At illi uerum dicimus. Post uerba plurima dixerunt sancti. Dimitte nos domine. pauperes christiani sumus. et in hac uita nichil possidemus. et alibi ire disposuimus. At mellicus. Vadatis inquit in pace. sed bibliam pro soldano dimittatis. Et sancti. Nequaquam hoc facere possumus quia sine hoc libro esse non ualemus. Cumque bibliam retinere uellet ad preces cuiusdam pagani non sarraceni bibliam reddidit. et ipsos a se licentiauit. Semel eciam ad sugestionem dicti osepe alexandrini uocati a cadi sancti fratres ceperunt de fide nostra sarraceni cum sanctis fratribus disputare. Sarraceni autem dicebant christum non deum set solum uerum hominem esse. frater uero thomas opositum fortiter asseruit et probauit scilicet quod ymo erat non tantum homo. purus set uerus homo deus. Et hoc exemplis et rationibus varijs declarauit. Cum eciam de benedicta trinitate essent plura uerba. et sancti deum esse trinum et vnum assererent continuerunt nequam aures suas dicentes se blasphemiam pessimam audiuisse (m). cumque sancti plurima adducerent exempla trinitatem et christi filiationem probancia sic quod sarraceni amplius resistere nescirent remanebant illi infideles nichilominus indurati. frater iordanus predicator.

183b

Adeo enim illi solares ardores cunctis mirantibus et stupentibus mox diuina uirtute super eos fuerunt mitigati ut in nullo possent penitus ab eis fratres inuictissimi molestari. Jtaque a uinculis absoluti et predictis mellico et cadino presentari [sic] et similiter de fide interrogati & promissis & minis in nullo moti. canes illi iusserunt statim in maydano id est in platea publica ciuitatis copiosum ignem parari. frater iordanus predicator.

183c



Omnis etiam populus clamauit et dixit. Non intret antiquior set iunior. mos enim orientalium est senioribus maxime propter barbe albedinem reuerentiam exhibere Iussum est igitur fratrem iacobum primitus in ignem iactari.

frater iordanus predicator.

Qui primo signo crucis se muniens in medio flammarum quasi in quodam recenti rosario existens stabat illesus De quo pre multitudine flammarum nichil aparebat de ipso nisi interdum propter flantem uentum flammis aliquando deprimentem vox tamen eius aliquando audiebatur beatam uirginem in suum auxilium continue inuocantem Stetit autem dictus seruus christi per maximum spacium in flammis predictis usque ad totalem ignis extinctionem. Quo consumpto exiuit dei atleta illesus non solum in corpore set nec in pilo vestimentorum adustus.<sup>1</sup>

183d frater iordanus predicator

set ibidem in flammis perseuerans per magnum spacium illesus aspicitur. nisi quod atisionibus ex iactura aliquantulum in tibijs grafinatur. Conuenerunt autem ad dictum spectaculum pagani plurimi adoratores ignis et sarraceni quam plures & pauci christiani. Itaque clamor omnium atollitur quod boni sunt viri isti. Et sic sanctus de igne illesus educitur. Et iterum de fide cum socijs temptatus et constantissimus inuentus iussus est decollari solus.

184a Qualiter cadinus sanctorum mortem cum melico tractauit ex literis fratris iordani predicatoris.

Cum autem nox superuenisset accessit cadinus minister dyaboli et supradictus osep ad mellicum dicentes. quod quia signum crucis cunctis uidentibus fecerant sancti fratres omnino deberent occidi et decollari alias ipsorum machometi fides pro nichilo poterat reputari. At mellicus abhorrens facinus dixit. quod nichil mali fecerant sancti fratres sarracenis. et quod sufficere debebant mala iam illata innocentibus peregrinis. Tunc cadi iratus dixit quod si sic dimitterentur illesi plurimi sarracenorum et pagani propter eorum predicationem et dicta miracula efficerentur christiani et sic fides machometi detrimentum pateretur addens quod si eos occidi faceret plus mereretur quam si mecum id est machometi sepulcrum visitaret. Cumque nec sic ille assensum preberet. set manus in seruos dei mittere plurimum formidaret ait iniquus cadinus. Ne formides eos occidere redditurus ego

<sup>1</sup> Aduetus changed later to adustus.

in die iudicij de hoc rationem. set et sanguis eorum sit super me et super filios meos Tunc uictus mellicus .iiij<sup>or</sup>. satellitibus dyaboli precepit ut mandato cadini obedirent et dei seruos occiderent.

De ipsorum pretiosa morte ex epistola fratris iordani de ordine predicatorum. 184b

**T**unc illi satellites dyaboli iussa imperantis implentes expoliauerunt sanctos nudos. Qui sibi inuicem monita salutis dantes ortabantur se mutuo ad eterne uite coronam Primus igitur dyaboli minister gladium uibrans supra fratrem iacobum et eius verticem per transuersum impetens dei <ad> atletam vno ictu ad terram prostrauit frater Jordanus predicator.

Qui cadens nichil dicens mox expirauit.

frater iordanus de ordine predicatorum

184c

Secundus dyaboli minister percussit fratrem thomam super humerum per transuersum similiter. Et hic mox cadens et modicum in suo se uolutans sanguine bis uel ter sancta maria. sancta maria. sancta maria. clara uoce personuit. Tercius similiter dyaboli minister fratrem demetrium conuersum siue laycum per uiscera percussit. supra quem et ceteri ministri dyaboli suos gladios aponentes eundem crudeliter peremerunt. Demum ad singulos redeuntes guttur omnium cum gladijs secauerunt. In ipsa autem hora mox ut christi martires fuerunt occisi in tantum luna resplenduit et claritatem tantam dedit ut omnibus esset in prodigium et stuporem.

Passio fratris petri de senis ex litera fratris iordani ordinis predicatorum

**C**um autem frater petrus senensis domi existeret et quidnam factum esset sanctis suis socijs ignoraret subito uenerunt aparitores armati cum lanternis fere .xx. et ad mellicum ipsum per manus trahentes coram eo statuerunt.

frater iordanus predicator.

184d

Et sic de pluribus interrogatus et veritatem constanter respondens missus est in carcere vinculari. mane autem facto inde educitur et de fide iterum interrogatus propositum eis ferme christianitatis ut poterat tam uerbis quam signis intrepide pretendebat.

frater iordanus predicator

Nam iussus est durissime verberari. qui stans inperterritus inter verbera a sarracenis inducebatur ut alla. ylal. id est



vnus deus diceret quasi profanum putantes trinitatem ponere. qui hoc dicere renuens. quasi usque ad exalationem spiritus verberatur. videntes autem satellites dyaboli immobilem dei alletam in fide christi mellico nuncianerunt. dicentes fratrem petrum nullo modo posse a fide auerti nec sarracenismo uelle aliquialiter consentire. At ille iratus iussit sanctum dei per collum suspendi set prius grauius et diucius cedi et demum in tormentum perseuerantem et nullo signo a fide christi vacillantem ministri dyaboli eum in arbore per collum suspenderunt. In qua biduo pendentem nec morientem set uelud in solida terra illesum manentem iussit impius iudex ipsum deponi et extra ciuitatem duci ac si[c] feliciter decollari.

185a

frater iordanus de ordine predicatorum  
Hoc autem factum est die sabbati circa uesperos ante ramos palmarum. Sequenti autem die que est dominica de ramis corpus eius in terra dimissum et in suo sanguine uolutatum penitus non est inuentum set nec sanguinis eius usquam aparuit vestigium ac si in corpore et anima iam fuisset assumptus.

De quibusdam uisionibus ex literis fratris vgolini missis fratribus taurisij

**I**n quibusdam literis fratris iordani de ordine predicatorum continebantur aliqua alia de sanctis martirisatis in tana fratribus que non sunt scripta in litera in qua eorum martirium continetur quorum vnum est quod cuidam christiano in |  
185b tana omnes .liij<sup>or</sup>. martires aparuerunt et cum idem christianus eos interrogaret utrum viuerent uel essent mortui responderunt quod non erant mortui set viuebant. Tunc iterum ille interrogauit. quid est de socio uestro fratre iordano. Responderunt sancti. Ecce nunc peruenit tanam. et modo descendit de naui in portu tane. Item cum soldanie apud fratres predicatorum sit vnum os maxille alicuius illorum fratrum sanctorum et ignoraretur cuius fratris esset tunc quedam bona mulier de soldania rogauit beatam uirginem quod sibi dignaretur ostendere cuius fratris esset illa maxilla. Completa autem oracione mulier a sompno arripitur et statim aparuit sibi quidam frater minor in habitu glorioso. et quedam amphora plena ossibus gloriosis sicut erat in rey veritate quia in supera ciuitate indie supradictus frater iordanus accepit omnia principalia predictorum martirum ossa et misit in quadam amfora quam in quadam ecclesia que est in supera collocauit. tunc illa mulier dixit illi fratri qui

sibi aparuerat cuius fratris fuerat supradicta maxilla. Ille vero respondit. Quod fratris demetrii. Tunc illa mulier iterum interrogauit. Quid est de corpore fratris petri de senis. Respondit ille. Quando deo placuerit tunc ad suam gloriam reuelabitur eius corpus.

frater iordanus predicator

Corpora autem priorum trium martirum per tres dies adeo intacta a feris & auibus | et penitus incorrupta ymo singulari modo manserunt alba et pulera. ac si fuissent omnino balsamata. propter timorem tum mellici et cadini longo tempore steterunt corpora inhumata quousque ego frater iordanus suasij (= suasu) christianorum in parroch iui. et post baptismum rediens in tanam ossa ipsa ut melius potui recolligi feci ac suspiriose sepeliui.

185c

frater iacobus custos taurisinus.

Retulit nobis quidam iuuenis ianuensis qui uocatur lafranquinus qui fuit socius fratris iordani sepenominati quod in tertia die a passione sanctorum martirum ipse venit in tanam cum fratre iordano et uidit illa corpora martirum in illis solis ardoribus incorrupta et illesa. et de capitibus eorum maximus odor exibat. Que capita predictus iuuenis manibus proprijs contrectauit et presensit predictum odorem. Qualiter tractantes eorum mortem fuerunt puniti.

frater iordanus predicator

**P**ost sanctorum sedem in crastinum socius collateralis mellici qui in omnibus fuerat consentiens conscius et consulens. per ciuitatem equitans de equo cecidit concussus miserabiliter expirauit. Quod populus cernens in uindictam sanctorum factum esse penitus non dubitauit. Post dies uero aliquos mellicus auaricia ductus de rebus sanctorum sollicitare cepit. et duos christianos in carcere de pairia diris cathenis uinculans occasionem querebat qualiter illos deleret.

frater iordanus predicator.

Erant autem stantes | sancti .iiij<sup>or</sup>. martirisati super eius .iiij<sup>or</sup>. angulos lecti aspectu mirabiles et nescio quid loquentes et super eum ignem iacere uolentes. Quos infelix mellicus aspiciens ad sanctorum gloriam totus tremens clamare cepit ac dicere Succurrite succurrite. adiuuate me.

185d

Ex epistola fratris iordani predicatoris

Mox vero in crastinum magnum conuiuium pauperibus fecit et pro sanctorum morte pauperes recreauit. Dedit insuper



edictum ut christiani ceteri qui propter necem sanctorum fratrum fugerant de ciuitate sibi timentes ad libitum redirent et quod ut prius in ciuitate libere remanerent

186a Ex literis vicarij orientalis

Ne igitur consciencie uestre in aliquo hesitent supradictorum uolo uos scire quomodo ad nostram noticiam peruenerunt.

186b Quidam christianus | latinus ianuensis nomine iacobinus mercator qui cum dictis sanctis fratribus simul in india perfectus est et ab eis recedens dum illi tanam iuerunt et ibi martirium acceperunt. iste in quadam insula morabatur. Qui post sanctorum necem in cena domini viii<sup>a</sup>, uidelicet die dicti martirij tanam aplicuit et ibidem a toto populo hec omnia fideliter est perscrutatus nec non etiam a fratre iordano predicatore. Qui iacobinus tandem reuersus est taurisij cum specialibus literis fratris iordani seriatim adiuratus a custode taurisij et fratribus minoribus et predicatoribus de veritate dicenda fidelis homo et bone conditionis hec omnia per ordinem enarrauit.

Tenor etiam litere quam dictis fratribus ex parte fratris iordani portauit de verbo ad verbum talis est

Reuerendis in christo patribus fratribus predicatoribus et minoribus in taurisio et dyagorgano et merega conmorantibus frater iordanus predicatorum ordinis omnium minimus seipsum pro salute et pedum oscula cum lacrimis beatorum. Nouerit omnium uestra paternitas ueneranda mihi (= me) solum sine socio in yndia pauperculum et peregrinum vbi post passionem sociorum meorum de ordine fratrum minorum uidelicet thome sancti et iacobi gloriosi petri de [senis et de] metrii martirum beatorum meis peccatis exigentibus uiuere sum permissus. scit ipse deus qui omnia disponit optime prout volt. set nichilominus per omnia benedictus Ibidemque post felix martirium quod in .v<sup>ta</sup>. feria. ante ramos palmarum fuit in tana yndie. ab eodem loco per .x. dies in contrata quadam que parroch dicitur nonaginta fere personas baptisauit et adhuc baptisare non cesso quia postmodum plus quam .xx. baptisauit et inter tanam et superam .xxxv. baptisauit. laus sit christo omnium creatori | Si haberem socium remanere[m] per aliquid tempus Nunc vero preparabo ecclesiam fratribus uenturis et dimitam meam et martirium raubam et libros vniuersos. veniam autem omnino tum propter fidei negocia alia satis ardua et cetera.

186c

Ego etiam audi et legi quandam literam magnam quorundam

latinorum que facta fuit in yndia vbi erant supradicta et alia plurima ad dictum martirium pertinentia in qua specialiter erat istud uerbum. quod si uellemus seriose totum martirium sanctorum fratrum recitare non sufficeret vnus annus. Qui latini iuerant in yndiam cum sanctis fratribus supradictis Exclamacio lacrimosa fratris iordani predicatoris quia cum sanctis non fuit passus in qua suas recitat corporales afflictiones.

**E**go autem post martirum gloriosorum coronas tanam ut iam dixi ueniens etiam sanctorum corpora ut iam dixi sepeliens maneo solus in ciuitate prefata et circumadiacenti prouincia per annos duos cum dimidio ingrediens et egrediens indignus habitus corona meorum felicium sociorum. Ve michi patres mei ue michi orphano et peregrino in loco orroris et uaste solitudinis sic infeliciter constituto. ue hore illi pessime hore odibili. qua me a sanctis socijs pro aliorum salute. heu me ignorans ipsorum futuras coronas sic me infeliciter separauit. O vtinam placuisset deo altissimo quod terra illa tunc deglutisset me uiuum. et non sic me post meos socios sanctos in tot malis et aduersis infelicem et miserum preseruasset. Quis enarrare ualeat cuncta que postmodum passus sum aduersa. Nam captus sum a piratis incarceratus a sarracenis acusatus maledictus vituperatus et uelud ribaldus quidam in camisia sola vili tempore longo totaliter sine habitu mei sancti | ordinis usque hodie derelictus. O qualem famem sitim frigus calores ardores maledictiones corporis infirmitates paupertates persecutiones falsorum christianorum detractioes aeris intemperies et infinitas alias sum passus post sanctorum coronas infelices passiones heu me quis dabit oculis meis lacrimarum imbrem uberrimum ut plangam me ipsum infelicem et desolatum in tristicia et mesticia cordis mei. Set quid? Et hijs maiora usque ad mortem paratus sum dulcius ferre propter dulcem ihesum. ut tandem in fine et termino cum felicibus socijs felicem me faciat socium preiocundum. Et dictis infinitis perpensis. etiam propter paupertatem extremam diuersas pacior continue in corpore passiones. nam modo in capite modo in pectore modo in uentre et membris singulis cruciatus solus relictus sum omni humano consilio destitutus. Scisma etiam plurimum propter me est in populo adeo odiosum. Nam vnus dicit bonus est alter vero non set malus et populi seductor. Ultra tamen centum triginta utriusque sexus feliciter babtisaui.



fieretque fructus gloriosus si fratres sancti uenirent qui se ad omnem pascientiam et felix martirium prepararent.

frater iordanus inuitat fratres ad veniendum ostendens magnum fractum. Igitur fratres karissimi ad uos faciem uerto et quod infelicem peregrinum consolari uelitis de sanctis fratribus socijs lacrimis perfusus ignoro [sic]. Veniant igitur fratres sancti ueniant in pacientia fundati. ut sic baptisatorum fructus a malo ualeat preseruari et suo tempore in dominico orreo excussa palea feliciter reponi. pro christi peregrino omnes orate. et ut yndi et nigri neophiti per uos ualeant in anima dealbari et coram bono ihesu | pie astare. Finem igitur uerbis suspiriose impono. set et omnium oracionibus ex intimis me totum reconmendo. Data in tana indie ciuitate vbi sancti mei socij martirisati sunt. Anno domini .m.ccc.xxiii. mense ianuarij in festo sanctorum martirum fabiani et sebastiani.

De via ethiopie breuiter scribo quod apta est si quis superuellet illuc ad predicandum ire. Cum paucis autem expensis posset de loco vbi nunc sum illuc transire. Et secundum audita via esset gloriosa pro fidei dilacacione. Notifico uobis quod nomen nostrum latinorum maius est apud yndos quam apud nos ipsos latinos sed et latinorum continue expectant aduentum siue passagium quia ferunt in ipsorum libris penitus esse scriptum nec non et suo more tota die rogant deum quod latinorum acceleret optatum diuinum. O si due galee per dominum papam in hoc mari constituerentur quale esset lucrum et soldano de alexandria quale dampnum et detrimentum. O quis hoc patri et pape sanctissimo nunciabit. Peregrinus ego penitus nequeo sed nobis patribus sanctis totum committo. Valete igitur patres sancti et peregrini in oracionibus mementote ex literis custodis taurisij missis vicario in partibus orientis.

**N**oueritis quod litera explicans passionem illorum fratrum nostrorum qui fuerunt martirisati in india quam nobis miserunt fratres de taurisio non fuit scripta manu fratris iordani ordinis predicatorum sed ut scripsit frater vgolinus de soldania fratribus existentibus taurisij fuit scripta et recollecta per manus fratris francisci pisani ordinis fratrum predicatorum existentis soldanie ex multis literis quas habuit a fratre iordano eiusdem ordinis qui fuit socius sanctorum martirum predictorum.

187b epistola fratris | francisci de pisis predicatoris missa duabus dominabus cum reliquijs martirum predictorum.

**D**ilectis in christo . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 mediam enim maxillam vnus martirum diebus hijs a nostri  
 ordinis fratre iordano martirum socio et michi plurimum dulci  
 et caro de yndia cum lugribus literis suscepi. Ex quibus  
 seriem martirij et duos sacros dentes mox vobis mittere  
 curauī. . . . et dicti mei de yndia socij fratris iordani nec  
 non et mei peccatoris francisci hec nunc vobis scribens  
 deuotius in precibus mementote.

## TRANSLATION

"The Passion of the holy Brothers Minor, Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, Peter of Siena, Demetrius.

"Compiled from the letters of Brothers Jordan and Francis, Preachers, Odoric, Peter, James, Hugolin, Minors; afterwards the Vicar of the East."

Since, as that great Raphael said to Tobit, It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God; and again, Now therefore give God thanks, and tell out all his wonderful works; hence it is that I, brother Peter of Turris, Vicar of the East, lest I may be blamed for neglect, have been careful, as I could, to write truthfully to your charity and most pious devotion the wonders of God and to tell his mighty works. For in these last days the grace of God our Saviour Jesus Christ has appeared among his servants and, according to the prophecy of Zechariah, a chariot is gone out with four mighty red horses that they may run through the whole earth, as there are four winds, which go out that they may stand before the ruler of the whole earth. These are four Brothers of the Order of Minors, namely Thomas of Tolentino, already sixty years old, Brother James of Padua, both priests, Brother Peter of Siena, Brother Demetrius of Tafeliciū (? Tiflis), a Georgian skilled in languages, men of great austerity and most perfect holiness, who now lately have received martyrdom in the year of the Lord m.ccc.xxi., on the fifth-day before the Branches (i.e. Thursday before Palm Sunday), in India in a town which is called Tana. For when the said four Brothers with Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers, burning with the desire for martyrdom and on their way



from Tauris to Cathay to preach the true Christian faith and saving penitence to idolaters, Saracens, and other infidels, when they were in Ormes they made a bargain with a ship that they should go to Polumbum (Quilon); but they were carried by it against their will from Suir to Tana, which is perhaps a three months road beyond Tauris; for they wished to go to the Church of the Blessed Apostle Thomas. In which Tana are fifteen houses of Christians, but Nestorians who are schismatics and heretics; and with one of them they lodged.

*"From the letter of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers, companion of the saints.*

"So while they stayed there for eight days the aforesaid Christians persuaded them that someone of us five should go to the city of Parroth (Bharuch), where many were Christians in name but not baptized, that so they might be taught in the faith of Christ and afterwards baptized. By the advice therefore of all I brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers undertook the said journey for the baptism of these men because I knew the Persian tongue more fully, taking also two lay Christians with me as companions, one of whom offered himself to me as interpreter being very well skilled in the Persian and Indian tongues. So going on board a small boat we came to a certain city named Supera (Supara, north of Bombay), where a beautiful Church had once been built by the Blessed Thomas the Apostle. But when it was destroyed by the pagans, another was set up there by the Christians. There then I, the said poor little brother of the Preachers, baptized as many as twenty and heard their confession and gave them holy Communion. But after sixteen days, wishing to set out for the desired city of Parroth, I procured a ship. But behold! suddenly, to the wonder of all, in a perfect calm, while I was going on board the ship near the shore before beginning my journey, that ship was sunk! I however suffered no harm. Astonished at such a portent and not knowing what the angel of Satan was doing about the Minors whom I had left at Tana, I felt suspicious none the less and set myself to write to them by special messenger. And, contrary to my custom, I began to write without knowing what to say: To the Reverend Fathers Brothers Thomas of Tolentino, James of Padua, Peter of

Siena, and Demetrius, the glorious Heralds, and so forth. And I sent to them by those two Christian companions. And raising my eyes to heaven I prayed in the aforesaid Church with many sighs that the Lord Jesus Christ would guide the actions of my Brothers. It was moreover the sixth-day before the Palm Branches (10th April, 1321), and on the day before had been done the things which I am about to tell concerning the death of the holy Brothers, of which I was completely ignorant. But the next night I was suddenly awakened by the Christians who advised me to fly, declaring that my holy companions had been seized. But trusting in the good Jesus I promptly answered, Perish the thought that I should fly and leave my companions bound like this. I will go then immediately at full speed to Tana, and will present myself at once before the Mellic (*melik*, governor), and because I am more expert in the Persian tongue than the others I will answer his questions. Taking then my way to Tana I came to a certain hamlet, where I found the Christian companions whom I had sent with the letter and began to wonder why they had not gone to Tana. But when I looked at their troubled faces and those of many others I began to ask what news they might have. But when they were afraid to tell me and I roared at them with great clamour someone came up to say that my holy companions were killed. The manner however and order of their suffering was like this:—"

*The Vicar of the East, Brother Peter.*

When the said four Minors were staying hidden for fear of the Saracens in the house of a schismatic in the said city of Tana, it happened that a great quarrel arose between the master of the house and his wife, and when the man had beaten his wife she went to the Cadi, who is like a Bishop among the Saracens and acts as judge, to complain. And when the Cadi asked whether she could prove what she was saying she answered that she had four Frankish Raban, that is Latin monks, in her house who had seen when it was done.

*"From a letter of Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"Then the Cadi (*cadinus*) answered, [When] your priests, that is the Christian Brothers aforesaid, are come then (*et*) you explain your case to me. But she, They do not know our language well, and so would not be able to judge between



me and my husband. A certain Saracen however from Alexandria, named Osep (Joseph), catching her remark, said that the Frankish, that is Latin, Brothers were in truth men most learned in the Scriptures and so it would be good to dispute with them about the Faith. And going out he went to the Mellic, that is the Podesta, Praetor, or Governor of the city, and persuaded him about the said Brothers. And when the Mellic heard it he caused them to be brought before him. And when he asked whence they were and whither they were going, the saints answered all appropriately in order, namely that they were Christian Latins and that they had undertaken such a journey as pilgrims for Christ. After talk of this kind, moreover, they were kindly dismissed by the Mellic and returned to the house with joy. And the said Osep of Alexandria seeing this and being all wounded in heart says to the Mellic that those Brothers and their like of the Latin name were enemies of the Saracens. And the Mellic putting it off till the next day sent for them again, and, inquiring carefully about the faith and state of the Franks and counting their answer quite acceptable, he let them go again unhurt. But after some days that starved dog of Alexandria came to the Brothers and said that the Mellic was calling them. The saints answered, What does the Mellic seek from us? We are poor pilgrims of Christ, and in this life we possess nothing. But that dog says, Follow me without fear and bring the Bible with you. Then the saints came to the Mellic, and when after very much talk they were asked if they had any book they offered him the Bible. And while he admired the beauty of the book he asked what might be written in it. And they said that it contained the Old and New Law. Then the Mellic says, Are these books approved among you? They answered, They are. And he, Then the Alcoran is not approved among you. They said, No. And the Mellic, Why not? It is the book of God and sent from God. And he began to say many things about their most stinking faith, adding at the end, Our faith is good and yours. The saints replied, Ours is good. But he says in a threatening manner, What do you say? But they, We say the truth. After very many words the saints said, Send us away, Sir. We are poor Christians, and in this life we possess nothing, and we have arranged to go elsewhere. But the Mellic, Go, said he, in peace, but leave the Bible for the

Sultan. And the saints, By no means can we do this, for without this book we are not able to exist. And though he wished to keep the Bible, at the prayer of a certain pagan, not a Saracen, he gave back the Bible and let them leave his presence. Once also when the holy Brothers had been summoned to the Cadi at the suggestion of the said Osep of Alexandria the Saracens began to dispute with the holy Brothers about our faith. The Saracens moreover were saying that Christ was not God but true man only. But Brother Thomas stoutly asserted and proved the opposite, namely that he was indeed not pure man only but true Man-and-God. And this he set out with various instances and reasons. When there was much talk also about the blessed Trinity and the saints declared that God was threefold and one, they miserably stopped their ears saying that they had heard the worst blasphemy. And when the saints brought forward very many instances to prove the Trinity and the Sonship of Christ so that the Saracens could resist no more, those infidels remained hardened none the less."

And the Cadi with the people cried out and said to Brother Thomas as the elder, And you, what do you say of Mahomet, what do you say? And Brother Thomas said, As you are determined that I shall say, I say that Mahomet is the son of perdition and is in hell with the devil, and all who hold his false and profane law are damned. Then all the Saracens together with the Cadi cried, Let him die because he has spoken evil of the Prophet. And immediately they stripped the Brothers and anointing their naked bodies put them in the blazing sun that they might die with greater pain. And so they stayed from terce to noon praising God, sound and cheerful.

*" Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" For to the wonder and astonishment of all that heat of the sun was soon so tempered above them by the divine power that the most victorious Brothers could not be hurt by it at all. And so after they had been set free from the chains and set before the aforesaid Mellie and Cadi and questioned in like fashion about the faith and were in nothing moved by promises and threats, those dogs immediately caused a huge fire to be made ready in the Maydan, that is in the public square, of the city."



When the fire was lighted and the people gathered together in the city square, Brother Thomas wished to leap into the fire first. But they refused saying, Since you are old you may chance to have some charm so that the fire may not burn you.

*“ Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

“ All the people also cried and said, Let not the elder go in, but the younger. For it is the custom of Orientals to show respect to elders especially on account of the whiteness of the beard. So it was ordered that Brother James should first be thrown into the fire.”

And immediately four Saracens threw Brother James of Padua into the fire.

*“ Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

“ And he defending himself first with the sign of the Cross stayed as if he were in some fresh garden of roses, unhurt in the midst of the flames. Whereupon for the multitude of the flames nothing of him was seen except at intervals because of the wind which was blowing depressing the flames sometimes, yet his voice was sometimes heard continually calling the blessed Virgin to his help. The said servant of Christ stayed moreover for a very great while in the aforesaid flames, until the complete extinction of the fire. And when it was burnt up God’s athlete came out not only unhurt in body but not even scorched in the pile of his clothes.”

And the malignant Cadi cried out and said, He is not holy, but he is not burnt up because the coat which he has on his back is made of wool from the land of Abraham. Let him be stripped naked and so be put into the fire. And when they had lighted a greater fire, they sent Brother James into it naked and covered with oil. And Brother Thomas and Brother Demetrius were praying fervently outside.

*“ Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

“ But he is seen staying there in the flames a great while unhurt, except that he is slightly scratched on the shins by the faggots from being thrown. There came together to the said sight multitudes of pagans, worshippers of fire, and Saracens very many, and a few Christians. And so a shout is raised from all that these are good men. And thus the saint is led unhurt from the fire, and having been tried again with

his companions concerning the faith and found perfectly firm, he was ordered to be beheaded alone."

And lo Mellic, that is the Podesta of the land, called the Brothers to him and said, when Brother James had been clothed again; Go, Brothers, with the grace of God, for we know that you are holy men and your faith is perfect. Leave this land, because the Cadi wishes by all means to kill you. . . . And when it was the hour of Compline lo Melich caused these Brothers to be carried across a branch of the sea, where there was a suburb. And that Christian with whom they had first lodged in Tana accompanied them, and they were lodged together in the house of an idolater.

*"How the Cadi treated for the death of the Saints with the Mellic. From the letter of Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"When however night had come down the Cadi, servant of the devil and the above-said Osep went to the Mellic saying that because the holy Brothers had made the sign of the Cross in the sight of all they ought by all means to be killed and beheaded. Otherwise their own faith of Mahomet could be counted for nothing. But the Mellic, shrinking from the crime, said that the holy Brothers had done no harm to the Saracens and that the evils already brought on the innocent pilgrims ought to be enough. Then the Cadi was angry and said that if they were let go unhurt numbers of Saracens and pagans would be made Christians because of their preaching and the said miracles, and so the faith of Mahomet would suffer loss; adding that if he caused them to be killed he would have more merit than if he visited Mecca, that is the tomb of Mahomet. And when neither so would he give consent, but feared exceedingly to lay hands on the servants of God, the wicked Cadi says, Fear not to kill them, as I will give account of this on the judgement day, but may their blood too be on me and on my sons. Then the Mellic, being overcome, ordered four satellites of the devil to obey the commands of the Cadi and to kill the servants of God."

And they when they crossed the water could not find them in the darkness. And meanwhile lo Mellich caused all the Christians who were in the land to be captured and imprisoned. But at the hour of matins, when Brothers James and Thomas were saying matins, the armed men heard them and seized them and led them under a tree, saying to them, The Cadi



and Mellic have ordered us to kill you, which we do unwillingly because if we do not we shall be killed with our children. And the holy Brothers said, We too are ready for the love of Jesus Christ to bear all torture and death. And when that Christian wished to set them free, he could not.

*"Concerning their precious death. From the letter of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers.*

"Then those satellites of the devil, carrying out the orders of the ruler, stripped the saints naked. And they mutually encouraged one another to the crown of eternal life giving one another saving advice in turn. So the first servant of the devil, brandishing a sword over Brother James and striking his head crosswise, laid the athlete of God with one blow on the earth. . . .

*"Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"And he falling soon died without a word."

But Brother Thomas seeing this immediately knelt down and gave himself wholly to prayer.

*"Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers.*

"The second servant of the devil struck Brother Thomas in the same way over the shoulder crosswise. And he soon falling and rolling himself a little in his own blood cried with a loud voice Sancta Maria, Sancta Maria, Sancta Maria, two or three times. In the same way the third servant of the devil struck Brother Demetrius, a lay convert, in the bowels; and the other servants of the devil too put him cruelly to death with their swords. Coming back at last to each one singly they cut the throats of all with their swords. Moreover in that very hour as soon as the martyrs of Christ were killed the moon shone so brightly and gave so great light that all took it for a portent and marvel."

But when it was morning the Cadi ordered the things of those holy Brothers to be taken. And then they found there Brother Peter of Siena who had been left there to take care of the things.

*"The Passion of Brother Peter of Siena. From a letter of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers.*

"When however Brother Peter of Siena was in the house and did not know what had been done to his holy companions

about twenty armed apparitors suddenly came with lanterns and dragging him to the Mellic by the hands set him before him.

*" Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" And so having been questioned about many things and answering with constancy of truth, he was sent to be fettered in prison. But when it was morning he was brought out thence and being questioned again about the faith he set fearlessly before them the statement of unwavering Christianity as well as he could both by words and signs."

They tortured him with dreadful torments from morning till noon.

*" Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" For he was ordered to be most severely flogged, and standing unterrified amidst the blows he was tempted by the Saracens to say Alla ylal, that is God is one, they thinking as it were to profane the Trinity. And refusing to say this he is beaten almost to his last breath. Seeing however that the athlete of God was immovable in the faith of Christ, the satellites of the devil told the Mellic saying that Brother Peter could in no way be turned away from the faith nor would at all agree to the Saracen faith. And he was angry and ordered the holy man of God to be hung by the neck, but first to be beaten harder and longer. And at last when he persevered in the torture and by no sign wavered from the faith of Christ the servants of the devil hung him by the neck on a tree. And when he hung there for two days not dying but remaining unhurt as if on solid ground, the wicked judge ordered him to be taken down and to be led out of the city and so happily to be beheaded."

And taking him down sound and praising God and confessing Christ they were enraged and cut him in two and threw him out.

*" Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers.*

" Moreover this was done about Vespers on the day of the Sabbath before the Palm Branches (11th April). On the following day however which is the Lord's day of the Branches (Palm Sunday, 12th April) his body which had been thrown



down on the ground and rolled in his own blood was not found at all nor was a trace of blood ever seen; as if in body and soul he had already been taken up to heaven."

*"Concerning certain Visions. From a letter of Brother Hugolin sent to the Brothers at Tauris.*

"In a letter of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers are contained some other things about the holy Brothers martyred in Tana which were not written in the letter in which their martyrdom was contained. Of which one is that all the four martyrs appeared to a certain Christian in Tana, and when the same Christian asked them whether they were alive or were dead they answered that they were not dead but living. Then he asked again, What about your companion Brother Jordan? The saints answered, Behold he has now reached Tana and is just leaving the ship in the harbour of Tana. Again when there was a jawbone of one of those holy Brothers with the Brothers Preachers at Soldania and it was not known which Brother's it was, then a certain good woman of Soldania asked the Blessed Virgin to deign to show her which Brother's that jawbone was. And when the prayer was ended the woman suddenly fell asleep and immediately there appeared to her a certain Brother Minor in glorious apparel and an urn full of glorious bones; just as it was in real truth, because at Supera a city of India the above mentioned Brother Jordan received all the principal bones of the aforesaid martyrs and put them in an urn which he placed in a Church which is in Supera. Then the woman said to the Brother who appeared to her, To which Brother did the above mentioned jawbone belong? And he answered that it had belonged to Brother Demetrius. Then the woman asked again, What about the body of Brother Peter of Siena? He answered, When God pleases then his body will be revealed to his glory."

*"Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"Moreover the bodies of the first three martyrs remained indeed in a wonderful manner white and fair for three days, quite untouched by wild beasts and birds and altogether undecayed, as if they had been wholly embalmed. For fear both of the Mellic and Cadi the bodies stayed a long time unburied while I, brother Jordan, persuaded by the Christians,

went to Parroch ; and when I came back to Tana after the baptism I had the bones gathered up as well as I could and buried them with sighs."

*" Brother James Custos of Tauris.*

" We were told by a certain young Genoese who is called Lafranquinus, who was a companion of Brother Jordan who has been often named, that on the third day from the passion of the holy martyrs he came to Tana with Brother Jordan and saw the bodies of the martyrs undecayed and unhurt in that blazing sun ; and a very great fragrance issued from their heads. And the aforesaid youth handled the heads with his own hands and perceived the aforesaid fragrance."

*" How those who contrived their death were punished.*

*" Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" The day after the slaughter of the saints the assistant of the Mellic, who had been consenting, aware, and advising in the whole affair, fell from the horse as he was riding through the city and died miserably from the shock. And when the people saw this they had no doubt at all that it had been done<sup>1</sup> in vengeance for the saints. But after some days the Mellic moved by greed began to inquire about the goods of the saints, and binding two Christians with grievous chains in the prison of Pairia<sup>2</sup> sought for an opportunity to kill them."

When however lo Melic was sleeping that day

*" Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

" The four martyred saints were standing over the four corners of his bed wonderful in countenance and saying I know not what and meaning to throw fire upon him. And when the unhappy Mellic saw them, all trembling at the glory of the saints he began to shout and say, Quick, quick, help me ! "

And all his family ran up asking what he had. And he said, Those Frankish Raban whom I ordered to be killed have just come here wishing to kill me with their swords. And immediately he sent for lo Cadi and told him all that

<sup>1</sup> factum. But it seems possible to read the word fratrum.

<sup>2</sup> Or patria. I cannot explain this.



had happened to him, asking what he could do that he should not be killed by them. And the Cadi advised him to do great alms for them if he wished to escape from their hands.

*"From a letter of Brother Jordan the Preacher.*

"On the next day indeed he hastened to make a great feast for the poor and relieved the poor for the death of the saints. He gave also a decree that the rest of the Christians who had fled from the city in fear for themselves because of the slaughter of the holy Brothers should return when they pleased and stay freely in the city as before."

*"From the letter of the Vicar of the East.*

"Lest then you should hesitate to believe any of the above-said things, I wish you to know how they came to our knowledge. A certain Latin Christian, a Genoese merchant named Jacobin, who set out for India together with the said holy Brothers. And, leaving them while they went to Tana and received martyrdom there, he stayed on a certain island. And after the death of the saints on the Lords Supper (Maundy Thursday), namely on the eighth day of the said martyrdom, he landed at Tana and there faithfully made thorough inquiry of all the people about all these things and also of Brother Jordan the Preacher. And this Jacobin has at length come back to Tauris with a special letter from Brother Jordan. And having been put on oath to tell the truth by the Custos of Tauris and the Brothers Minor and Preachers in turn, he, a trustworthy man and of good standing, recounted all these things in order.

"The tenor also of the letter which he brought to the said Brothers on behalf of Brother Jordan is word for word like this:—

"To the reverend Fathers in Christ the Brothers Preachers and Minor who are sojourning in Tauris and Dyagorgan and Merega Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers the least of all commends himself for salvation and kisses with tears of the feet of the blest. All your venerable Fatherhood knows that I [am] a poor little person and pilgrim alone without companion in India, where after the passion of my companions of the Order of Brothers Minor, namely the blessed martyrs Thomas the holy and James the glorious, Peter [of Siena and] Demetrius, I was allowed, my sins demanding it, to live;

God himself knows, who arranges all things for the best as he wills, but none the less is altogether blest. And there, after the happy martyrdom which took place in Tana of India on the fifth-day before the Palm Branches, I baptized about ninety persons in a place which is called Parroch, ten days [journey] from the same place, and I still do not cease to baptize, because afterwards I baptized more than twenty, and between Tana and Supera I baptized thirty-five, praise be to Christ the Creator of all. If I had a companion I should remain for some time. But now I shall prepare a Church for the Brothers who shall come and shall leave my own and the Martyrs' robe and all books.<sup>1</sup> I shall come however by all means [both to secure the canonization of the martyrs] and on account of other sufficiently difficult affairs of the faith, etc.

"I also heard and read a long letter from certain Latins which had been composed in India, in which were the above-said things and very many others relating to the said martyrdom, and in it was this remark especially, that if we wished to tell the whole story of the martyrdom of the holy Brothers in order a year would not be enough. And the Latins had gone to India with the holy Brothers mentioned above.

*"A tearful exclamation of Brother Jordan the Preacher because he had not suffered with the saints, in which he tells of his own bodily afflictions.*

"I however coming to Tana, as I have already said, after the coronation of the glorious martyrs and also burying, as I have already said, the bodies of the saints remain alone in the aforesaid city and surrounding province coming in and going out for two years and a half, counted unworthy of my happy companions' crown. Woe to me, my Fathers! woe to me the orphan and pilgrim so unhappily set in a place of horror and of boundless solitude! Woe to that most evil hour, the hateful hour, in which for the salvation of others I so unhappily separated myself from my holy companions, ignorant, alas for me! of their future crowns. Oh would that it had pleased God most high that the earth should have

<sup>1</sup> The sentence "But now . . . all books" seems strange, and the text may possibly be corrupt. Yule translates *raubam* (*Assisi robam*, *Paris Robbam*) "things", but the editors of *Analecta Franciscana* explain it as *vestis*.



then swallowed me up alive, and had not thus preserved me unhappy and miserable in so many evils and adversities after my holy companions! Who may recount all the adversities which I suffered afterwards? For I have been captured by pirates, imprisoned by the Saracens, accused, cursed, abused, and am left to this day like some ribald man in nothing but a cheap shirt having been for a long time wholly without the dress of my holy Order. Oh what hunger, thirst, cold, heat, burning, cursings, weaknesses of body, poverty, persecutions, detraction by false Christians, unseasonable weather, and infinite other unhappy sufferings have I suffered since the crowning of the saints! Alas me! Who will give my eyes a richest shower of tears that I may weep my own misfortune and desolation in the pain and sorrow of my heart? But what! Yet greater things than these, even to death, I am ready gladly to suffer for the sake of the sweet Jesus, that at the end and limit he may make me at length a most cheerful companion happy with my happy companions. And in addition to the said infinite sufferings I am also continually suffering different bodily pains on account of extreme poverty, for racked now in the head, now in the chest, now in the belly, I am left alone, deprived of all human advice. There is also a very great and hateful division among the people because of me. For one says, He is good; but another, No, but evil and a seducer of the people. Nevertheless I have happily baptized more than a hundred and thirty of either sex, and the harvest would be glorious if holy brothers would come who should prepare themselves for every suffering and happy martyrdom.

*“ Brother Jordan invites Brothers to come showing the great harvest.*

“ Therefore dearest Brothers I turn my face towards you and bathed in tears beg<sup>1</sup> that you will comfort the unhappy pilgrim concerning the holy companion Brothers. May the holy Brothers come then, may they come grounded in patience, that so the harvest of those who have been baptized may be saved from evil and happily stored in his own time in the Master's barn when the chaff has been threshed out. Pray you all for the pilgrim of Christ, and that the Indians and black

<sup>1</sup> All the MSS. seem to read *ignoro*, an obvious slip for *imploro*. See *AF.* iii, p. 610.

neophytes may be able to be made white in soul through you and piously to stand before the good Jesus. So I put an end to my words with sighs. But I also commend myself wholly from my heart to the prayers of all. Given at Tana a city of India, where my holy companions were martyred, in the year of the Lord m.ccc.xxiii. in the month of January on the Feast of the holy martyrs Fabian and Sebastian.

About the way to Ethiopia I write briefly that it is suitable if anyone should wish also to go there to preach. Moreover he could cross over there from the place where I now am with little expense. And according to what has been heard the journey would be a glorious one for the spread of the faith. I tell you that our name of Latins is greater among the Indians than among us Latins ourselves; but they are even continually waiting for the coming or passing of the Latins because they say it is clearly written in their books, and in their own way they pray God all day to hasten the longed for arrival<sup>1</sup> of the Latins. Oh if two galleys were established in this sea by the lord Pope what an advantage it would be! and what a loss and damage to the Soldan of Alexandria! Oh who will tell this to the most holy Father and Pope. I on my pilgrimage am quite unable, but I entrust it all to you holy Fathers. Farewell, therefore, holy Fathers, and remember the pilgrim in prayers."

*"From a letter of the Custos of Tauris sent to the Vicar in the parts of the East.*

"You will know that the letter describing the passion of those our Brothers who were martyred in India which the Brothers from Tauris sent us was not written by the hand of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers but, as Brother Hugolin of Soldania wrote to the Brothers living at Tauris, it was written and compiled by the hands of Brother Francis of Pisa of the Order of Brothers Preachers living at Soldania from many letters which he had from Brother Jordan of the same Order who was the companion of the holy martyrs aforesaid."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Read aduentum for the MS. diuinum.*

<sup>2</sup> As has been said above, this need not make us doubt that the extracts above are as exact copies as any mediaeval scribe cared to make of Jordan's own letters. But they reach us through the medium of Francis of Pisa. After this had gone to the printers I saw that C. V. Langlois, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xxxv, pp. 270, 271, agrees that the extracts from Jordan may be regarded as genuine, calling them "longs extraits textuels".



*"A letter of Brother Francis of Pisa the Preacher sent to two ladies with relics of the aforesaid Martyrs.*

*"To the beloved in Christ . . .*

*"For I have lately received from India from Brother Jordan of our Order, the companion of the martyrs and very sweet and dear to me, half a jawbone of one of the martyrs with a doleful letter. From these I have quickly taken care to send to you the story of the martyrdom and two holy teeth. . . . And do you devoutly remember in prayers my said companion Brother Jordan in India and also me the sinner Francis who now writes this to you. . . ."*

The text of the "First Letter" from the Paris Manuscript :—  
epistola fratris Jordani. de martirio fratrum.

REuerendis in christo Patribus & fratribus predicatoribus & minoribus. in Thaurisio & de Tongano. & Maroga conmorantibus. frater Jordanus de ordine predicatorum. omnium minimus se ipsum. & pro salute cum lacrimis oscula pedum beatorum. Nouerit uestrum omnium paternitas ueneranda me solum sine socio in Yndia pauperculum peregrinum. ubi post passionem sanctorum. uidelicet quattuor fratrum minorum. Thome. Jacobi gloriosi. Petri & demetrii martirum beatorum. meis peccatis exigentibus uiuere sum permissus. sicut ipse dominus qui omnia disponit optime pro ut uult. & quando. per omnia benedictus. ibidem quia felix martirum beatorum. quod quinta feria ante ramos palmarum dictorum fratrum minorum fuit in Thana. [In]die ab eodem loco per .x. dietas in contrada quadam que Parrocco dicitur nonaginta fere personas battigauit. & adhuc battigabo concedente domino plus quam .xx. Et inter Tanam & superam battigauit .xxxv. laus christo domino creator iomnium. Si haberem socium remanerem per aliquod tempus. nunc autem preparabo ecclesiam fratribus uenturis. & dimictam meam & martirum Robbam & libros uniuersos. ueniam tamen (? tum) propter sanctorum supradictorum fratrum canonicationem. tum propter fidei negotia & alia satis ardua & utilia. lator posset omnia que scribere nequeo pre temporis breuitate exponere. De fructu breuiter scribo quia magnus esset qui curaret. Parent se fratres ad ueniendum quod loca sunt tria ubi fratres multum fructificare poterunt & comuniter uiuere. que ego scio & vnus est Supera ubi duo fratres poterunt stare. & alter est in contrada de parrocco ubi duo uel tres manere poterunt. & alter columbus exceptis multis alijs que ignoro. uerum a nostris mercatoribus latinis intellexi quod nia Ethyopie est aperta qui uellet ibi ire ad predicandum. ubi quondam sanctus Matheus euangelista predicauit. non tamen me permittat dominus mori donec in illis partibus fidelis esse ualeam peregrinus quod est totaliter mihi cordi. valete ut opto & orate pro me. & omnibus fidelibus commendate. Data. in Coga. die .xij. Octubris. Anno dominj .m.ccc.xxj.

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### ON THE FRAGMENTS FROM DINNAGA<sup>1</sup>

These notes are not meant to be a criticism or a review of the recent book by Mr. Randle, but only to supplement its important contribution to the knowledge of Indian logic, with some new references drawn from other sources.

Of course, I do not think that the logical and epistemological teachings of Dinnāga can be reconstructed in their totality simply by collecting together the *disiecta membra* of his thought as quoted by adversaries in their refutation of the Buddhist philosopher. It is, in fact, evident that this can only be done by having access to the Tibetan translations of the most important treatises of Dinnāga, as well as of the other Buddhist logicians, preserved in the *bsTan-aggyur*. And I think that Mr. Randle will frankly acknowledge that, if he could have compared the Tibetan translation of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and of the other works of Dinnāga, many queries would have disappeared from his book.

Anyhow, as the style of Dinnāga, as well as that of Dharmakīrti, at least in the *kārikās*, is extremely concise and therefore difficult, before attempting any work of translation into European languages, or rather any hypothetical restoration into Sanskrit of some of the most important treatises of the Buddhist authors, it would prove very useful to collect all the possible quotations from them to be found here and there in the Jaina, as well as in the so-called orthodox, philosophical works. It is, therefore, only with this purpose that I have compiled the following notes, in which I have limited myself exclusively to the Sanskrit sources; in fact, as I write far away from any great library, I cannot give references to the Tibetan translations, nor could I cite from the notes that I took when I studied them without comparing them again with the original xylographs. Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> H. N. Randle, "Fragments from Dinnāga": *JRAS.* 1926.



I am sure that Mr. R. Iyengar, of the Mysore University, who was once my pupil in Shāntiniketan, and who is working on the edition and the restoration into Sanskrit of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, will do this comparative study.

FRAGMENT A (concerning the *pratyakṣa*, Randle, p. 8):—

(a) *pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham*.

(b) *viśayasvarūpānuvidhāyi, paricchedakam ātmasamvedyam*.

(c) *pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham pratyakṣeṇaiva siddhyati*.

The complete definition of the *pratyakṣa* as given by Dinnāga is referred to by Vidyānandī<sup>1</sup> in his commentary on the *Yuktyanuśāsana* by Samantabhadra, where he is refuting the *Bauddhamata* concerning the *kṣaṇikavāda*, p. 5.

*pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham pratyakṣeṇaiva siddhyati*

*pratyātmavedyaḥ sarveṣāṃ vikalpo nāmasamśrayaḥ.*

This verse is also quoted by Prabhācandra in his *Prameya-kamalamārtanda*,<sup>2</sup> fol. 9b, but there it is joined to another *śloka*, which therefore must be considered as its immediate antecedent.

*samhṛtya sarvataś cintāṃ stimitenāntarātmanā*

*sthito 'pi cakṣuṣā rūpam īkṣate sā 'kṣajā matih*

*pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham pratyakṣeṇaiva siddhyati,*

*pratyātmavedyaḥ sarveṣāṃ vikalpo nāmasamśrayaḥ.*

Moreover these two *ślokas* are preceded by another quotation in prose : *yac cocyate*—

<sup>1</sup> On Vidyānandī or Vidyānanda—both forms can be found—cf. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 186, and the introduction to the edition of the *Aṣṭasāhasrī* by Vamśīdhara, Bombay (in the collection *Gandhī-nātharāṅgajī-Jainagranthamālā*, 1915). The commentary by Vidyānandī on the *Yuktyanuśāsana* seems to be unknown to Vidyābhūṣaṇa, although it is a very important work. It is printed in the *Māṇikacanda-digambarajainagranthamālā* (No. 15), Bombay, 1920.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Vamśīdhara, Bombay, *Nirṇaya-Sāgara*, 1912. This work, which is certainly one of the greatest treatises on Indian logic, seems to have been inaccessible to Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who refers only to some MSS. of it (op. cit., p. 194). The *Śloka samhṛtya sarvataś cintāṃ*, etc., is quoted also by Vidyānandī in his *Pramāṇaparīkṣā* (in *Samātana-jainagranthamālā*, Benares, 1914, No. 9, p. 54).

*saṃhṛtasakalavikalpāvasthāyām rūpādīdarśanam nirvikalpakam pratyakṣato 'nubhūyate ; tad uktam : saṃhṛtya, etc.*

That here also we have to do with a literal quotation, probably from the *vṛtti*, is proved by the fact that Vidyānandī himself cites the first part of it (p. 5, just before quoting the definition of *pratyakṣa* in verse):—

*syān matam ; saṃhṛtasakalavikalpāvasthāyām aśvavikalpakāle godarśanaviśayānām nirvikalpam pratyakṣam pratyakṣata eva siddham.*

*Vikalpena nāmasaṃśrayeṇa pratyātmanā vedyena rahitasya pratyakṣasya saṃvedanāt. | tad uktam—*

*pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham, etc.,*

*tad asat. | vyavasāyātmakasyaiva pratyakṣasya svasaṃvedana-pratyakṣataḥ prasiddheḥ nāmasaṃśrayasya vikalpasya tatrānupalambhe 'py akṣādīsaṃśrayasya saṃvedanāt, "saṃhṛtasakalavikalpāvasthāyām api stimitenāntarātmanā sthitasya cakṣuṣā rūpam ikṣamāṇasya akṣajāyā mateḥ "*savikalpakāt-mikāyū eva pratīteḥ.

SECTION 4, p. 11, the stanza:—

*bhinnakālam katham grāhyam iti ced grāhyatām viduḥ |  
hetuvam eva tad yuktam jñānākārārpanakṣamam. ||*

quoted by Vācaspatī (NVT., p. 101, l. 14, new edition, Benares S.S., p. 153), is to be found in the *ṭīkā* on the *Āptaparīkṣā*<sup>1</sup> by Vidyānandī, p. 42, with the only difference that in (c) the reading is: *hetuvam eva yuktijñās*; and in *Pārthasārathimīśra*, on *Ślokavārttika*, *śūnyavāda*, 51, p. 283.<sup>2</sup>

Now I do not think that this passage is to be attributed to Vasubandhu, as Mr. Randle supposes. First of all, if the fragment on the *jāti*s and the *nigrahassthānas*, attributed to Vasubandhu in the Chinese Tripitaka, is really a chapter of the *Tarkaśāstra*, as the Chinese Buddhist tradition asserts,

<sup>1</sup> The *Āptaparīkṣā* has been edited in the *Saṃtanaśāstragranthamālā*, Benares, 1913. Vidyābhūṣaṇa simply quotes its title, but seems not to have seen this work (op. cit., p. 187).

<sup>2</sup> Here also there is the reading: *tad yuktam* in (c), which has been accepted by the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, and the couplet is equally attributed to the *Sautrantikās*.



it would be impossible to attribute the couplet under discussion to that work, which is only in prose. Moreover, it is evident that Vidyānandi, although he does not quote the name of the author (he uses the general designation of *Saugatās*), is refuting Dharmakīrti, from whom he is citing, two or three lines further on, some sentences: *kalpanāpoḍhābhrāntaṃ* (*Nyāyabindu*, chap. i); *bhūvanāprakarṣaparyantaṃ ca yogijñānam* (*ibid.*).

The reference to doctrines which were specially elaborated by Dharmakīrti, as *tādātmya*, *tadutpatti*, *adhyavasāyīva*, *sākṣātkāritva*, makes this supposition almost sure.

"*syān matam: na sugatajñānam viśvatattvebhyah samutpannam, tadākāratam cāpannam tadadhyavasāyī ca tatsākṣātkāri saugatair abhidhīyate; "bhinnakālam . . .,"* etc.

*ityanena tadutpattitadrūpyayor grāhyatvalakṣaṇatvena vyavahāriṇaḥ pratyabhidhānāt "yatraiva janayed enām tatraivāsya pramāṇatā" ity anena tadadhyavasāyītvasya pratyakṣalakṣaṇatvena vacanam api na sugatapratyakṣāpekṣayā vyavahārajanāpekṣayaiva tasya vyākhyānāt sugatapratyakṣe svasaṃvedanapratyakṣa iva tallakṣaṇasyāsambhavāt.*

p. 26. The question of the *Vādaśāstra* is of great importance; this treatise, being one of the few works directly quoted by Uddyotakara, it would be extremely interesting to establish its authorship even for the chronological relation between the author of the *Nyāya-Vārttika* and the writer of this Buddhist tract on logic.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa<sup>1</sup> (op. cit., p. 124, n. 1) thought that the *Vādaśāstra* is to be ascribed to Dharmakīrti, and on that ground he assumed that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of Uddyotakara. In his introduction to the *Bilingual Index of Nyāyabindu*, p. ix, he tried also to fix a chronology of the works of the Buddhist logician, establishing that the *Nyāyabindu* is posterior to the *Vādaśāstra*. His argument

<sup>1</sup> His opinion has been accepted by Professor Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 28.

is that Uddyotakara "quotes Dharmakīrti's definition of a proposition (*pratijñā, dam bcas*) from the *Vādavidhī* (same as *Vādanyāya*) and discusses at length the Buddhist definition of *sādhya* (major term). Dharmakīrti in the *Nyāyabindu* defends his own position against the attacks of Uddyotakara, who is designated as a *śāstrakāra*".

We must acknowledge that these arguments are not very strong and convincing. Mr. R. Iyengar<sup>1</sup> has already pointed out many reasons why we cannot accept this theory. But there are also other facts which according to me make this assumption of Vidyābhūṣana absolutely untenable.

First of all we have no grounds for affirming that the title of Dharmakīrti's work was *Vādavidhī*. The Tibetan translation of it is preserved, and we find that its Sanskrit title is given there (*bsTan-āgyur*, Narthang Edition, Mdo, 95, 384) *rgya. gar. skad. du : tso. ta. na. ya. nā. ma. pra. ka. ra. ṇa : bod. skad. du : rtsod. pai. rigs. pa. ṣes. bya. ba. rab. tu. byed. pa.*

Now neither the corrupted Sanskrit name nor the Tibetan rendering of it can authorize us to affirm that the title of the work under discussion was *Vādavidhī*; it is evident that we must rather restore it into *codanānāmaprakaraṇa*.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, there is an argument which, although it is an argument *a silentio*, seems to me of very great importance and makes me rather doubtful whether we can accept the theory propounded by Vidyābhūṣana. We know that Dharmakīrti asserted that all the twenty-two varieties of *nigrahasthānas* can be included under two main points:—

<sup>1</sup> JBORS., vol. xii, p. iv, p. 587 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cordier suggests: *codanyāya*: Stcherbatsky, *Erkenntnistheorie und Logik nach der Lehre der späteren Buddhisten*, p. 257, quotes this same work under the name: *codanānāmaprakaraṇa*. Though I have found quotations from this treatise of Dharmakīrti, I do not remember to have met with any passage in which the title itself is given. One *codanā* is cited, it is true, by Vidyānandi in his *Pramāṇaparīkṣā*, p. 78; but the quotation which follows is taken from chapter ii, *Codanāsūtra* of the *Ślokarārtika* by Kumārila, vv. 62, 63 (p. 65 of the "Chowkhamba" edition). [Perhaps the title is *codanā-naya* = *rtsod-paḥi-rigs-pa*.—F. W. T.]



(a) *asāḍhanāṅgavācana* :

(b) *adoṣodbhāvana* :

*asāḍhanāṅgavācanam adoṣodbhāvanam dvayoḥ*

*nigrahassthānatvam* (sic) *anyat tu na yuktam iti neṣyate*

(quoted by Vācaspati, *NVTT.*, p. 723, and Jayanta, *Nyāyamañjarī*, Viz. S.S., p. 639).

This theory was against one of the classifications of the *Nyāyasūtras*, and therefore we should expect that, if *Dharmakīrti* had expounded his views before the *Nyāyavārttika* was written, Uddyotakara could not have helped refuting or referring to his doctrine. But in the *Vārttika*, in which he so often refutes the various systems of the Buddhist doctors, there is no mention of such a thesis. On the contrary, we find that Vācaspatimiśra, in his *Tātparyāṭīkā*, and specially Jayanta in his *Nyāyamañjarī*, deal rather largely with the various *nigrahassthānas*, going into more detail than Uddyotakara, and clearly refuting the theories of *Dharmakīrti*, whom both of them quote very often. It is evident, therefore, that the alleged contemporariness of *Dharmakīrti* and Uddyotakara has no foundation; on the other hand, we have arguments for supposing that *Dharmakīrti* followed Uddyotakara and lived between him and Vācaspati. This agrees with the fact that *Dharmakīrti* is unknown to Yuen Chuang,<sup>1</sup> who was a contemporary of Harṣa, in whose time Uddyotakara flourished. It has been supposed that this *Vādaśāstra* is by Vasubandhu. It is true that Vācaspati speaks more than once of a *Saubandhava-lakṣaṇa Vāsubandhava-lakṣaṇa* (*NVTT.*, pp. 99, 218; new edition, p. 150); but, when Uddyotakara quotes the definition of the *pratijñā* as taken from the *Vādaśāstra* (*sādhyaḥbhāvanam pratijñā*, p. 121), Vācaspati does not say anything about its author; and so, in fact, if we limit ourselves to Sanskrit sources, the only reason for maintaining that this work is really by Vasubandhu is that, when Uddyotakara is referring (at p. 121) to a special definition of *vāda*, Vācaspati adds

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, op. cit., p. 124.

that Vasubandhu is responsible for it. But Chinese sources have preserved the titles of some works on logic written by Vasubandhu :—

- 論式 discussion-rule.  
 論軌 discussion-track.  
 論心 discussion-heart.

(cf. Shen-t'ai's commentary on the *Nyāyadvāra*, chap. i, introduction, and Kwei-chi's commentary on the *Nyāyapraveśa*, *passim*).

The first Chinese name can be, in fact, restored as *vāda-vidhi*, as proposed by Vidyābhūṣaṇa.<sup>1</sup> This work is the *Rtsod.sgrub.pa* referred to by Dīnāga in the commentary on his own *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Tibetan translation.<sup>2</sup> So that there is no doubt that the *Vāda-vidhi* referred to by Uddyotakara is really to be ascribed to Vasubandhu.

p. 27, note 1. There is no doubt that the metrical definition of the *pakṣa*, as given in *NV*. 119—

*Swayaṃ sādhyatvenepsitāḥ pakṣo viruddhārthānirākṛtāḥ*  
 is to be ascribed to Dīnāga. The fact that it is in verse excludes *a priori* the possibility that it is taken from the *Nyāyapraveśa*, where a very similar definition occurs :—

*tatra pakṣaḥ prasiddhadharmī prasiddhaviśeṣeṇa viśiṣṭatayā*  
*svayaṃ sādhyatvenepsitāḥ.*

But the first *kārikā* of the *Nyāyadvāraśāstra* is in Chinese :—

宗等多言說能立、是中唯隨自意樂、爲成所立  
 說名宗、非彼相違義能遣。

which presupposes an original like this :—

*pakṣādivacanānūti sādhanam tatra ca swayaṃ*  
*sādhyatvenepsitāḥ pakṣo viruddhārthānirākṛtāḥ.*

<sup>1</sup> The 論式 *Vāda-vidhi* is quoted by Dīnāga himself in the commentary on the first *kārikā* of his *Nyāyadvāra*.

The other two titles have been restored by Vidyābhūṣaṇa as *vādamārga* and *vādakauśala*; *vādamārga* is very hypothetical, *vādakauśala* is wrong: it should be *vādahṛdaya*. Cf. the *Upāyahṛdaya* attributed to Nāgārjuna.

<sup>2</sup> Art. cit., p. 590.



p. 29. *Hetucakra*. The couplet :

*sapakṣe sann asan dvedhū pakṣadharmah punas tridhū*  
*pratyekam asapakṣe ca sad asad dvividhataḥ*

occurs also in the *Nyāyadvāra* :—

宗法於同品謂有非有俱、於異品各三、有非有及二。

The stanza II is quoted as a *mūlakārikā* 本頌 in the commentary on the same work by Dinnāga himself.

於同有及二在異無、是因、翻此名相違所餘皆不定。

In this same work (according to the Chinese translation) the nine forms of a syllogism are again expounded as follows (I give the probable restoration into Sanskrit) :—

- (a) *anityaḥ śabdaḥ prameyatvāt.*
- (b) *anityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvāt.*
- (c) *prayatnānantarīyakaḥ (śabdo) 'nityatvāt.*
- (d) *nityaḥ śabdaḥ kṛtakatvāt.*
- (e) *nityaḥ śabdaḥ śrāvaṇatvāt.*
- (f) *nityaḥ śabdaḥ prayatnānantarīyakatvāt.*
- (g) *aprayatnānantarīyakaḥ śabdo 'nityatvāt.*
- (h) *anityaḥ śabdaḥ prayatnānantarīyakatvāt.*
- (i) *nityaḥ śabdo 'sparśatvāt.*

It is therefore evident, as suggested also by Mr. Randle, that in the table given by Vidyābhūṣaṇa "non-eternal" in No. V is to be corrected into "eternal".

As the subject is rather interesting for the history of formal logic in India, I think that it will be useful to translate here the section of the *Nyāyadvāra* connected with the various forms of syllogism and some portions at least of the commentary on it by Shen-t'ai, who compares the nine types of the *Nyāyadvāra* with the classification of the *Nyāyapraveśa*. This is a point worth noting, because it shows once more those differences between the two works which I had an opportunity of pointing out previously.

*Nyāyadvāra* : "In this way we have nine *pakṣadharmas* ;

we shall briefly explain their characteristics, following the same order (as enunciated in the *kārikā*).

"(1) Sound is eternal because it is knowable.

"(2) Sound is non-eternal because it is a product.

"(3) Sound is the effect of some activity because it is non-eternal.

"(4) Sound is eternal because it is a product.

"(5) Sound is eternal because it is audible.

"(6) Sound is eternal because it is the effect of some activity.

"(7) Sound is not the effect of some activity because it is non-eternal.

"(8) Sound is non-eternal because it is the effect of some activity.

"(9) Sound is eternal because it is intangible."

*Commentary by Shen-t'ai*: "The first *pakṣadharma* is in the *sapakṣa* as well as in the *vipakṣa*. The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is knowable. One affirms the eternity of sound because of the *sapakṣa* of space, etc., and the *vipakṣa* of pot, etc. The *hetu*: Knowable is common to both *pakṣas* of the eternal and of the non-eternal. Therefore it is in the *sapakṣa* as well as in the *vipakṣa*. This argument is equal to the first of the six *anaikāntikā hetvābhāsās* of the *Nyāyapraveśa* (= *sādhāraṇa*).

"(ii) The second thesis is: Sound is non-eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is a product. The example is: Like a pot, etc. Now this *hetu* of its being a product is in the *sapakṣa*, but is not in the *vipakṣa*. This is a valid argument.

"(iii) The third thesis is: Sound is the effect of some activity. The *hetu* is: Because it is non-eternal. It corresponds to the fourth of the *anaikāntikā hetvābhāsās* of the *Nyāyapraveśa* (*vipakṣaikaśaṅkṣaṅgīḥ sapakṣavyāpī*). This *pakṣadharma* is only in some of the *vipakṣas*, but it is in all the *sapakṣas*. This *pakṣadharma* of being effect of an activity has the pot, etc., as its *sapakṣa*. The *hetu* of non-eternity can be found in every *sapakṣa*. Lightning,



space, and so on, are the *vipakṣas*. Now, it can be found in some *vipakṣas*, as lightning, but it cannot be found in other *vipakṣas*, as space, etc. In this way the first triad has been explained. Now the second triad has to be expounded, that is to say, the contradictory reasons.<sup>1</sup>

“(iv) The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is a product. Here the *sapakṣa* of the eternal is space, etc.; the *vipakṣa* is the pot and so on. The *hetu* is not in the *sapakṣa*, but in the *vipakṣa*.

“(v) The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is audible. This argument is equal to the second of the six *anaikāntikas* of the *Nyāyapraveśa*; that is to say, the *asādhāraṇa*.

“(vi) The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is the effect of some activity. Here the *sapakṣa* of the eternal is space, etc.; the *vipakṣa* are lightning, pot, etc. The *hetu* of its being the effect of some activity cannot be found in space, etc., nor in any other of its *sapakṣas*; it can be found only in some *vipakṣas*, as in pot, etc., but not in some others, as lightning. Therefore it is not in the *sapakṣa*, but partly is and partly is not in the *vipakṣa*.

“(vii) The thesis is: Sound is the effect of some activity. The *hetu* is: Because it is non-eternal. This argument is equal to the first of the six *anaikāntikā hetvābhāsas* of the *Nyāyapraveśa*. (Quotation follows.)

“(viii) The thesis is: Sound is non-eternal. The *hetu* is: Because it is the effect of some activity. Here the *sapakṣa* of non-eternity is lightning, pot, etc. The *hetu* is found in some *sapakṣas*, as the pot, but not in others, as lightning. The *vipakṣa* of the non-eternal is space, and the *hetu* cannot be found in it. This also is a valid argument.

“(ix) The thesis is: Sound is eternal. The *hetu* is:

<sup>1</sup> So Shen-t'ai; but, in fact, only the first and third members of the triad are contradictory (*vīrudhita*); the middle one is inconclusive, *anaikāntika*.

Because it is intangible. It is equal to the fifth of the *anaikāntikā hetvābhāsās* of the *Nyāyapraveśa*, *ubhayapakṣa ekadeśavrttiḥ*."

Dinnāga follows: "There are the nine kinds [of *pakṣadharmās*] included in the two *kārikās*: Eternal, non-eternal, derived from an activity, eternal, constant, stable are the majors, which have knowable, etc., as their (reciprocal) middle terms; knowable, product, non-eternal, product, non-eternal, effect of an activity, are the nine (middle terms). These are distinguished into (real) reasons, contradictory, inconclusive. Therefore a *mūlakārikā* says—

*Tatra yāḥ saṁ sajātiye*, etc.

Among these nine there are only two valid reasons. That is to say, that which is in the *sapakṣa*, but is not in any *vipakṣa*, and also that which is and is not in the *sapakṣa*, but is not in the *vipakṣa*. That is to say, the middle (example), in the first and in the third triad."

p. 36, FRAGMENT Q. The verses in which the Buddhist refutes the *sāmānya* theory of the Vaiśeṣikas and which are quoted by the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* are to be found with others in addition in the *Prameyakaalamamārtanḍa*, fol. 138b—

*na yāti na ca tatrasīd asti paścān na cāṁśavat  
jahāti pūrvam ādhāram aho vyasanasantatiḥ  
tādātmyaṁ cen matam jāter vyaktijanmany ajānatā  
nāṣe 'nāśaś ca keneṣṭas tadvac cānanvayo na kiṁ  
vyaktijanmany ajātā ced āgatā nāśrayāntarāt.  
prāg āsīn na ca taddeśe sū tayā saṅgatā katham  
vyaktināṣe na cen naṣṭā gatā vyaktyantaram na ca  
tacchūnye na sthūtā deśe sū jātiḥ kveṭi kathyatām.  
vyakter jātyādiyoge 'pi yadi jāteḥ sa neṣyate  
tādātmyaṁ katham iṣṭam syād anupaplutacetasām.*

It is worth noting that Prabhācandra quotes these verses in order to refute the *vyakti*-theory of the *Mīmāṃsakas* (and specially Kumārila, who is referred to by name and some of whose sentences are cited: *Śloka-vārttika*, *ākṛtīvāda*, vv. 37–8, Ed. cit., p. 555; *vanavāda*, vv. 44–5, 46, p. 624).



p. 61 (Appendix I). I have studied in another note the relation between the *Nyāyapraveśa* and the *Nyāyadvāra*, and I have shown there that the Chinese tradition and the facts themselves perfectly agree with the hypothesis expressed by Mr. Randle as to the priority of the *Nyāyadvāra* to the *Nyāyapraveśa*.

It is a matter for regret that Mr. Randle had to base his arguments on the book of Sugiura, which is full of nonsense, and, if relied on, will certainly be the source of dangerous mistakes. For instance, what according to Sugiura is a "secondary idea" (p. 60) is nothing else but *anumāna*, so that the second *pratijñābhāsa* is not *vikalpaviruddha*, as tentatively restored by Mr. Randle, but *anumānaviruddha*, and the example of it given in the *Nyāyadvāra* is just the same as that of the *Nyāyapraveśa*: pot is eternal. The "fine morning", etc., is a mere speculation of Sugiura in order to explain what he calls a secondary idea. The Chinese presupposes an original like this: *dharmīṇy eva yat sādhyam tat prasiddhapratyakṣānūmānābhīyām nirākṛtam; yathā-śabdo 'śrāvaṇaḥ; nityo ghataḥ*. The example of *lokaviruddha* also has been invented by Sugiura ("women and money are abominable things").

The Chinese text: 又若於中由不共故,無有比量爲極成言相違義遣如說懷免非月有故 presupposes: *athavā tatrāsādhārāṇān<sup>1</sup> niranumāne prasiddhavanaviruddhārthanirākṛtam; yathā-śaśi na candraḥ*. As to what Sugiura says, that Dinnāga himself attributes the *trairūpya* doctrine to Sok-mok (= *Akṣapāda*), referred to by Mr. Randle, in no work of Dinnāga do I remember to have found such a statement.

Another fragment by Dinnāga is cited by Vācaspati (NVT., new edition, p. 693), and it was identified by Vidyā-

<sup>1</sup> *Tatra* refers to the *sādhyā*: the moon is *asādhārāṇa* because there is no other object which has the same attributes as the moon; because of its being *asādhārāṇa* it is not possible to find an example (*sādharmyāt dṛṣṭānta*), and therefore the *anumāna* is impossible.

bhūṣaṇa as a quotation from the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* : it contains the definition of the *jāti* called *kāryasama* :—

*kāryateānyatvaśeṣena yat sādhyasiddhidarśanam  
tat kāryasama.*

The fragment is quoted also by *Kamalaśīla* in his *pañjikā* on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita (p. 48).

In the work that I have just named some other fragments from *Dinnāga* are quoted :—

*buddhijanmani pumsasca vikṛtir yady anityatā  
athāvikṛtir ātmākhyāḥ pramāteṭi na yujyate*

According to the commentator the verse 22 of *Śloka-vārttika*, *Ātmavāda*, ed. cit., p. 694, is intended to refute just this passage of *Dinnāga*.

*Pārthasārathimiśra*, in his *Nyāyaratnākara* (p. 150), quotes this verse together with another :—

*buddhijanmani . . . na yujyate : tathā  
varṣātapaḥpāthyāṃ kiṃ vyomnaś carmany asti tayoh phalam  
carmopamaś cet so 'nityaḥ khatulyaś ced asatsamah  
p. 288 : na jātisabdo bhedaṇām vācaka ānantyāt.*

This verse is referred to and refuted by *Uddyotakara* (*Nyāyavārttika*, p. 323, on N.S., II, ii, 67), when he is discussing the notion of *jāti*.

p. 301 : *nīlotpalādisabdā arthāntaranivṛtṭiviśiṣṭān arthān āhur.*

This passage also is referred to by *Uddyotakara*, *ibid.*, p. 331.

p. 316 : *sarvatrabhedād āśrayasyānucchedāt kṛtsnārtha-  
parisamāpteś ca yathākramaṃ jātīdharmā ekatvanityatva-  
pratyeḥka-parisamāptīlakṣaṇā apoha evāvatiṣṭhanti tasmād  
guṇotkarṣād apy arthāntarāpoha eva śabdārthaḥ sādhu.*

In this passage also cf. *Uddyotakara*, p. 332.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In all this long discussion *Uddyotakara* is refuting *Dinnāga* : a comparison with the Tibetan translation of his works will ascertain how many fragments from him are quoted, in a more or less altered form, by the great *naītyika*. And it is important to see how in later logicians *Dinnāga* takes the second place, while all the criticism is directed against *Dharmakīrti* ; in fact, in the Jaina *nyāya* treatises, in *Vācaspati* himself, in *Jayanta*, in *Varadarāja*, etc., the quotations from *Dinnāga* are very few compared with those from *Dharmakīrti*.



p. 369 : *yadṛcchāsabdeṣu nāmnā viśiṣṭo 'rtha ucyaṭe dūttha iti jātisabdeṣu jātyā gaur iti guṇasabdeṣu guṇena śukla iti kriyāsabdeṣu kriyayā pācaka iti dravyasabdeṣu daṇḍena daṇḍi viśāṇṭi.*

This quotation is given as from the *vṛtti* of the *Ācārya*<sup>1</sup>; it may be taken therefore from Diñnāga's own *vṛtti* on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. Evidently Pārthasārathimiśra is referring to this passage in his commentary on the *Śloka-vārttika*, *pratyakṣasūtra* 226, pp. 200-1.

p. 572 : (a) *yad antaṛjñeyarūpaṃ tu bahirvad avabhāṣate so 'rtho vijñānarūpatvāt tatpratyayatayāpi ca.*

(b) *athavā śaktyarpaṇāt krameṇāpi so 'rthāvabhāṣaḥ svānurūpakāryotpattaye śaktiṃ vijñānācārāṃ karotīty avirodhaḥ.*

(c) *yady apīndriyavijñāpter grāhyāṃśaḥ karaṇaṃ bhavet atadābhatayā tasyā nākṣavad viśayaḥ sa tu.*

(d) *mā bhūt sarvathālabhanapratīṣedhe pratītibādhā. sattā ; ālabhanādhīpatisamanantarāhetupratyayatvalakṣaṇāś catasraḥ pratyayitā iti sūtre vacanād abhyupeta-bādhāpīti, avirodha-pratipādanāya yathāvidha ālabhanapratyayo 'bhīpsitāḥ sūtre, loka ca tathā pratipāditaṃ samvṛtyā na paramārthataḥ ; paramārthatas tu nirālabhanāḥ sarva eva pratyayāḥ.*

## SOME EARLY BUDDHIST RELIEFS IDENTIFIED

### 1. Bharhut

In *Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*, Tome III, 1919, p. 41, etc., M. Foucher has published a list of representations of this Jātaka, calling attention for the first time to a now well-known relief of the "Gift of the Elephant" from Bharhut, later republished by Chanda (*ASAR*. 1921-2) and by myself (*HIIA.*, fig. 47). There is, however, another episode of this Jātaka represented at Bharhut; the fragmentary panel shows the Brahman Jūjaka (1) seated cross-legged in meditation in his leaf hut, and (2) leading away the two children of the Bodhisattva, Jāli and Kaṇhā.

<sup>1</sup> [Presumably the context forbids a reference to Udayana, who is often cited by the title *Ācārya*.—F. W. T.]

This fragment has not been published, but appears in the India Office photograph, Record 2260, Serial 1050.

Other additions to the list can be made as follows:—

Gandhāra: Example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston *MFA. Bulletin*, No. 140, and *HIA.*, fig. 93); also, but doubtful, a fragment from Sahri-Bahlol published in *ASAR.*, 1911-12, p. 105, and pl. xxxviii, fig. 5, second row, centre.

Nepal: Painted book cover in the possession of Professor A. N. Tagore, reproduced in *HIA.*, fig. 279. The remainder of the panel, not shown in my reproduction, illustrates (1) the gift of the horses, and (2) the drawing of the carriage by the wild deer.

Ceylon: Polonnāruva, in a fresco of the Northern Temple (so-called Dema[a Maha Seya], see *Arch. Surv. Ceylon, Ann. Rep.* 1909, p. 32, and pl. A; Degaldoruva, my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, frontispiece; Kelaniya, Kramrisch, S., "Some wall paintings from Kelaniya," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, i, 1925. Sinhalese illustrations of the *Vessantara Jātaka*, apparently of early nineteenth century date, are also reproduced in Upham, E., *History and Doctrine of Buddhism*, London, 1929; the gift of the elephant is shown in the usual way.

Amarāvati: It is worth remarking that in all three of the *Vessantara Jātaka* reliefs from Amarāvati (Burgess, pls. xxii, 1, and xlii, 2, and Fergusson, pl. lxx, 1) the "four Sind horses" of the text are represented by humped bulls.

Further, in M. Foucher's list, under Sanchi, add: Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 53; after fig. 144 read: (= Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. cli); and for *ASAR.* 1909-10, pl. xvii, read *ASAR.* 1909-10, pl. xviii.

The large corner pillar relief, Cunningham, pl. xix, with the inscription *Bra(h)ma deva mānavako*, to be translated "the youthful Brahmā (entreats the Buddha to teach)". Brahmā is distinguished by his long coiled locks and absence of a turban; as described in the *Lalitā Vistara*, where he is designated Śikhī Mahābrahmā.



The outer face of the Prasenajit pillar (Cunningham, pls. xiii-xv, left) has been variously interpreted. I propose an explanation in which all three panels are regarded as parts of one composition. Above, the Bodhi tree with throne and trisūla symbols below represents as the inscription informs us, the Great Enlightenment (*bodho*) of the Blessed One. The two deities represented above, on the right and left, have their hands to their mouths, a gesture of astonishment or admiration. The panel below, connected with the upper panel by the elephant pillar, contains twenty-one figures; one is hideous and evidently a Yakṣa, two have Nāga hoods in their turbans, one is winged, and one is seated writing on the ground, and all but the first and last mentioned are in attitudes of worship. The worshipping figures are arranged in four groups of four or five in each. Three inscriptions refer to the Northern, Southern, and Eastern quarters, mentioning the Suddhāvāsa and Kāmāvacāra deities respectively in the East and South. There must have been a fourth inscription referring to the West, below on the left where the railing is broken away; it is noteworthy that the two Nāgas are represented in this region, which is the one proper to Virūpākṣa, who is ruler of the Nāgas. The winged deity may be compared with two similar ones in the Arhadgupta scene of the Ajātaśatru pillar. Cunningham, pl. xvi, centre.

In my view the whole composition represents the Mahāsambodhi and is immediately subsequent to the Māra Dharsana. The nineteen worshipping figures are deities assembled from the four quarters, honouring the Buddha after his victory. The one hideous Yakṣa represents Māra's army. Māra himself is grieving over his defeat; "writing on the ground," in Oriental phraseology, is a common evidence of perplexity. The *Nidānakathā* tells us that after his defeat, Māra overcome with sorrow sat down on the highway, drawing sixteen lines on the ground, corresponding to his sixteen regrets, and there his daughters beheld him, "sad at heart, writing on the ground"; this places the identification of the figure of Māra

beyond doubt. The dancers below, designated in the inscriptions as Alambusā, etc., four in number, are not the daughters of Māra, but as the inscriptions further inform us, Apsaras performing the "music of the gods" (*tūram devāṇām*): a similar group is represented on the Ajātaśatru pillar, Cunningham, pl. xvi, left, in honour of the Turban Relic enshrined in the Sudharmā Sabhā.

As regards the various inscriptions (Cunningham, pl. xv, right, and pl. xlviii, 11) containing the word *naḍode*, or *naḍode pavate*, it has been pointed out that the phrase means "on Mt. Naḍoda"; it may be suggested also that *naḍoda pavate* = *naḷagire* "on Mt. Naḷa". But Naḷagiri seems to be known only as the name of an elephant. Presumably Mt. Naḷa was famous for its elephants, and possessed a cetiya worshipped by elephants. There is another inscription (Cunningham, pl. xlviii, 6) reading *abode cetiyam* (I cannot see *ambode*); does not this mean "the cetiya on (Mt.) Arbuda", i.e. Abū?

The Bharhut tree-spirit bestowing food and water (Cunningham, pl. xlviii, 11: same subject at Bodhgayā, Burgess, pl. viii, 4) may illustrate the story of the Treasurer, monks, and tree-spirit found in the *Dhammapada Atthakathā* (Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, i, p. 277).<sup>1</sup> It is certainly not a Bodhi-maṇḍa vyūha scene. In this connexion note 3 on page 47 of my *III.A.* should be ignored: the correct explanation of the Sāñci scene there referred to is given by Marshall, *Guide to Sanci*, p. 64.

The *Ṣaḍdanta Jātaka* is represented in a medallion, Cunningham, pl. xxvi, 6; probably the same Jātaka is referred to in the coping relief of Cunningham, pl. xliii, 6, where there are two elephants, one of which has six tusks.

On the other hand, it does not seem to me that we are justified in calling the four-tusked elephant of the Ananta Gumphā, Orissā, by the name *Ṣaḍdanta* (Foucher, *Les*

<sup>1</sup> The same interpretation is given by Chanda, R.P., in Mem. A.S.I., No. 30, received after these notes were in type.



*répresentations* . . . , pp. 14, 47); not only has it not six tusks, but the cave is Jaina, not Buddhist. There is another four-tusked elephant in the Svargapuri cave.

As regards the *Aṇḍa-bhūta Jātaka*, Cunningham, pl. xxvi, 8, it is worth noting that the female figure on the right is wearing (as can be clearly seen in a better photograph than that of Cunningham's plate) the characteristically Indian ornament known as a *channavīra*<sup>1</sup>; this ornament appears already on the well-known Beśnagar Yakṣī (*HIA.*, fig. 8), also on some very early, perhaps Indo-Sumerian, terracottas recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,<sup>2</sup> and very commonly in later Indian art. The same ornament is worn by the dancing Yakṣa of Māra's darbār, Sāñcī, north toraṇa, middle architrave, back; but it is not by any means exclusive to dancers.

## 2. *Mathurā*

The Bharhut Jātaka relief of Cunningham, pl. xxvii, 14, has been correctly identified by Hultsch (*JRAS.* 1912, p. 399) as illustrating the *Mahābodhi Jātaka*, No. 528. I have now recognized a later episode of the same Jātaka in the upper medallion of a railing pillar, J. 2 in the Mathurā Museum, which is illustrated on a small scale in *HIA.*, fig. 59. The relief shows a Brahman standing, with an umbrella in his left hand and the right hand raised; he is evidently addressing the group of persons before him, some of whom are seated. The Pali text tells us that the Bodhisattva, having first put to shame the five wicked councillors (whereat the king "collapsed and sat down") and taught the Truth to the king himself, sent for the four sons, reconciled them with their father, and prevented the latter from inflicting an unduly severe punishment on the councillors. This accounts for the ten persons represented in the relief, and places the identification beyond doubt.

<sup>1</sup> Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, i, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> See *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, No. 152.

### 3. *Pāṭaliputra*

The early (? about 200 B.C.) railing found by Waddell at Pāṭaliputra<sup>1</sup> and now in the Calcutta Museum has never received the attention it deserves from several points of view.

M. Foucher (*Les représentations de Jātaka . . . , ut cit. supra*, p. 11) has called attention to representations of the Yakkhinī Assa-mukhi at Bodhgayā and Sāñcī, and suggests a connexion with the *Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka*, No. 432. One of the Pāṭaliputra railing medallions (Waddell, pl. 1) combines the data presented in the Bodhgayā and Sāñcī examples; all three persons are represented. The man and the Yakkhinī are evidently on good terms; the latter carries the child on her hip. It can hardly be doubted that the child is the Bodhisattva of the Jātaka, and that the three medallions all actually refer to the Jātaka in question.

The, or a, Yakkhinī Assa-mukhi is also represented at Bhājā ("Indra relief of the verandah": *HIIA.*, fig. 27), where she is accompanied by a man who holds a dagger in his hand, and seems to draw back. The immediate surroundings, full of wild animals and strewn with their bones, certainly looks like the "vast forest at the foot of a mountain", which was the Yakkhinī's haunt. The dagger suggests resistance, and if the Jātaka is here intended, the episode must be that of the Yakkhinī's capture of her husband. But it seems a little doubtful whether it can be assumed that in a subordinate detail in so large a scene the Jātaka is really referred to. Certainly when we find Assa-mukhi represented amongst the peaks of Govardhana in a later Kṛṣṇa-Govardhanadhara relief at Maṇḍor (*HIIA.*, fig. 166), she is present, not with reference to the Jātaka, but like the lion and the snakes, as a typical denizen of the jungle. "Assa-mukhi" is rather the designation of a type than a personal name; cf. the Yakkhinī *Valavā-rūpā* or *Valavā-mukha* of *Mahāvamsa*, chaps. ix, x.

<sup>1</sup> Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pāṭaliputra*, 1903, pls. i, and iii.



The square panel immediately to the left of the Assa-mukhi medallion above referred to (Waddell, *ib.*) represents a Nāga standing beside a tree and an ant-hill on which a bird is perched. The Nāga has seven hoods, which rise above the human form; the right hand is raised, the left on the hip, the pose most characteristic in early Indian sculpture. There are two water vessels on the ground in the foreground. This probably illustrates one of the Nāga Jātakas; presumably the *Bhūridatta Jātaka*, No. 543, where it is expressly stated that there stood a banyan-tree near the ant-hill on which the Nāgarāja practised his fast.

One other medallion on the same plate represents a king seated, with his wife on his thigh and a child beside him; I cannot identify this. There are also some figures on the coping fragment above.

A medallion on another part of the railing (Waddell, *loc. cit.*, pl. iii, on the left) represents what looks like a dog gazing up into the air; but by comparison with the Bharhut representation of the *Kukkūṭa Jātaka* (Cunningham, pl. xlvii, 5) it would appear that the "dog" must really be the cat in that story, looking up at the cock on the tree.

Finally, the railing uprights of the same plate exhibit three pairs (*mithuna*) of persons, male and female, perhaps Yakṣas and Yakṣis, standing under trees. A general account of such auspicious pairs, which appear also on Śuṅga terracottas, and commonly in the later art, has been given by Gangoly.<sup>1</sup> To this I would add that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, x, 5, 2, 8, informs us that "*mithuna* means a productive couple". Such amorous couples seem to have suggested an auspicious fertility. In connexion with the later, more specifically erotic types of the Sūrya Deul at Konārak, it may be informing to cite the ritual intercourse which took place at the Mahāvratā ceremony "when the strengthening of the sun was an essential duty".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> O. C. Gangoly, *The Mithuna in Indian Art*, Rūpam, 22-3, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 351.

4. *Amarāvati*

The Tibetan text translated by Rockhill<sup>1</sup> describes the presentation of the infant Siddhārtha in the temple of the tutelary Yakṣa of the Śākya; according to the text, "It was the habit of the Śākya to make all new-born children bow down at the feet of a statue of the Yakṣa Śākyaavardhana (*Śākya-sphel* or *-spel*); so the king took the young child to the temple, but the Yakṣa bowed down at his feet . . . and when the king saw the Yakṣa bow down at the child's feet, he exclaimed 'He is the god of gods!' and the child was therefore called Devatideva".

The same tradition appears in the Chinese *Abhinīṣkramaṇa Sūtra* (the late sixth century version by Jñānakūṭi<sup>2</sup>), but here the deity's name, in Chinese, is Tsang Chang, for which the equivalent Dīrghavardhana has been suggested.

This event is twice illustrated at Amarāvati; the two reliefs are illustrated in Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pls. lxix and xci, 4, the second relief, and perhaps also the first, being now in the British Museum. In Fergusson, xci, 4, the "Presentation" forms the last of a group of four nativity scenes, the three others representing the Conception, the Interpretation of the Dream, and the Nativity in the Lumbinī Garden.<sup>3</sup> In the garden scene the Four Devas are present, holding a cloth on which the presence of the infant is indicated by two small feet. In the Presentation panel a woman, presumably Mahāprajāpati, holds in both hands the same cloth, and the presence of the child is again indicated by the two small feet. Mahāprajāpati is accompanied only by two female attendants, one of whom bears the royal umbrella. She stands before a *rukṣa-cetiya*, viz. a sacred tree with its

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha from Tibetan Works in the Ekah-gyur and Eṣan-gyur*, ch. ii; cf. Csoma de Kőrös, *Analysis of the Kah-gyur*, Asiatic Researches, xx, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> S. Beal, *Romantic History of Buddha*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> A more satisfactory reproduction will be found in my *Yakṣas*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications, 1928.



altar; and half emerging from this altar is the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana, leaning forward with joined hands and bowing to the child. This seems to represent the Yakṣa in person rather than a statue; we do not know whether Yakṣa statues were ever actually set up under trees. Fergusson suggests that it is the king in his bath! The Yakṣa type, with the conspicuous belly, is clearly recognizable.

The second representation of this scene, Fergusson, pl. lxix, is a medallion, broken above, but still not far from complete. Mahāprajāpati, as before, is holding out the cloth on which the Bodhisattva's feet can be seen; the Yakṣa is leaning forward from a sort of booth or pavilion that may be called a temple. Behind Mahāprajāpati stands King Śuddhodana, with some musicians on the extreme right; the rest of the composition is occupied by numerous female attendants.

Another excellent, though small, example of the Presentation scene forms the fifth from the right of the series of six scenes from the Life of the Buddha which decorate the stupa represented on the well-known slab from Amarāvati, now in the Madras Museum, and reproduced in Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta*, pl. i; this version closely corresponds to the first described above, except that a larger number of female attendants is represented.

These scenes, now for the first time identified, seem to be the only extant versions following what must be the older form of the story. The episode is greatly elaborated in the *Lalitā Vistara*, chap. viii, where the temple is full of statues of gods, Śiva, Sūrya, etc., and all bow down to the child; in this form the story is illustrated at Borobudur.<sup>1</sup>

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,  
BOSTON.  
28th October, 1927.

<sup>1</sup> N. J. Krom, *The Life of Buddha on the stūpa of Borobudur according to the Lalitā Vistara text*, 1926, p. 40.

## A PLURAL FORM IN THE PRAKRIT OF KHOTAN

Dr. Barnett's note (*supra*, 1927, p. 848) on this subject furnishes an opportunity for two observations:—

(1) As regards the matter of an Iranian origin of the plural with *ca*, Iranian influence in Khotan is to me, as perhaps has been shown, not unwelcome. In particular, it seems possible that the lawyers may have been frequently Persian, unless we are deceived by the instance of the *divira* Mogata, son of Tamaspa (Tahmasp), occurring in a number of legal documents: similarly, the several references in No. 686 to selling to "the Chinese" (*Cinana*) of various places suggests that "Chinaman" and "trader" may have been *quasi* interchangeable expressions.

A borrowing from Iranian of a mere plural termination seems, however, in itself not very likely. Moreover, the plural in *ca* did not even exist in Iranian: upon referring to the examples quoted by Dr. Barnett from Dr. Reichell's *Avesta Grammar* it will be seen that in them the *ca* has its ordinary meaning of "and", and has no bearing upon plurals in *ca*.

(2) It would be interesting if we could somehow connect the pluralizing *ca* with the employment of *ca*, τε, que, in Sk. *kaśca(na)*, Iranian *kaśca*, Gk. ὅσ τε, ὅσ τε, ἐφ' ὅ τε, Latin *quisque* ("whosoever" and "each"), *unlique*, *ubique*, etc., of which I do not remember reading any very illuminating discussion.

F. W. THOMAS.

## THE STORY OF BABAR'S DEATH

Referring to my communication on the story of Bābur's death (*Journal*, April, 1926, p. 295), I write to point out that my contention that Bābar's fatal illness was unconnected with Humāyūn's disease is supported by the silence of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (p. 402, Elias and Ross' translation). Mirza Haidar, the writer of the *Tārīkh*, was in India within ten years of Bābar's death, and would probably have heard the popular story if it had been current at the time, as his silence may be taken as significant.

SRI RAMA SHARMA.



## KAUSAMBI

Rai Bahadur Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, in his article on Kauśāmbi published in *JRAS.* 1927, page 698, mentions two Brahmi inscriptions found in the villages in the neighbourhood of Kosam. These were installed in the reigns of certain Maharajas named Śivamegha and Bhadrāmegha, *who are not said to be known from any other source.* Now Mr. Pargiter, in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, page 73, says that in the third century of the Christian era, nine very powerful and wise kings, known as Meghas, ruled in Kosala, but nothing more is known about them. Have we not some reason to suppose that these powerful Meghas of Kosala governed a territory including the present district of Allahabad after the downfall of the Kauśāmbi kingdom?

SITA RAM.

## RETHARE BUDRUK PLATES OF MADHAVA-VARMAN

During the last Easter holidays I took a trip to Khānāpur in the Satara district with a few friends. An acquaintance of mine had informed me that Mr. Dadasahib Mane, of Khānāpur, had in his possession some inscribed copper-plates. The latter gentleman had invited me to his village on several occasions. He was delighted to see us, and with little hesitation produced the plates. We were told that they contained a grant made to his ancestors by a king of Bedar. When asked by my friends as to the contents of the record, I assured them that the grant did not concern the Mane family. Further, I promised to send a preliminary short note in Marāṭhī<sup>1</sup> to be read at the next conference of the Bhārata-Itihāsa-Saṁśōdhaka-Maṇḍala of Poona and to contribute a summary in English to the *JRAS.* as early as possible.

The grant was incised apparently on three copper-plates, measuring  $11\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$   $5\frac{1}{2}$  in., the first of which is unfortunately not forthcoming. The margins are folded over and beaten

<sup>1</sup> Not yet published.

down so as to serve as rims. The inscription is cut on both the sides of the second and on the inner one of the third. It is of much geographical interest for Mahārāṣṭra, especially the Satara district. Beyond the new name of a prince, it contains no historical information. Further details regarding his ancestors are wanting. The genealogy of the family may have been mentioned in the missing plate. But the prince cannot be identified with any Mādhava-varman or Mādhava known to history. His identification with the Mādhava whose name occurs in the Kōṇḍēḍḍa grant of Dharmarāja<sup>1</sup> is impossible on paleographic grounds. No such king is mentioned in Dr. Kielhorn's lists.

I call the plates the Rētharē Budruk plates (though brought to light at Khānāpur), against the usual practice of naming the records after the villages in which they are discovered. To me it seems more appropriate to call them after the villages granted.

The present record may be assigned to the sixth or the seventh century A.D. on epigraphic grounds. No era or regnal year is noted on the second or the third plate. The object of the inscription is to register the grant of a village, which is written by the devout and veracious Kāyastha Śrīpāla. The donor is the illustrious Mādhava-varman, who is styled *Cāturāśramya-dharma-karma-sētu*, i.e. the bridge of the rites and customary observances of the four stages of the religious life of Brāhmaṇs. He cannot have been a very powerful potentate, as the usual high-sounding titles are absent. He may, perhaps, have been a feudatory of the Caḷukya overlords. The names of the donees are Bōlasvāmin and Kēśava-svāmin, engaged in performing the duties of the Sanātana-dharma, "the everlasting religion." It is interesting to come across this stock word in our record. The Brāhmaṇ grantees must have been students of the Sāma-vēda, as they are styled Chandōgas.

The village granted is Rēṭṭūraka. It was situated to the

<sup>1</sup> My paper on these plates is being edited in the *Ep. Ind.*  
JHAS. APRIL, 1928.



south-east of the river Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā. In ordinary speech, at present, the river Kṛṣṇā is called Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā up to the confluence at Māhulī, not far from Satara. But at the time of bathing at the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Kōyanā or Kakudmatī at Karad (or more correctly Karhād), the stream is named Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā. From the present inscription it is evident that it was known as Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā as far as Rēṭṭūraka. Nor need this surprise us. The Kṛṣṇā itself was called Vēṇṇā. It is probable that the two rivers Kṛṣṇā and Vēṇṇā after their confluence at Māhulī were called by the joint name Kṛṣṇā-Vēṇṇā.

The modern form of Rēṭṭūraka would be Rētharē. There are four villages of this name in the Satara district, viz. Rētharē Budruk, Rētharē Khurd, Rētharē Hariṇākṣa, and Dharanācē Rētharē. The last is not situated near the river Kṛṣṇā. As the village granted lay to the south-east, it is clear that Rētharē Budruk is the modern representative of Rēṭṭūraka, as it is still in that direction. Tambatīrtha and Kadambatīrtha cannot at present be satisfactorily identified. But the former may have been at Tāmbavē (2½ miles from Rētharē Budruk) in the Walwa taluka. Bēlavāṭikā must be Bēlavaḍē, 3 miles from the village granted, *vāṭikā* being only an addition meaning a garden. Kōlikāvāṭikā is identical with Kōlē (2 miles from Rētharē Budruk), in the Walwa taluka. Vaṭṭarikā is evidently Vāṭār or Vāṭhār, about 2 miles west of Rētharē Budruk. These latter places were then only gardens or hamlets of Rēṭṭūraka. The village is conferred along with these *vāṭikās*, corresponding to modern *vāḍis*. The mountain mentioned in the inscription must be Macchindragaḍa, 10 miles from Karhād.

The grant was formally made on the Paurṇimā of Vaiśākha, called Mahā-Vaiśākhi-Paurṇimā in the record.

Y. R. GUPTA,

Late Asst. Supt. for Epigraphy.

## ON VALLABHADEVA AND HIS SUBHĀṢITĀVALI

The only important point raised by Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya in his communication (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 135-7) on my note on the date of the *Subhāṣitāvali* (*JRAS.* 1927, pp. 471-7) is his doubt regarding the identity of the Vallabhadeva cited by Sarvānanda in his *Ṭikā-sarvasva*. He suggests that Sarvānanda's Vallabhadeva was an earlier Vallabhadeva who is cited in the anthologies (including our *Subhāṣitāvali*) and who himself composed an independent book of verses, named also *Subhāṣitāvali*, probably in *āryā*-metre, quite distinct from the anthology before us. He would agree with Peterson's surmise that this earlier Vallabhadeva was the famous commentator of that name, to whom he would assign the date "say about 1000 A.D." This suggestion is indeed ingenious, but wholly hypothetical.

In my note at p. 472, footnote 1, I have referred to this other Vallabhadeva, but I am inclined to believe that Sarvānanda in the passage under discussion (p. 471) does not cite this commentator Vallabhadeva but the compiler of the anthology bearing the same name. For Sarvānanda elsewhere quotes the scholiast Vallabhadeva with a distinct reference to his commentaries on *Kumāra-s°* and *Śiśupāla-v°*. Citing *Śiśu°* v, 24, Sarvānanda remarks: *iti Māgha-śloke Vallabhena āpaṇam āvārikā vipaṇir haṭṭa iti vyākhyātam* (on *Amara°*, ii, 2, 2). Again, quoting one line from *Kumāra-s°*, v, 74, Sarvānanda comments: *iti Kumāra-sambhave pravepamānābhyām adharābhyām lakṣyaḥ kopo yasyā iti Vallabhena vivṛtam* (on ii, 6, 89). This scholiast and his commentaries on *Kumāra-s°* and *Śiśupāla-v°* were thus known to Sarvānanda, but the scholiast is quoted by him as Vallabha, with a pointed reference to his commentaries. The compiler of the anthology, on the other hand, is quoted by Sarvānanda as Kāśmīra-Vallabhadeva (probably to distinguish him from the other Vallabha of scholiastic reputation), along with a pointed reference to his *Subhāṣitāvali*, from which a verse is also directly quoted.



Much capital need not be made out of the word *racita*, which need not always mean "compose", excluding the idea of compilation. At any rate, it cannot be taken as the foundation of a conjecture that the scholiast Vallabha composed a book of verse, for which supposition there is no evidence. All that is known of this commentator Vallabhadeva (or Vallabha, as Sarvānanda calls him twice) I have tried to put together in my *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. i, pp. 96-8, vol. ii, p. 378, and I may be pardoned for refraining from repetition. It is interesting to note that the problem is complicated by the fact that this Vallabha was also probably a Kashmirian, who belonged to the first half of the tenth century A.D.; but it seems to me that Sarvānanda knew both of them and their writings and carefully distinguished them in the manner indicated above.

It may be worth while also to note that if, as Mr. Bhattacharyya believes, all the citations in the commentary to the *Nūti-vākyaṃṛta* are from the hypothetical *Subhāṣitāvali* of the earlier Vallabhadeva, then this work could not have been, as the quotations themselves show, composed "probably in the *āryā*-metre". It is quite probable that the ascriptions in anthologies are not always correct; but that does not affect the present question, and there is no evidence to show that later anthologies borrow from this work.

As the dates of Śrīharaṣa and the author of the *Prasannarāghava* cannot be said to have been settled beyond doubt, the point raised in the latter part of Mr. Bhattacharyya's note does not arise. If the dates of Śrīvara and Bīlvamaṅgala conflict with the date suggested by Sarvānanda's reference, we have no other alternative but to regard their verses found in the *Subhāṣitāvali* as later interpolations. The question, I must confess, is not without difficulty, and I have admitted it fully in my previous article under question, but I still believe that no new fact or evidence has been put forward which would make me revise my views.

S. K. DĒ.

## DĀR-UR-RAKĪK

Mr. Le Strange, in his book *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, speaks of the Dār-ur-Rakīk (p. 123) and mentions a variant Daḳīk which he rejects. In the Syriac Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus (Paris, 1890), p. 203, the name is **ܕܐܪܘܪܐܩܝܟ**, which is a translation of Daḳīk and is fairly good evidence for that name.

A. S. TRITTON.

## KERN INSTITUTE, LEIDEN

The "Kern Institute" for Indian Archæology, founded at the University of Leiden in 1924, has started, as appears from its first Annual Report (published at Leiden in 1927), a collection of letters of the great Dutch scholar whose name was connected with the Institute. Most of the letters collected—among which are the last lines written by Kern in 1917—have been ceded to the Institute by Dutch scholars. The value of the collection would, however, be enhanced considerably if it could be enriched by the extensive correspondence which Kern has had with foreign scholars.

For this reason the "Kern Institute" appeals to all who are in possession of letters of Kern or who are able to give information as to the existence of such letters, in asking them kindly to send these documents to the Institute or to give information about them. Any collaboration to the enrichment of the collection of the Institute will be highly appreciated.

All communications will be gladly received at the address of the secretary: J. H. Kramers, Hooglandsche Kerkgracht 21, Leiden.

## RUSSO-GERMAN ALAI-EXPEDITION

This Expedition, May to December, 1928, is a joint undertaking of the Soviet Government (Academy of Leningrad) and the German scientific authorities. The object is the



glaciological, geological, and meteorological investigation of the Alai mountains in Western Turkestan. The expedition is under the leadership of Mr. W. R. Rickmers, the author of the *Duab of Turkestan*. The Russian members are N. L. Korshenewsky, Professor of Geography, Taschkent; Professor Bielayerff, of Pulkova; Professor Zimmermann, of Taschkent. The German members are Dr. L. Nöth, Innsbruck, geologist; Dr. R. Finsterwelder, Munich, cartography; Dr. R. Lentz, Berlin, ethnology. In addition there will be four young mountaineers delegated by the German and Austrian Alpine Club.

This is to be the beginning of a systematic collection of data towards the chronological comparison of the ice-ages in the Alps and Turkestan.

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#### A LOST MANUSCRIPT OF MARCO POLO

It has not strayed further than the shelves of the British Museum, but still the history is curious and shows how a scholar like Yule or a bibliographer like Cordier can be caught napping. When the "Geographic Text" of Marco Polo was printed by the Société de Géographie in 1824 (*Recueil de Voyages, etc.*, tome i) use was made among other MSS. of an imperfect Latin text which was then in the library of Baron Walckenaer. In 1839 the Société de Géographie printed the *Mirabilia* of Jordan of Sévérac from the unique MS. in the same library, and it was clearly stated in the Introduction (*Recueil, etc.*, tome iv, p. 3) that the same volume contained also the said MS. of Marco Polo which had been used in 1824. When, therefore, in 1863 Yule translated the *Mirabilia* from the printed text of 1839, he must have known that Baron Walckenaer's MSS. of the *Mirabilia* and of Marco Polo had been in one volume, but he did not know what had become of that volume when the Baron's books were sold in 1853. A reviewer told him that the *Mirabilia* was in the British Museum, and he reports the fact, evidently without having

verified it, in *Cathay*, 1866. The statement is repeated without comment by Cordier in the new edition of *Cathay*, vol. iii, 1914, p. 39. In the list of MSS. of Marco Polo in his first edition of *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1871, Yule registers Baron Walckenaer's MS. (No. 23) as "A Miscellaneous Volume" (proving that he had seen an account of the contents) with the note "*Present locality not known*", and this is repeated by Cordier in the third edition, 1903, under No. 28; and no further remark is made in *Ser Marco Polo*, 1920. When at last Cordier printed the whole Table of Contents (seven items) of Baron Walckenaer's volume in *Les Merveilles de l'Asie*, 1925, p. 44, he did so without the least hint that here at last was the lost MS. of Marco Polo. Finally Professor L. F. Benedetto of Florence says on p. cxliii of his magnificent edition of Marco Polo (*Il Milione*, 1928): "We do not know to what library, very probably American, the codex which once belonged to Baron Walckenaer may have migrated." He calls the MS. abbastanza notevole (as far as the old extracts and notices allow him to judge) and proceeds to give an accurate account of the volume and of some of its other contents, including the *Mirabilia*.

The volume is known in the British Museum as Add. 19513, and is described in the *Catalogue of Additions 1848-53*, 1868, p. 248, where also "Paulus (Marchus)" is duly indexed. The book seems at some time to have come out of its covers and *Mirabilia* has been wrongly inserted at the beginning instead of at the end. The leaves are numbered in pencil. Marco Polo begins on fol. 85r<sup>o</sup>: Incipit prologus in librum domini marchii pauli de uenetiis de condictionibus & consuetudinibus orientalium regionum. and ends fol. 132v<sup>o</sup>: possunt ab homine uel It consists of four gatherings (the fifth having been lost before 1824) of twelve leaves each: 85-96 with the catchword [in domo]; 97-108 [porrigunt]; 109-120 [scedant]; 121-132 [a bestia.]. The writing is of the fourteenth century, two columns to a page. The first two gatherings are ruled with 34 lines to the column while the third and fourth are



ruled only on two or three pages and have 33 and 32 lines to a column respectively. There can be no possible doubt that this is the MS. used in 1824, but the readings do not seem to have been very carefully copied then. It reads, for instance, (at least in the rubric) *tygui* where 1824 gives nothing but *Thingchingui*.

Thus has this manuscript, properly catalogued and indexed, lain hid in the British Museum for three quarters of a century.

A. C. M.

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V. D. SMIRNOV : A MEMOIR

The 22nd May, 1927, was the fifth anniversary of the death of Vasili Dimitriyevich Smirnov, the most noted among Russian scholars of Ottoman-Turkish, late Professor of Turkish language and literature. His long life (1846-1922) was very rich in events; his career shows how, a son of poor and uncultured parents, he made for himself a name for vast erudition and thoroughly reliable scientific work. His strong character knew no obstacle, either in the primary seminary of Astrakhan or at the university of Petersburg. People of character being very rare in Russia, in this quality of his nature Smirnov resembled a foreigner, but he remained very Russian as far as the other features of his character were concerned. Some carelessness in method and his typical Russian humour, like that of Gogol, are clearly reflected in his published work. His thoughts were always original, sometimes even derisive and sarcastic. His way of always speaking the truth in addition to his humour, did not gain him many friends, but he had no great need for them. Professor of the University, Curator of the Turkish section at the Public Library, member and for a long time secretary of the well-known Eastern Section of the Russian Archæological Society, he worked hard. Knowing well many Turkish dialects, such as Tatar, Chaghatai, and others, he specialized in Ottoman-Turkish. All his chief works are devoted to this

language and its folk-lore. He made a sketch of Ottoman-Turkish literature, based upon original sources, when Europe had nothing similar.<sup>1</sup> He published a large collection of Ottoman-Turkish texts for educational purposes<sup>2</sup>: even now this is the only work of the kind for this language. A very good connoisseur of manuscripts, he worked much in the libraries of Budapest, Paris, and London, and described the important Russian collection of Turkish manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> His two theses are fundamental works for Turkish literature and history.<sup>4</sup> Analysing not only Turkish sources, but also Slavonic and Greek, he gives etymologies of words connected with culture, history, etc.<sup>5</sup> Being acquainted with all the Turkish editions in Russia, he always had considerable material for his articles at his disposal. He was particularly interested in Russo-Turkish historical relations; in connexion with it we may cite a very precious manuscript of تاریخ فندقلی (Tāriḫ-i Funduqlülü), found by him and partially published in his chrestomathy. Already known in Europe as a member of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists,<sup>6</sup> another discovery of his made him known to English science as well. During one of his numerous excursions to Turkey he acquired a manuscript of مہری خاتون (Mihri khātūn), which is still unique (see E. J. W. Gibb's, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. ii, p. 132); at his death he had not edited the whole دیوان, and the manuscript still remains in the possession of

<sup>1</sup> "Očerok istorii tureckoj literatury," *SPB.*, 1892.

<sup>2</sup> "Obrazcovyja proizvedenija osmanskoj literatury," *SPB.*, 1891 and 1903 (2nd ed.).

<sup>3</sup> "Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des langues orientales vivantes du Ministère des affaires étrangères, vol. viii, Manuscrits Turcs," *SPB.*, 1897.

<sup>4</sup> Their titles: Kuchibej Gomurginskij . . ., *SPB.*, 1873, and "Krymskoje khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoj Porty . . .," *SPB.*, 1887.

<sup>5</sup> "Mnimoj tureckij sultan" (*Zapiski*, xviii), "K objasneniju znachenija slova kandaly" (*Zapiski*, xxi) and many others.

<sup>6</sup> See his article: "Les vers dits seldjouk et le christianisme ture" (*Actes du XI<sup>m</sup>e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1897, vol. iii).



his widow, N. K. Smirnov. His chief lines of study were Turkish literature, folk-lore, and history, and their relation to Russian history and life; he was not a compiler, but always worked as a pioneer, and left in all these branches many works and many deep thoughts. Russia had in his person the first great specialist of Ottoman-Turkish and we fear she will not have another like him.

He endured with great courage hunger and all kind of misfortunes during his latter years, and ever kept the dignity of a man. He died on the 22nd May, 1922, leaving a rich inheritance of books, manuscripts, and unedited articles.

N. K. DMITRIJEV.

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#### ŚŪRPĀRAKA

When writing, a short time ago, a note on *Śūrpāraka* (cf. *JRAS*, 1927, p. 111 sq.) I was, unfortunately, not aware of the short papers by Burgess, *IA.* xi, 236 sq., 294, and by Klatt, *ibid.*, xi, 293 sq., dealing with the same subject. They in no way interfere with my conclusions but should be mentioned here.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS

MÉMOIRES DE LA DÉLÉGATION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE FRANÇAISE  
EN AFGHANISTAN. Tome II: "Les Antiquités  
Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān par A. GODARD, V. GODARD,  
J. HACKIN, avec des notes additionnelles de M. PAUL  
PELLIOT, Membre de l'Institut. pp. [vi], 113, [2], plates  
xlviii, paper covers. Paris et Bruxelles: Les Éditions  
G. Van Oest, 1928.

Seeing that the direction of archæological research in Afghanistan has been granted to France for a period of thirty years, this large and handsome folio volume is likely to have many successors. Among those successors will be Volume I, which, as it will contain an account of the undertaking from its inception and the reports sent home by Professor Foucher, the leader of the mission, is a subject of pleasurable anticipation. Priority of publication has secured for Volume II the privilege of an *avertissement* by M. Senart, who was President of the Consultative Commission.

Apart from the pages (65-74) devoted to M. Hackin's exploration of Dokhtar-i-Nōshirwān and its Sassanian paintings, the volume is concerned entirely with the famous valley of the colossal Buddhas of Bāmiyān, and very largely with the Buddhas themselves and the recesses which they occupy. The site and the two colossi (the latter respectively 53 metres and 35 metres high) have naturally commanded the attention of travellers from the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang (A.D. 630) down to modern times. In the text (pp. 6-11) is given a rapid sketch of the notices of European writers from Hyde onwards, and an Appendix (pp. 75-99) contains a full bibliography with excerpts, including Professor Pelliot's new translations of the Chinese notices and his valuable comments.

The work is for the most part descriptive. After dealing with the Buddhas themselves, it describes and reproduces



the remains of paintings visible in the niches. It gives particulars of other (seated) Buddhas in the same group, or adjacent groups, of excavations (here also there are paintings); after which comes a chapter on the grottos of Bāmiyān with plans and designs exhibiting the manner of roofing, which is here traced to a Persian origin. In regard to chronology the authors decide that the great Buddha, which was the earlier, cannot be anterior to the third century A.D., and that the earliest of the paintings go back to the fifth or sixth century, antedating all that we now have of this Buddhist art except what is found in grottos 9 and 10 at Ajantā and what was brought to light by Sir A. Stein at Mirān in Chinese Turkestan.

The practical difficulties in obtaining photographs of frescoes on the wall-faces surrounding or over-arching the huge statues were realized by those who had the privilege of attending M. Hackin's lectures in London two years ago. We cannot therefore be sufficiently grateful for the reproductions, in many cases coloured, which are included among the fine photographs occupying the plates.

F. W. THOMAS.

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OUTLINES OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY (BRITISH PERIOD). By W. A. J. ARCHBOLD, M.A., LL.B. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 6 pp. 367. London : P. S. King and Son, Ltd. 1926.

Mr. Archbold has dealt very successfully with a difficult and complicated subject. The title of his book may perhaps suggest to the uninitiated that a steady movement in the direction of what is known as constitutional government, that is to say, government on democratic principles, has been in progress in India from the earliest days of the East India Company until now. This, of course, would be a mistake, for the democratic idea in India is a plant of very recent growth, and, as Mr. Archbold points out, the reforms introduced in 1909 contemplated no advance towards Parliamentary

government, which neither Lord Minto nor Lord Morley seems to have desired.

The earlier part of the book deals with the gradual application of English law, or of regulations and laws in consonance with its spirit, to the Company's factories and territories, to Europeans in India, and to natives of the country subject to the Company's authority; and with the administration of native systems of law by or under the supervision of the Company's servants. We learn that at one time criminal cases were tried according to the Muhammadan law, but we are not told whether the cruel mutilation which it enjoins was permitted. It is with something akin to a shock that we read that the law as administered under the authority of Englishmen, both in the Bengal and in the Bombay Presidencies, was a respecter of persons, and that a Brāhman, no matter what his crime might have been, was immune from the extreme penalty. Whatever we may think of the death penalty for forgery and of the merits of Nanda Kumār's case, the result of that trial at least convinced all that the accident of birth conferred immunity on no man.

The state of the country did not always admit of the observance of legal niceties, and it is amusing to find in the Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy (1773) an admission and defence of what, in fact, amounted to the kidnapping of defaulting debtors. It is also amusing to learn that the proceedings of the judge of the Admiralty Court, appointed in 1684, were to be in English, not in Latin.

Mr. Archbold has explained with admirable lucidity the complicated situation at the beginning of the eighteenth century, with the London Company, the English Company, and the General Society existing side by side, and also the intricate machinery for the administration of justice set up by the Regulating Act.

The chief practical value of the book lies in its excellent account of the latest development in constitution-making in India—the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. He has treated



this highly contentious subject with complete impartiality, and his book will be indispensable to all who wish to study this burning question. It is well written and well produced, and is disfigured by hardly any typographical errors. "*Naib Sabah*," on p. 47, should be *Naib Subah*, but here it is not improbable that the author has closely followed a faulty original.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

A PAGEANT OF INDIA. By ADOLF WALEY. 9 × 6. pp. x, 556.  
London : Constable and Co., Ltd., 1927.

This book, as its name indicates, makes no pretensions to being a critical history of India, but may be described rather as the Indian chapter of the romance of history. The historical succession of sovereigns, Hindu, foreign, and Muslim, has been tolerably well preserved, and each has his entry and his exit and plays his part upon the stage, but it would be unreasonable to expect a single writer to base a book of this nature on original authorities. The consequence of this neglect is that many of the errors of the earlier English writers on Indian history have been reproduced. These writers were compelled to rely on a very restricted range of authorities and since the publication of their works the discovery of many authorities inaccessible to them has enabled later writers to correct erroneous statements and to question those based on insufficient evidence. For example, Delhi was not an imperial city before the advent of the Muslims, and it is incorrect to describe Prithvi Rāj as Emperor of Hindūstān. What rendered the Muslim conquest possible was the absence of any central authority in India. It is now generally admitted, even by Muslims, that the motive of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in attacking Hindu temples was not entirely zeal for Islam. The founder of the Bahmani dynasty of the Dakan was not the honest and grateful servant of a Brahman, nor had his title, Bahman Shah, any connexion with the name of the priestly caste of the Hindus, and Tīmūr, much of whose early life was

passed in warfare with Mughuls is not correctly described as "the Moghul". It is now generally known that the name of Bombay is derived from the goddess Mumbai, or Mumba Devī, who had a temple there, and that the inventor of the derivation *Bom Bahia* cannot have known Portuguese, or he would not have qualified a feminine substantive with a masculine adjective. It would be easy to multiply instances of the repetition of exploded errors such as these, but Mr. Waley is on surer ground when he reaches the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib, for which he has consulted the best modern authorities—the late Mr. Irvine's fine version of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor, A History of the Maratha People*, by Kincaid and Parasnis, and Professor Jādūnāth Sarkār's *History of Aurangzib*. It is unfortunate that he has not utilized to the same extent, for the reign of Akbar, the late Mr. Vincent Smith's excellent study of that ruler. The book, in spite of these defects, has a distinct value. It gives a generally correct outline of Indian history and its style is calculated to promote interest in a subject which is too little studied in this country. It is much to be regretted that the gifted author died early in the year in which his book was published, and thus never enjoyed the opportunity of seeing in its final form the work which lives after him.

W. H.

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THE LADY OF THE LOTUS, RUP MATI, QUEEN OF MANDU.  
A Strange Tale of Faithfulness. By AHMAD-UL-UMRI,  
Turkoman. Translated, with introduction and notes,  
together with twenty-six poems attributed to Queen  
Rup Mati done into verse by L. M. CRUMP, C.I.E.  
9½ × 8. pp. xii, 96.

Mr. Crump presents, in a most attractive form, the well-known story of Rūp Matī, the faithful wife, or mistress, for her status is not yet determined, of Bāz Bahādur, the last independent Muhammadan king of Mālwa, that land of



romance. The prose narrative of the loves of Bāz Bahādur and Rūp Matī is a translation of a contemporary narrative by Ahmad-ul-Umri, a Turkman officer in the service of Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain Mirzā, one of the turbulent kinsmen of the great Akbar. Of the writer little is known, and we may well share Mr. Crump's regret that there is little or no chance of further acquaintance with this prose poet, this romantic historian, this Oriental feminist.

Mr. Crump's interest in the story of Rūp Matī and his assiduity in seeking records of the heroine were rewarded by the discovery of a copy, probably unique, of Ahmad-ul-Umri's work, transcribed by Mir Ja'far 'Alī in 1653, about fifty-four years after the writing of the original. So far as can be judged by one who has not seen the MS. used Mr. Crump has dealt faithfully with his material, and has preserved the flavour of Eastern literary form.

A defect in the book, and the only one which I have detected, is the too discriminate use of the *macron*, which is distributed with apparent impartiality among short and long syllables. Māhadeo (for Mahādeo), Āhmad, Māhmud, Akbār, Jā'afar, Anagāh, Māhbub, Mahāl, Kā'aba, Atgāh, Sādi, and Sāyyid are all instances of its misplacement. The use of "Altamsh" for "Īltutmish" is perhaps pardonable, as the correct version of the personal name of the great Slave King is not generally known; but it is time that the name of our predecessors in empire in India was standardized. In Hindī and Indian Persian the form Marhatta is, for some reason, preferred. In the days of unscientific transliteration we used the form Mahratta, but there can be no excuse for writing Māhratta on one page and Mahāratta on another. Marāthā is the correct spelling. It is now generally recognized that Blochmann's description of the brutal Adham Khan as "evidently a royal bastard" rested on no evidence, and that the haphazard statement should not be taken as a fact. Bāz Bahādur's real name was not Bāzid, but Bāyazid. The name of Tafa'ul Khān, the regent of Berar, is commonly corrupted, in Indian

histories written in Persian, into "Tufâl", but "Tufel" is, so far as I know, not to be found.

Mr. Crump's discussion of the status of his heroine is interesting, but in spite of his obvious anxiety to assign to her the dignity of a wife he is compelled to leave the question open. Most authorities refer to her as a courtesan, songstress, or mistress, and even the evidence of Nizâm-ud-dîn Aḥmad quoted by Mr. Crump in support of his own view, is inconclusive. The words used by him are *ḥaram-i-dūstdār*, and *ḥaram* does not necessarily mean "wife". It might equally well describe the king's *maitresse en titre*, which Rūp Matī certainly was.

Mr. Crump's melodious verses, which are not his first essay in poetry, preserve the spirit and genius of Eastern love-lyrics, and more of them would be welcome. Much work remains for so gifted a versifier in familiarizing the West with the erotic poetry of the East, which prose renderings can never do. It is to be hoped that Mr. Crump will turn his attention to this matter.

The form of the book, the printing, the binding, and, above all, the style in which the charming illustrations are reproduced are fully worthy of the Oxford University Press under the direction of Mr. Humphrey Milford.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

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THE EPIC OF MOUNT EVEREST. By Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. 8½ × 6, 319 pp. London: Edward Arnold and Co., 1926.

This is a condensed description of the three Mount Everest Expeditions of 1921, 1922, and 1924, which, as explained, is intended to bring the heroic story within the range of a much larger class of readers than the limited number to which the expensive and elaborate records of the expeditions were accessible.

The service of preparing this inspiring record could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of Sir Francis



Younghusband, the first Chairman of the Mount Everest Committee, whose own experience and achievements, of which one learns nothing from this book, and complete understanding of the mountaineer's spirit, as well as his official connexion with the three expeditions, marked him as the fittest person for the task.

The book leaves little to be desired as a defence of the sacrifices made in the attempt of spirit to establish its supremacy over matter and as a record of the devotion and heroism of all engaged in that attempt, and there are few who will not be thrilled by the recital of the sufferings and the achievements of those who attempted to overcome the world's highest mountain, and perhaps succeeded in the attempt.

To the general reader, unable to share, or perhaps even to comprehend, the call of the mountains, the book will disclose many subjects of interest. The accounts of the fauna and flora of Tibet and especially the chapter on high altitude life (xiv) are most interesting. Another matter of the greatest interest to the physiologist as well as to the mountaineer is the question of the use of oxygen. Before the experience of those who all but succeeded in standing on the summit of Everest had demonstrated the degree of man's adaptability to his surroundings the general view regarding oxygen may be represented by the statement that prudence demanded its use. It would doubtless be a greater triumph to climb Everest without oxygen than with it, but it was doubted whether man could exist, far less undergo physical exertion at altitudes much above 20,000 feet, and it was believed that acclimatization above this height was impossible, and that an attempt to remain at such an altitude would weaken the climber rather than enable him to adapt himself to conditions. The author's view that this belief has been proved to be erroneous will probably commend itself to all who study his record, and his conclusion that oxygen has been the bane of Everest expeditions will be accepted; with the reservation that oxygen should be supplied, as is brandy, as a medicine,

to be used when required. The question is well summarized by Sir Francis.

"Oxygenists might legitimately claim that if the expedition had concentrated upon oxygen—and upon oxygen alone—the summit might have been reached. It probably would have. But if it had we should have missed discovering the precious knowledge that men acclimatize themselves to the higher altitudes. We should have remained ignorant of the extent to which man, by exercising his capacities, can enlarge them. And we might have become increasingly dependent upon external stimulants instead of upon our native energies for climbing high mountains. A branch of science might have won a success, but man would have lost a chance of knowing himself."

The lesson learnt from these expeditions is, as the author says, that man's capacities are still growing, and that if he exercises them they expand. His conclusions are amply justified by the record of what was accomplished by the third Expedition. "These two facts—that porters can carry a tent to near the 27,000 line, and that climbers can sleep there—are two of the most important results of this third Expedition."

Of the tragedy which closed the third Expedition—the deaths of Mallory and Irvine, who "in the arms of Everest lie for ever—lie 10,000 feet above where any man has lain in death before" Sir Francis writes in moving terms, but his record closes on a triumphant note. Mallory and Irvine may or may not have reached the summit, but what they, and others, accomplished has proved that the summit can be reached, and who can doubt that Everest will be defeated.

The author is specially happy in his description of what is beautiful and what is awful in nature, and above all in nature among the great mountains. His description of the Rongbuk Glacier may be singled out as a specimen of his feeling for beauty and of his power of expressing it.

Of minor blemishes the book contains singularly few. It may be objected that the simile "his will managed to reduce



his stomach to the peace establishment", suggesting, as it does to a soldier, the idea of weakening, does not very happily describe the restoration of a disordered stomach to a normally healthy condition. "Palette" is preferable to "pallet" in describing an artist's equipment; and "where" for "were" on p. 113 is probably a printer's error.

The book is a worthy record of achievements of which our race may well be proud.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

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GEORGE LEIGH MALLORY. A Memoir. By DAVID PYE.  
8 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 6, pp. 183. Oxford University Press. London:  
Humphrey Milford, 1927.

This charming memoir of a charming person is valuable to those who had not the privilege of knowing its subject chiefly as an analysis of the spirit of the mountaineer. Mr. Pye, aided by Mallory's writings, has given us a portrait of his friend which will arouse in all who study it a feeling of regret that they did not share the author's privilege. A character attractive partly by reason of its contradictions and full of youthful enthusiasm, youthful intolerance, and displaying occasionally youthful affectation, is firmly drawn in firm lines and Mallory himself is allowed to fill in the outline. Of his affectation we have specimens in his petulant outburst against the Public School system—the common but unreasonable complaint that our schools fail to turn ordinary boys into extraordinary men; a complaint pardonable enough in one, who though himself a public schoolboy and master at a public school, was no ordinary boy and no ordinary man. Yet another petulant outburst: "How hateful is success!" What does this mean? That Mallory despised all success? No, that Mallory disliked Scottish sailors and engineers. But this petulance in no way diminishes the charm of his character.

Mr. Pye, evidently an intimate friend of Mallory, seldom offends by lack of restraint, but there is one expression that

jars—"A conjunction of two unique creatures." In a sense everybody is unique in that there is nobody in the world exactly like him in all respects; but this phrase is either hyperbole, or, what is worse, a misuse of the word *unique*. In the United States such vulgarisms as "somewhat unique" and "very unique" are common, but it behoves us carefully to guard the word, for it is the only one left to us that expresses its meaning. "Singular" has gone, and now means no more than "unusual", and unless we are careful "unique" may follow it.

To those who had not the privilege of knowing Mallory, the most interesting part of the book will be those passages which describe the appeal which mountains made to his nature. "Nowhere as among the high snow and ice is the utter insignificance of man's bodily presence so overwhelming, nowhere as among these mighty masses do his desires and aspirations seem, by comparison, so triumphant."

This attitude explains the appeal which Everest made to him. The last two chapters of the book deal with that adventure and are enriched with Mallory's own graphic descriptions of his experiences. Of the final tragedy the author writes feelingly, but with complete understanding. "When we are tempted to cry out upon the loss of two such lives, it is well for us to try to see Everest as Mallory saw it. To him the attempt was not just an adventure, still less was it an opportunity for record-breaking. The climbing of the mountain was an inspiration because it signified the transcendence of mind over matter." If Mallory could return he would be the last to complain that his life was thrown away, or uselessly sacrificed.

The printing, format, and illustration of the book are all of the nature and quality which we associate with the name of Mr. Humphrey Milford.

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KINGSHIP. By A. M. HOCART. 9 × 6, pp. x, 250. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1927.

The author of this book begins his prologue by describing two parties of historians, "on the one hand those who deny that the same thing is ever invented twice, and therefore assert that if two customs in parts of the world ever so remote from one another show some resemblance, they must come from the same source"; and, on the other, "the die-hards, mostly men of immaculate scholarship, who automatically turn down every attempt at tracing common origins with the equally confident assertion that similar ideas occur to men independently in different parts of the world." Mr. Hocart is a staunch adherent of the former party and gives to its principles an application so wide that the resemblances which he professes to find are not always apparent even to the careful student of his book.

His theme is the system of ideas expressed by the term "Divine Kingship", an expression so vague as to include theories of kingship which are not only dissimilar but conflicting, but between which Mr. Hocart professes to trace resemblance. There is, for instance, the theory that a king is in some sense a god, as well as the theory that "there's a divinity doth hedge a king", that a king is in a peculiar degree under divine protection. Not only does Mr. Hocart appear to be unable to distinguish the contradiction between these two theories; he treats them as though they were identical. Even the fact that subjects have been known to pray for their kings is cited as evidence of the theory of the divinity of kings. It is not easy to understand how one who needs his subjects' prayers can be regarded as divine; nor does the suggestion that the second verse of *God Save the King* is a relic of the days when kings were regarded as gods carry conviction with it.

Mr. Hocart, in deciding to try the hypothesis of common origin deprecates the reluctance of some scholars and historians of high repute to go so far; attributing it partly to a fear of losing caste by being confounded with "those wild men who

seized upon the most superficial resemblances in every part of the world to prove that the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel had been there". Let me hasten to disclaim any intention of confounding Mr. Hocart with the "wild men". He has laboriously collected a mass of evidence, but he has manufactured none; and he understands what evidence is, which is more than can be said of the "wild men". But like all who set out to prove a theory he is prone to find evidence in facts the relevance of which is not easily perceptible to the open mind. The notions that a king is a god and that a king is the special object of divine protection, though cognate, are yet distinct, and it does not follow that the second is derived from the first. In discussing the King's Evil he is on firmer ground, but even here it is unsafe to assume the identity of the "divine kingship" theory with the view that the king is enabled by divine assistance to work a miracle. The most that can be said is that divine influence temporarily pervades the king's personality.

The chapter on *Ambrosia*, containing a parallel between the Eucharist and *ambrosia*, *kava*, and *soma* will offend some, but the Christian mysteries cannot be exempted from inquiries into the history of religion. The analogy may be more rationally condemned for its imperfection. The question of *ambrosia* is obscure, but there can be little doubt that the virtues of *kava* and *soma* lay originally in their intoxicating properties.

The same objection applies to the analysis of coronation ceremonies. It is inevitable that analogies should be traceable between initiation ceremonies among different peoples, but the suggestion that the coronation ceremonies of Christian monarchs have their origin in the initiation ceremonies of primitive peoples who believe that these symbolize the death of him who is called to be the king and his rebirth as a god is strained.

It may be doubted, too, whether the Oriental is capable of abstracting a man from his office. At the *darbar* held at



Delhi to commemorate King Edward's accession and coronation much wonder was expressed at the precedence of Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, over the King's brother. This attitude surely displayed an inability to identify the man with his office.

The pedigree on p. 159 is not easily comprehensible. The ceremonies of Coronation, Ordination, and Initiation are exhibited as being derived from the ceremony of Installation, but the tree shows Coronation and Ordination as being more closely linked together than is either with Initiation; yet all three are shown as the offspring of Installation, and are therefore sister ceremonies. The pedigree form is evidently intended to make the relationship clear. All that it does is to confound it.

The attribution of the anthropomorphism of the Hindus to Greek influence will commend itself to few students. It should not be difficult to show that anthropomorphism is older than any recorded intercourse between Greece and India. The anthropomorphism of the Greeks is indeed gross and absurd, but its grossness and absurdity do not approach those of Hindu mythology, between which and that of the Greeks the difference is one of kind rather than of degree.

Mr. Hocart's argument that ceremonies in the course of time so lose their signification, and, consequently, essential details, as to become unrecognizable is certainly one explanation of the discrepancies which he either brushes aside as unimportant or attempts to reconcile, but most will seek the simpler explanation that the various ceremonies differ essentially.

These remarks are not intended to suggest that Mr. Hocart has not written an interesting book containing valuable material, for he has. He defines his book as an attempt at applying to customs and beliefs the methods that have been so successful in the study of language. As a first attempt it is, as he admits, crude; but as a first attempt it is also a very creditable performance, and it is to be hoped that the author will develop his theories more fully at a later date.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

## THE LIFE OF LIEUT.-GENERAL H.H. SIR PRATAP SINGH.

By R. B. VAN WART, O.B.E., M.A. 9 x 5½, pp. xii, 237.

Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1926.

Mr. van Wart has wisely allowed the late Maharaja to tell his story himself, as far as possible, using for that purpose the autobiography written by him in his life, but he has found it necessary to supplement this haphazard record by such information as could be gleaned from those who had been fortunate enough to be brought into intimate personal relations with the Maharaja. The result of his labours is an illuminating and eminently readable biography of the charming personality who was during the quarter of a century preceding his death one of the most prominent figures in India.

The prince, or as he would have chosen to be styled, the soldier, whose portrait Mr. van Wart has given us, will be remembered by all his numerous friends and by all who had the honour of his acquaintance as a great gentleman, a fine sportsman, and a charming companion; a worthy representative of the race of warriors from which he was proud to be sprung. Sir Pratap Singh's pride of race was not of that kind which regards high birth as the supreme merit of him who possesses it. His was that nobler form of pride which held it incumbent on the nobly born to prove himself worthy of his birth, and, in doing so, to shed fresh lustre on it. His ideal was service, and the three Sovereigns whom it was his pride to serve had no more loyal servant, nor had those who, like him, served the King, any more devoted friend than the "old Rajput soldier", as he styled himself in a memorable message. "Ever looking to your Majesty as my second God, I, as your Majesty's A.D.C., consider it my sacred duty to serve your Majesty personally at this time." This one sentence is a key to the Maharaja's attitude, throughout his life, to his sovereign, just as his dignified rebuke "Sahib, he was your Prince," to an Englishman who had spoken slightly of the



late Duke of Clarence, was an indication of the old soldier's veneration for his sovereign's house.

The book, with its fund of anecdote of Sir Pratap, and its record of the quaint sayings in his own inimitable English, will recall to many the old warrior's cheery voice, straightforward outlook on life, and intolerance of sophistry, hypocrisy, sedition, and political quackery. "Your stomach and mine. Look at it!" to an obese politician who tried to scrape acquaintance with him—"Very good thing, you liking striking, I liking shooting"—his remark to a number of strikers at the Jodhpur railway workshops—are instances of his caustic wit and of his attitude to disaffection.

His veneration for members of the Royal Family, of which his refusal to sit on the same level as the Prince of Wales was an instance, never withheld him from fearless admonition when he believed it to be called for. "You no riding like that, you riding like this. You riding like that you spoiling my mare," was his advice, well meant and well received, to the late Duke of Clarence. "You going pig-sticking to-morrow, now you going to bed," was his equally blunt announcement to the present Prince of Wales; but perhaps the most delightful instance of his outspokenness was his advice to his present Majesty: "If you real King you would cut tongue off — instead of letting him talk so much."

It is not fair thus to skim the cream off Mr. van Wart's book, and I must not further yield to temptation, but one instance of the late Maharaja's nobility of character must be mentioned—his helping to bear the coffin of Lieut. James Dalmahoy Cadell. What this meant will be understood only by those who have had experience of the strength of caste prejudice in India. The moving story is admirably told in the fine poem of Sir Henry Newbolt, which the author has been permitted to quote at length.

To the friends of the late Sir Pratap Singh this book will be a welcome memento of an exceptionally fine character. To others, and especially to politicians, it is commended as

an account of a representative Indian, a member of one of the noblest of her peoples, and a far truer representative than any of the interested and "politically-minded" Indians with axes to grind.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, POET AND DRAMATIST. By EDWARD THOMPSON. 9 × 6, pp. xii, 327. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. London, etc., 1926.

This book is a scholarly study of the work and literary life of the greatest of living Indian poets and dramatists, a character well worthy of study. Precisely how great Rabindranath is and to what extent he may, as a poet and dramatist, be described as Indian are controversial questions which it ill becomes one who is ignorant of Bengali to attempt to decide.

Mr. Thompson prefaces his account of the poet by an account of the great Bengali reformer Rammohan Ray and of the religious community, the Brāhmo Samaj, which he founded and to which Rabindranath Tagore belongs. In this he has done well, for it is impossible to understand the poet unless we understand his attitude to orthodox Hinduism, and his adhesion to the enlightened community to which he belongs enables us to understand that attitude.

Space, no less than lack of the necessary equipment, precludes me from attempting to review Rabindranath's enormous contributions to literature. In Mr. Thompson he has found an appreciative but not indiscriminating critic, who, though he concludes "by claiming confidently that his (Rabindranath's) output is one of fine and often great poetry", adding that "it contains an enormous body of work of almost, if not quite, the highest beauty and of many kinds", is by no means blind to the poet's faults, which are neither few nor venial. His prolixity, his constant repetition of ideas as well as of words, which is compared in its maddening effect to the note of the coppersmith or the brain-fever bird, the lapses from good



taste, even from decency, in his erotic poems, some of which fail to rise above the level of literary exercises, his proneness to plunge into the full sea of composition with inadequate forethought and with imperfect acquaintance with his subject, of his readiness to "make himself a motley to the view", his monotony, his mental laziness, except when aroused by deep feeling, all receive their meed of condemnation, which, however just, will not commend itself to those who scorn the suggestion that their hero is inferior to Milton and assert that he has written greater poetry, and more of it, than Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, or the Greeks. To such ignorant and indiscriminate adulation Mr. Thompson's calmer judgment is an antidote. It may be conceded at once that Rabindranath is a great poet, but to give him a place among the world's greatest is absurd.

Different views of the extent of the debt which he owes to the West are current. One scholarly critic of his own country can see in him no more than a Western poet who is able to express himself in Bengali, albeit in a style which appears happier and more natural when rendered into English. In short "Bengal has not given Rabindranath to Europe—rather Europe has given him to the Bengalis". His Bengali admirers would not admit this for a moment. Mr. Thompson steers a middle course. Western learning and Western letters have enlightened the poet's mind, and widened his outlook on life, but they have not denationalized his literary style or his literary work.

In a foreigner with so marvellous a command of English as Rabindranath it is strange to find now and then translations so grotesque as to shock. In the description of the attack on a Salvation Army preacher by Bengali youths—a scathing satire on Bengali heroism—the preacher has his head broken. His plight is thus described in English: "They beat the preacher on the head. His head bursts and blood runs." No such cerebral explosion as is suggested in the English occurred, for the preacher immediately afterwards addresses his

assailants. "Flows," too, should have been substituted for "runs". A word of which the poet seems to be fond is "douse", which occurs in two translated passages in the book, solemn, not facetious. The word is hardly dignified, and the expression "douse my lamp" used of Love, as Death, suggests Dirk Hatteraick's "Douse the glim". "Lovelihead" is not easy to justify and the meaning of "Vasuki . . . swingeing his folds" is not clear. "Death has left his card of invitation behind my ear!"

Of the poet's politics this is not the place to speak, but it may be said without indiscretion that they are unpractical. He has unequivocally shown his dissatisfaction with the alien rulers of his country, and he has antagonized their bitterest opponents by his satire, all the more biting for its truth.

Mr. Thompson has given us an exceedingly interesting study of the growth, development, and evolution of a great poet, great in spite of many imperfections, and though his work will not please all it will be welcome to the discriminating. His book is disfigured by very few blemishes, of which his reference to the Governor-General who abolished *sati* as "Lord Bentinck" is one. There appears to be no excuse for the use of the abominable word "Britisher" on page 247; and the expression "had operating not taken place" on page 231 is worse than inelegant.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

### Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. ÜBER DAS WESEN DER ALTINDISCHEN RECHTSSCHRIFTEN UND IHR VERHÄLTNIS ZU EINANDER UND ZU KAUTILYA. VON JOHANN JAKOB MEYER. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ , ix + 440 pp. Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1927.

Herr Meyer's book suffers sorely from *Unübersichtlichkeit*; it consists of a single chapter occupying 356 pages (with a *Nachwort* 58 pages long) divided into paragraphs of corresponding bulk (one of them covers 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  pages), without any



finger-post in the shape of a table of contents to guide the student through its paths. Nor are its indexes at all exhaustive. But it will repay the labour of study, for it presents in a lively style the fruits of a wide and deep reading applied in skilful research, and these fruits are of striking interest.

The author's aim has been (1) to determine by a careful comparison of their contents the mutual relations and relative dates of the chief Sanskrit *dharma-sūtras* and *dharma-śāstras* and the Kāuṭīliya, and (2) to make clear the real nature of the *dharma*-literature and its preachers, the Brahmins. His general conclusions are as follows. As to the first point. Bāudhāyana and Āpastamba are pre-buddhist; Vasiṣṭha belongs to about the fourth century B.C.; Nārada is really older than our Manu (the mention of *dināras*, with much else in his text, is due to interpolation); Manu in the present form was written between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. (perhaps nearer to the former date) by a compiler who worked over an earlier Manu composed in mixed prose and verse, and who, aiming mainly at religious edification, omitted and abridged much of the earlier Manu, added much *ab extra*, including some matter from Artha-śāstras, and patched together many contradictory scraps, producing a text very deficient in legal clarity; Yājñavalkya is a compiler, who has drawn especially on Nārada and Kāuṭīliya, and also on Manu; Viṣṇu is a late pseudo-Sūtra, drawing upon Manu and Yājñavalkya *inter alios*; Gautama comes last of all, and has used all the others. Kāuṭīliya did not use Manu and the later writers on *dharma*; he may have drawn upon Bāudhāyana, or both may have used the same sources; the most valuable surviving Smṛti is to be found in his Books iii and iv, which are carefully compiled from both brahmanic and secular works. As to the second point, Herr Meyer holds that the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharma-śāstras* do not deserve the title of law-books. Their original purpose was to furnish the Brahmins with manuals of *magic*, to

teach them *ācāra* in the narrower sense of the word, i.e. correct conduct such as would ward off from them malign demonic influences, and thus secure for them bodily and mental welfare; hence their rules forbidding nakedness, eating in public, and mention of names, regulating *res venerea* and the calls of nature, arranging for ritual cleanness, prescribing mortifications and atonements thereby, etc., etc. In the earlier books on *dharma* the whole of life is pervaded by the dread of magic influences. "The authors of the works inspired by the genuine spirit of *Smṛti* do not mean to give us real law-books, and often cannot do so, because obviously they have not knowledge enough." True, the metrical law-books deal with the eighteen articles of secular law; but almost all the later writers treat civil law quite unsystematically, and the older ones touch it very briefly and casually, often showing great ignorance of the world. There existed many books on secular law, records of local customs, rules of corporations, etc.; but the Brahmans did not trouble to study these, and only drew from them just enough for their purpose. As time went on, they incorporated more and more of this secular law in their manuals of religious law: that is all. The best expositions of secular law have perished, though a reflexion of them is preserved in *Kāuṭilya*. As to religious law, it reached its zenith before any of the existing books were written; in the latter we trace not development of it, but increasing decay. Secular law originally was cultivated by *Kṣatriyas*, *Vāiśyas*, and *Śūdras*, especially *Vāiśyas*, probably in *anuṣṭubh* verse. Religious law also was in earliest times couched largely in verse, but in *triṣṭubh*, the metre of the early epic.<sup>1</sup> Tradition associates Brahmans with *gāyatrī*, *Kṣatriyas* with *triṣṭubh*, and *Vāiśyas* with *jagatī*, but the Brahmans early took up the *anuṣṭubh*, and especially used it in the magic literature that they peculiarly cultivated.

For originally and fundamentally the Brahmans were

<sup>1</sup> On this point we may call attention to Dr. Charpentier's discussion in *Die Suparnasage*, p. 204.



Shamans, living like gipsies in wandering bands or *vrātas*. In Āp. II, iii, 7, 13-15, a *comme il faut* Brahman is addressed as *vrātya*; in the *vrātya* of Ath. V, xv we have an apotheosis of the Brahman in his primitive character as vagrant and beggar, who is here identified with Rudra-Śiva, the vagabond god and chief of the *vrāta* of Maruts or Rudras. In the Mahābhārata, however, the *vrātya* is a vagabond amusing the public by songs, music, tales, and newsmongering.<sup>1</sup> The history of the word *māṇava* is similar; originally signifying a Brahman lad, in the Kāṇṭiliya it denotes a dissolute rascal addicted to robbery, lechery, and the practice of magic for these ends. Both *vrātyas* and *māṇavas* are Brahmans in a "state of nature", in the primitive condition of an earlier age, *patita-sāvētrīkas*, whom the Brahmans who had socially established themselves came to regard with growing dislike, until they at length forgot that they were brethren.

The vagrant life of the primitive Brahmans explains much that is peculiar in the ideas and practices of Brahmans throughout their history. They were always beggars, clamorous for largesse. Brahman law-books permit free love to women, and the penalties for conjugal irregularity laid upon her are much lighter than those upon the man.<sup>2</sup> Though the teachings previous to the existing law-books were severe on sins of sex, the latter make many compromises and concessions. Even learned Brahmans were proverbially erotic, and owing to their repute for sanctity and magic powers, they were in great demand as deputy-husbands. Conjugal laxity is also indicated by the fact that they did not follow the law of primogeniture; the most learned and able son took the lead, and where Smṛti mentions privileges of the first-born it does so under non-brahmanic influence. Their marriage-forms too, were unique: their brides were *given*

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that the word *vrātya* includes more than Brahmans; e.g. cf. *Mbh.* XIII, xlix, 9; *Manu*, x, 22.

<sup>2</sup> These facts are candidly discussed by Mr. V. Venkatachellam Iyer in his paper "The Sanātana Dharma of Hindu Marriage" in the *Mysore University Magazine* of 1926.

to them, for originally they had no money to buy them nor power to carry them off by force. Agni, peculiarly the Brahman's god, was in origin the vagabond's camp-fire. It was inherited instinct that led them to live outside the town, and to eschew agriculture, cattle-breeding, trade, manual labour, even the simplest kinds of manufacture; and it was the same old instinct that moved them to establish and realise the ideal with which the perfect Brahman life is consummated, the retirement from the world into the hermitage and then into the final *sannyāsa* that leads to death.

These are remarkable conclusions, but on the whole they seem to me to be substantiated by the evidence. I say "on the whole", for on details there may be some differences of opinion, especially in regard to the *Nachwort*, and Herr Meyer's imagination is sometimes exuberant. But in his general conclusions I incline to agree with him. The old doctrine that the Sūtras are all earlier than the Śāstras is quite untenable,<sup>1</sup> as he shows, and his deductions as to their relative dates, their fundamental character, and the primitive nature of the Brahmans are in the main sound. On the last point, indeed he might have strengthened his case by quoting Br.-ār. Up. VI, iv, 6 ff., and Ch. Up. IV, i and iv. Certainly he has given us a remarkable and thought-provoking book.

2. UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA: JOURNAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS. Vols. xv, xvi.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , vi + 203 + 23 + 63 + 64 + i + 162 + 80 + 62 + 62 + 82 pp.  
Calcutta: University Press, 1927.

The contributions contained in these volumes vary greatly in quality and quantity; but, with the exception of Mr. Mookerji's paper on "The Gipsies and the Spread of Indian Culture", they are generally good, in some cases remarkably so. Among the more important papers we may single out for special mention those of Professor C. Formichi on "The

<sup>1</sup> A further example is the case of the *Vāikhānasa*, which Dr. Caland would assign to the fourth century A.D.



Upanishads as the landmark in the history of Indian thought", of Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra on the cult of the Sun-god in medieval Eastern Bengal, of Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya on "The Identification of the Rgvedic river Sarasvatī and some connected problems", of Pandit Bidhusekhar Sastri on vocalic composition (in Bengali), of Mr. Manindramohan Bose on the post-Caitanya Sahajiyā cult and on the Padas of Caṇḍidāsa, of Mr. Basantakumar Chatterjee on Vidyāpati's poems, of Mr. P. C. Sengupta on the Āryabhaṭīya (a translation), of Mr. S. C. Chatterji on the Nyāya doctrine of Pramāṇa, and of Mr. Girindra Mohan Sarkar on the Sēna period of Bengal history. The last of these papers shows real ability in historical research, and it is deeply to be regretted that death has cut short the author's promising career. The longest and perhaps most striking monograph is that of Mr. Bose on the Sahajiyā cult, which throws much light on a hitherto obscure religious movement that has wielded an enormous influence on the soul of Bengal; a copious bibliography is appended to it, which makes it still more valuable.

3. A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR FOR STUDENTS. By ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., etc. Third edition.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , xx + 264 pp. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.

Accurate in scholarship and lucid in presentation, Professor Macdonell's grammar has from the first won for itself wide and well-deserved popularity. This impression reproduces the second edition with a few corrections of slight errors, but with no essential changes, for changes are unnecessary in a work of such approved excellence.

4. [BHĀRATĪYA-CARITĀMBUDHI.] A Dictionary of Indian Classical Characters pertaining to mythology, philosophy, literature, antiquity, arts, manners, customs, etc. of the Hindus by CHATURVEDI DWARKA PRASAD SHARMA.  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ , xl + 682 pp., 1 plate. Lucknow: Newul Kishore Press, 1919.

This work, which bears the second title *Hindī-caritāmbudhi*, is a Hindi dictionary of notable persons, things, and places, and is rather more comprehensive than its title-page suggests, for it contains also brief notices of many medieval and modern persons of mark in history, literature, etc., sects, countries, towns, and the like, while one appendix contains notices of Muslim and British historical characters (including Śivājī!), and another gives a number of geographical names found in the Mahābhārata with explanations in Hindi and English. Many of the notices are very jejune, and there are some serious deficiencies; for example, under the caption *Māgha* there is no mention of the identification of Varmalāta with the historical king of that name, and he is wrongly called Varmala. However, the work contains a good deal of information, though of a rather sketchy kind, on the life and works of many medieval and modern personages which will be useful, and as a book of reference for the general public it should also be acceptable.

5. THE BAGH CAVES IN THE GWALIOR STATE. Published by the India Society in co-operation with the Department of Archaeology, Gwalior, for his late Highness Maharaja Sir Madhav Rao Scindia Alijah Bahadur, etc. 13½ × 10½. viii + 78 pp., 29 plates (9 col.). London, Banbury printed: India Society, 1927.

To the India Society, to the Department of Archaeology of Gwalior, and to the late Maharaja of that State art-lovers are under a deep debt of gratitude. This fine volume, beautifully printed and beautifully reproducing the gracious loveliness of the art of Bagh, is a gift of richest quality, well worthy of the enlightened bounty of the Prince to whom it is in large measure owing. It contains 20 plates of drawings and plans and 9 coloured reproductions of the frescoes from careful eye-copies by native artists—frescoes which, as Sir John Marshall justly says, "will bear comparison with the best that Europe could produce down to the time of



Michael Angelo"—together with a one-page preface by Mr. L. Binyon, 16 pages by Sir John Marshall describing the caves, some miscellaneous notes by Mr. M. B. Garde, valuable studies of the sculptures and paintings by Dr. J. P. Vogel, a short note on the frescoes by Mr. Havell, and two articles by Dr. J. H. Cousins, the first an aesthetic appreciation and the second dealing with the topography. In short, it is, despite some minor shortcomings, well worthy of its beautiful theme, an art *ch'è principio e cagion di tutta gioia*.

6. REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS, 1334 f./1924-5 A.D.  $13\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ , xi + 44 pp., 9 plates (2 col.). Hyderabad, Calcutta printed: Baptist Mission Press, 1927.

In this Report Mr. Yazdani chronicles an active and useful year's work by the Department under his capable guidance. Most interesting is the announcement of the progress made for the preservation of the Ajanta Caves with their frescoes, and the steps that are being taken to reproduce them in colour, of which we are given most attractive foretastes in the plates of the present volume. Good work has likewise been accomplished in the conservation of Ellora and some noteworthy Muslim tombs, while several valuable acquisitions of coins have also been made. From the archæological point of view all is well with Hyderabad.

7. LATER GREEK SCULPTURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON EAST AND WEST. By A. W. LAWRENCE.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ , xvii + 157 pp., 112 plates. London: Jonathan Cape, 1927.

Mr. Lawrence's work, fascinating as a tale of art-history and amply illustrated by excellent plates, is one over which the reviewer would willingly linger, but he must resist the temptation and restrict his attention to the part of it with which this *Journal* is directly concerned, to wit, chapters 7 ("The Hellenistic East") and 8 ("The Hellenistic Tradition

in India and the Far East"). Chapter 7 gives us a sketch of the influence of Greek art in Egypt and neighbouring African states, Phœnicia, the Seleucid and Parthian empires, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia; its effect in these regions, however, was not vitalising, and it produced few works of marked power (the intensely live heads of Arsinoë III and Euthydemus are strictly Pergamene). But on India its influence was deeper, and culminated in the Gandharan school, which passed from India through Central Asia to China and Japan—a development which Mr. Lawrence sketches in outlines, necessarily very brief, but on the whole just, though we suspect he is mistaken in seeing a direct Greek touch in Aśōka's Sarnath capital, and he makes a little slip in speaking of "Kuvera, King of the Devils" (p. 80). Mr. Lawrence has rendered a valuable service to the study of oriental art by viewing it thus from the wider standpoint of Hellenistic art; we hope that some day he will study it in closer detail.

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INDISCHE STROMUNGEN IN DER ISLAMISCHEN MYSTIK. I: ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KRITIK. II: LEXICON WICHTIGSTER TERMINI DER ISLAMISCHEN MYSTIK. By Dr. M. HORTEN. Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, 13 Heft. 32 + 141 pages. Heidelberg, 1927-8.

The view that Indian religious philosophy exerted a considerable influence upon the development of Islamic mysticism has been advocated by several distinguished scholars, including such a cautious and unprejudiced investigator as Goldziher, who, however, recognized that, in any case, the Indian influences are of secondary importance compared with the Hellenistic. Few at present would venture even so far as this. Within the last fifteen years the whole problem of the origin and evolution of Šūfism, down to the death of Ḥallāj in A.D. 922, has received a new orientation from the brilliant series of monographs in which Massignon embodied the results of an extraordinarily wide and



penetrating study of the materials (unpublished MSS. for the most part) that are still extant. From his subtle analysis it appears that the *Qur'an* was the central source whence the early Muḥammedan mystics derived their doctrine; and the doctrine itself, as developed in the third century after the Hijra, he holds to be essentially Islamic. Dr. Horten rejects this view, root and branch, while others, who accept it in the main, may well doubt whether it makes sufficient allowance for the infiltration of foreign elements and more particularly for the influence of the Hellenistic background on which Ṣūfism arose. This question has not been thoroughly explored. Future research may, I believe, find definite points of contact, showing that Christianity, Gnosticism, and Neo-platonism helped, perhaps in a more vital way than is yet surmised, to shape the mystical movement in the western provinces of the Muslim empire. As regards India, the evidence for personal or literary communication and interchange of ideas with Muslims during this period is so scanty that anyone who seeks to establish a connexion between Buddhism and Brahmanism on the one hand and the speculative mysticism of early Islam on the other should at least refrain from stating his conclusions as positive and undeniable facts. Dr. Horten's latest book is extremely controversial. He claims to have proved "die Identität der liberalen islamischen Mystik mit den Thesen 'des höheren Vedānta'", and this assertion is repeated again and again with an emphasis which adds no strength to the argument.

Part I deals with Ḥallāj, Abú Yazíd al-Bisṭāmī, and Junayd. Ḥallāj, who declared that the essence of God is love and said, "we are two spirits dwelling in one body," is described as "ein brahmanischer Denker reinsten Wassers". The famous formula "*Ana 'l-Ḥaqq*" is equivalent to

*Brahmāsmi*. When Ḥallāj says, addressing God, يَا جِلَّةَ الْكُلِّ  
(cf. يَا كُلَّ كَلِّ in Hujwiri, *Kashf*, ed. Schukovski,

p. 332 = p. 259 in my translation), this, according to Dr. Horten, can only mean pantheism. Hujwirí, however, refers the expression of Ḥalláj to the state of *jam'* (the unitive state), which he compares with that of Majnún, who "concentrated his thoughts on Laylá, so that he saw only her in the whole world, and in his eyes all created things assumed the form of Laylá" (ibid., p. 331 = p. 258). Bistámí approaches more closely to the Indian type. As I pointed out (*Mystics of Islam*, p. 17), the statement (*Luma'*, p. 177) that he learned the mystical doctrine of *tawḥíd* from Abú 'Alí al-Sindí suggests a possibility that the development of this doctrine in Islam was influenced to some extent by ideas derived from India; and the remarkable but very obscure sayings of Bistámí cited in *Luma'*, pp. 382-8, do not appear to me to be inconsistent with that supposition. Dr. Horten expounds them *more suo*, giving a detailed account of Bistámí's inner life, founded on the phrase "ten years", which occurs twice in the text, but, of course, is not meant to be taken literally. He distinguishes three periods: in the first a Buddhistic tendency reveals itself, only to be superseded by the positivism of the second decade and culminate in the full-blown Brahmanism of the third period. A fitting comment on this is supplied by Bistámí himself in a passage (Qushayrí, p. 57, under *mujáhadat*) where he divides the stages of his religious experience, before he attained to union with God, into four periods of twelve, five, one, and five years respectively, while in another place (*Kashf al-Maḥjúb*, transl. p. 331) he is reported to have said that he first enjoyed permanent contemplation of God when he was seventy years old. Theories constructed from such data are of little use.

In Part II, entitled "A Lexicon of the most important terms in Islamic mysticism", the author sets forth the principles and illustrates the methods by which his conclusions have been reached. Disgusted with the uncritical subjectivity of "unsere jüngste Orientalistik", he insists on the need for an "objective system" to settle all questions



of interpretation. "But where," the reader may ask, "is such a thing to be found? Is it already born and waiting, like the Hidden Imám, till the hour appointed for its appearance?" Its birth took place about two centuries ago—in 1745, to speak precisely—in India, and its hour has struck (see p. viii); but a few words should be said concerning the circumstances which have led to its manifestation. For once in a way Dr. Horten agrees with Massignon that in order to understand the doctrine of any particular mystic we must know the exact meanings attached by him to the terms that he uses in his writings; therefore, as different writers use the same terms in different senses, a critical and historical study of the terminology is necessary in each case. Massignon has applied this method to Ḥalláj and his predecessors with fruitful results. Dr. Horten condemns him, however, because he does not postulate an "objective system", a rigid, uniform, all-embracing framework built on the scholastic model, a final court of appeal by which the true character of every disputed text shall be decided. We then learn that the "system" is comprised in the well-known *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, compiled (1745) by al-Tahánawí and published (1862) in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. This encyclopædia suits Dr. Horten admirably, for it contains a large number of definitions drawn from the monistic school of Ibnu 'l-'Arabí (1165–1240). It is superior to the oracle of Delphi: on being interrogated, it never fails to give a response both clear and satisfactory. Dr. Horten takes some text of Junayd or Ḥalláj, interprets it by means of admittedly monistic definitions, and thinks he has demonstrated that Junayd and Ḥalláj were monists. So he has, but his mode of proof amounts to begging the question at issue. The ninth century is not the eighteenth or even the twelfth. It does not follow, because the symbols of mystical expression remain unchanged, that the ideas which they connote are always the same. *Eppur si muove*. There may be good evidence for the existence of monism in ninth and tenth century texts, but that evidence

must be sought in the texts themselves and in their cultural environment. On the Indian side the prospect is unhopeful, and one can only say that something might result from an investigation conducted on the right lines by a scholar equally familiar with Arabic and Sanskrit. But I am afraid the present work and much else will be out of date before he appears.

While the author's discussion of the terminology shows acuteness, it lacks the delicacy of touch required for handling what Goethe has called the scholastic of the heart and dialectic of the feelings. Dr. Horten is at his best when he is analysing purely intellectual notions, though here also the value of his book is restricted by prepossessions and impaired by intemperate criticism. Only a small minority of his very numerous corrections have any basis except a misplaced confidence in the "system". It would seem, too, to be a law of human nature that those who talk loudly and often about philological inexactitude in the works of others leave many examples of it in their own.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

PERSIAN LITERATURE, A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

Section I: QUR'ĀNIC LITERATURE. By C. A. STOREY.  
xxiii + 58 pages. London : Luzac, 1927.

The publication of this unpretentious book, which is dedicated to Professor A. A. Bevan, is an event of importance as marking the completion of the first stage in a long and arduous bibliographical journey undertaken with the object of providing students of Persian literature with a counterpart to Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Although such a work has long been desired, only recently, as Mr. Storey points out, have the sources on which it must depend become full enough to make a comprehensive survey possible. Of the 140 entries in the List of Authorities and Abbreviations (pp. ix-xxiii) more than a third bear dates



subsequent to the year 1900 ; and these include, in addition to Mr. E. Edwards's *Catalogue of Persian printed books in the British Museum*, catalogues of Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library, the Cambridge University Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and several large Indian collections (Bankípúr, Búhár, Calcutta, Rámpúr). As the work proceeds, its materials will no doubt increase, though the great silence of librarians in Persia itself is not likely to be soon broken. The general plan differs from that adopted by Brockelmann : each particular branch of literature will be treated under one section and in one place, while the works and authors mentioned in each section or sub-section follow one another in chronological order. Obviously this arrangement simplifies the work and facilitates reference ; the sole advantage of Brockelmann's is that it enables the student of literary history to obtain a panoramic view of the literature produced in certain parts of the Muslim world at different periods. Mr. Storey, however, does not call his book a history : it is in the strict sense " bio-bibliographical ", and the limitation of scope renders it as precise in form as it is scholarly in substance. The care bestowed on details may be judged from the fact that not only are imperfect MSS. usually distinguished as such, but the extent of their deficiency is indicated wherever possible. The biographies, most of which are compressed into a few lines, conceal, as a rule, the labour that they must have cost.

Qur'ānic literature, the subject of this fasciculus, is classified under eight main heads : translations and commentaries ; glossaries ; pronunciation and variant readings ; orthography ; indexes and concordances ; the talismanic virtues of the Qur'ān ; fāl-nāmahs ; miscellaneous works. The first works described are the version of the Arabic commentary of Ṭabarī, made *circa* 350 A.H. by a syndicate of translators for the Sámánid, Maṣṣúr b. Núḥ, and the Cambridge Persian Commentary of which the late Professor Browne gave a full account in the *Journal* in 1894.

The unidentified commentary (No. 6 on p. 34; numbered A. 2 in the Browne Collection) comprises Súras xxxviii, 20-xevi, with considerable dislocations and, according to Browne's unpublished description, at least one large lacuna.

The author deserves unqualified congratulations on the opening instalment of his work. There is no list of corrections, and after reading the book through carefully I find nothing to correct but one slight inconsistency in transliteration: *zēb i tafāṣīr* (p. 19) compared with *tartīb i zībā* (p. 53) and *tīgh wa-qalam* (p. 5, l. 3). All readers will appreciate the excellent printing, for which Messrs. Austin are responsible, as well as the skilful way in which salient features are brought out by the use of thick and thin type.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

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MEMOIRS OF THE COLOMBO MUSEUM. Series A, No. 3: Ceylon Coins and Currency. By H. W. CODRINGTON, C.C.S., B.A. (Oxon.), F.R.N.S. 12 × 10. x, vii, Introduction, 290 pp. Six plates and a supplementary plate. Colombo: Government Printer, Ceylon, 1924. Price Rs. 10.

This important work is a corpus of Ceylon numismatics. It is intended to embrace the whole history of Ceylon coinage and currency, and the project has been admirably carried out. There is ample room for a standard work of reference, because the only book dealing with Ceylon numismatics on an adequate scale, Rhys Davids' *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, 1877, is quite out of date. We are grateful to Mr. Codrington, who worthily maintains the family numismatic tradition, for so comprehensive and scholarly a treatise; every aspect of the subject has received extensive treatment. The preparation must have involved much labour and research.

The work begins with a full and well-informed chapter on metrology. The author discusses the beginnings and development of the various weight-standards in India as well as



Ceylon, since "for purposes of metrology and numismatics, the Island cannot be separated from the mainland". It is for this reason that coins are included of the various periods which have been found in the Island, but some of which may not have been current there.

Coins are first mentioned by name in authentic history about the middle of the second century B.C. The early money in common use was the ubiquitous silver "punch-marked" coinage. Mr. Codrington considers that the *purāṇa* continued to circulate in Ceylon, as in South India, till about A.D. 300, whereas they do not appear to have been current in North India much after the time of Christ. He traces the development of the *purāṇa* through the single-die coins, struck first on one side, and then on both, to the "maneless lion" type, known definitely to be in use in the reign of Mahasen, A.D. 277-304.

The finding at almost every port of many bronze Roman coins, "third brass" size, the majority being of Constantine the Great and his successors to the reign of Theodosius II, leads to the supposition that they formed the currency of the Island from the middle of the fourth to the end of the sixth century. Direct Roman trade ceased with the fall of Alexandria in 638. This currency was imitated, and the resulting Indo-Roman coins are described in two classes.

Mediaeval Ceylon emerged from the confusion of the sixth and seventh centuries to find itself invaded and effectively occupied from South India, but the Tamils were expelled, and the Sinhalese dominion was re-established about A.D. 1073. Fresh campaigns followed, with various changes of capital, till the arrival of the Portuguese in India in the year 1498. Mediaeval coins are of the quite characteristic "Ceylon type".

The Portuguese first landed in Ceylon in 1506, and in 1597 Philip I of Portugal, and II of Spain, was proclaimed sovereign of Ceylon. The first record of the use of larinis occurs in the year 1517. The larin must have been introduced by the

Muslim merchants from the Persian Gulf region, and with gold and silver fanams formed the current coin of the interior when de Wirt visited Ceylon in 1602. Coins of European type were struck in or for Ceylon after 1597.

The Dutch East India Company was incorporated in A.D. 1602 and Dutch money was introduced into the East as early as 1617. The Dutch captured Galle in 1640 and Colombo in 1656. There is a full account of the Dutch money, a historical study illustrated by numerous extracts from contemporary histories, dispatches, and other documents.

The Dutch possessions in Ceylon surrendered to the British forces in 1796. The British at first retained the popular Dutch denominations, while currency was given to all Dutch copper coins issued by the late Government, but English copper was also to be current. On the 1st January, 1802, Ceylon came under the immediate control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. An Order in Council of 23rd March, 1825, directed the introduction of sterling currency into all the Colonies.

Appendices contain relevant quotations bearing on Ceylon numismatics in general, extracted from inscriptions, literary sources, resolutions, diaries, dispatches. There is a full index and an extensive bibliography. The work has been well produced by the Government Printer, Colombo, and there are seven good plates.

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OCCASIONAL MEMOIRS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA. II: HISTORICAL STUDIES IN MUGHAL NUMISMATICS. By SHAHPURSHAH HORMASJI HODIVALA, M.A., Principal and Professor of History and Economics, Bāhāuddīn College, Junagadh, Kathiawar. With a Foreword by Mr. C. J. Brown. 8vo, x, 376 pp. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1923. Price £1.

At the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India in the year 1915 I suggested in my capacity of Secretary that the works of contemporary writers should be searched in a



systematic manner for passages bearing on the study of the coins of the Mughal Emperors of India. During the ensuing year three articles appeared in the twenty-seventh Numismatic Supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* from the pen of Professor S. H. Hodivala, now Principal of the Bahāuddīn College, Junagadh, Kathiawar; these elucidated problems, hitherto unsolved, by means of documentary evidence. Nine contributions to the next Supplement treated by the historical method present difficulties of metrology and historical geography. There were notes and suggestions on unassigned or doubtful mints, the true reason for Shāh Jahān's assumption of the title *Ṣāhibqirān* (an interesting glimpse into Oriental kabalism), and an elaborate contribution on the honorific epithets of Mughal mint-towns. The series continued, and has culminated in the Second Memoir of the Numismatic Society of India, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1923.

Professor Hodivala has accomplished single-handed a remarkable piece of original research which has involved a careful study not only of contemporary Oriental histories, but also of available records of European travel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the entire body of the correspondence of the East India Company from A.D. 1603 to 1659. His papers are a mine of information, not only for the numismatist, but also for the historian and economist. There are twenty-five essays covering a wide range of subjects. Mr. Hodivala is a chronological expert, and in his papers on the Ilahī Era and the Julūs years of Shāh Jahān, he builds up a system of reliable synchronisms. The study entitled "The Coin Legend Allāhu Akbar" is an important contribution to the subject of Akbar's religion. A flood of light has been thrown on Akbar's monetary system by such articles as those on "Abūl Fazl's Inventory of Akbar's Coins" and "Tānkīs". The paper on the very curious and interesting portrait medals of Jahāngīr is a complete exposition of the subject. "The Weight of the Mughal Tola" is a study in

metrology. The work terminates with a list of about eight hundred "coin references" to some twenty volumes of indigenous histories of the Mughal period. Mr. Hodivala gives minute references to the original texts so that anyone who is hardy enough to doubt the accuracy of his translations can easily lay his doubts at rest.

The subjects boldly assailed by Mr. Hodivala have presented many difficulties to his predecessors. Mr. Hodivala deserves the thanks of all who are interested in the subject for his industry and research, for the accuracy with which he has handled a large series of authorities, and for the literary skill and felicity of expression with which he has set out the fruits of his labours.

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PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, LUCKNOW : CATALOGUE OF COINS OF THE SULTĀNS OF DEHLĪ. By PRAYAG DAYAL, Curator ; Assistant Secretary, Numismatic Society of India. With a foreword by H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S., F.R.N.S. Svo, iii, ii, 99 pp. Five plates. Allahabad : Government Press, 1925. Price Rs. 7.

This is a list of the coins of the Sultāns of Dehli in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, on the lines of the second volume of the Indian Museum Catalogue. It has been capably prepared by the Curator, M. Prayag Dayal, and there is a foreword by Mr. H. Nelson Wright. The strength of the collection lies rather in the completeness of the series of commoner coins than in spectacular rarities, and the catalogue has more value for the Museum itself as a reliable record of existing possession and an incentive to further endeavour, than for the numismatist. But there is material for the scientific inquirer in the careful record of weights and dates of a large cabinet. The rupees of Shamsu-d-dīn Kaiūmurs and Shihābu-d-dīn 'Umr are outstanding pieces of great rarity.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

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THE HISTORY OF YABALLAHA III AND OF HIS VICAR BAR SAUMA. Translated by JAMES A. MONTGOMERY. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$   $\times$  6, pp. 82. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927.

At last, after thirty-three years, a part of this extraordinarily interesting book is made accessible to English readers. The *History of Mar Yaballaha and Bar Sauma* seems to have been written in Persian by a contemporary early in the fourteenth century, and to have been translated with abbreviation into Syriac. The Persian original is not known to exist, and there seems to be some little confusion about the history of the modern Syriac MSS., while the original from which they must have been copied is supposed to be lost. The Syriac text was published by Bedjan in 1888 and again in 1895, and it was translated into French by Dr. J.-B. Chabot, with valuable notes and illustrative matter in the *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, vols. i, ii, iv, 1893-6. Chabot's work (except the small supplement) was issued as a separate book in 1895, but does not seem to have reached the United States in that form. Mark (Mar Yaballaha) and Bar Sauma were "Oriental Turks" or "Uigurs", perhaps in reality Onguts, born respectively in Tung-shêng in the Chinese province of Shansi and at Peking, who travelled as pilgrims to the West and settled in Persia, where after some time Mark was made Patriarch or Catholicos of the Nestorian Church. Bar Sauma later still was sent by Arghun on an embassy to the Pope and to the Kings of France and England. The book tells us the whole story of their travels from Peking to Paris, and is valuable as a contemporary source for Persian history. For accuracy of observation and for lively and humorous narrative it contrasts pleasantly with the less vivid stories of European travellers of the same age, and few books of the period can be more worthy of translation or more easy to read. The only regret is that Professor Montgomery has translated only the first half of the book, but it is to be hoped that the rest will soon follow.

The annotations are open to criticism in some small details.

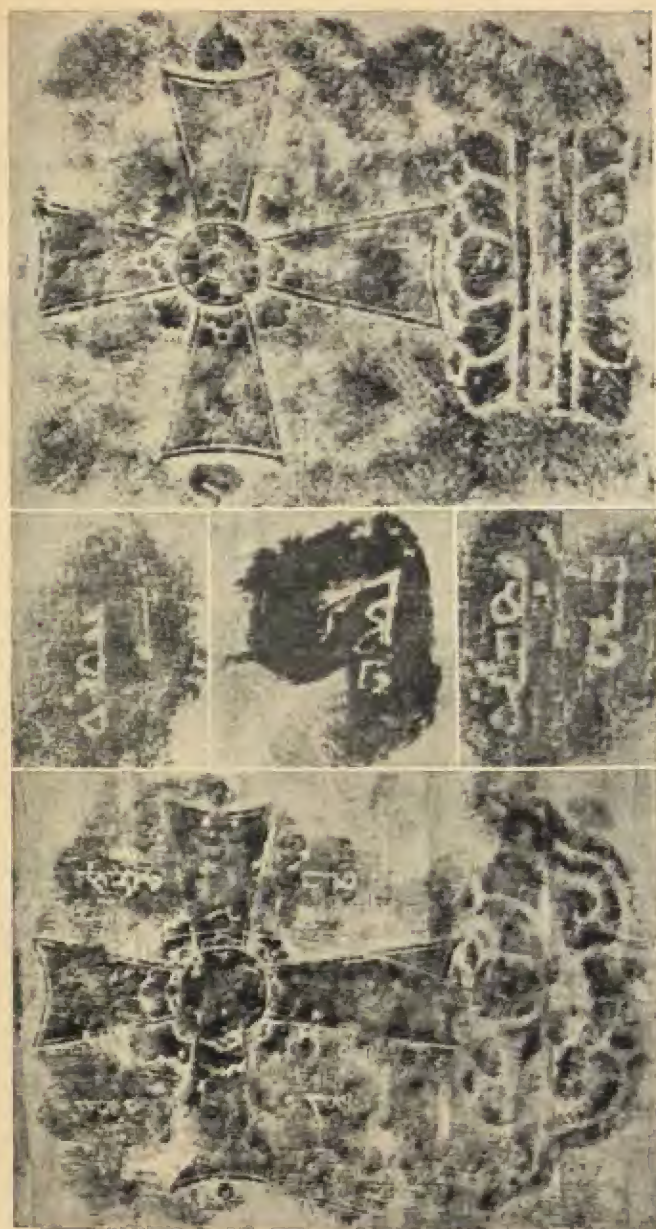


FIG. 1.—Rubbings of the Crosses found in the Shih tzü Monastery near Fang-shan, 1919. In the middle is the Syriac inscription on a rather larger scale.



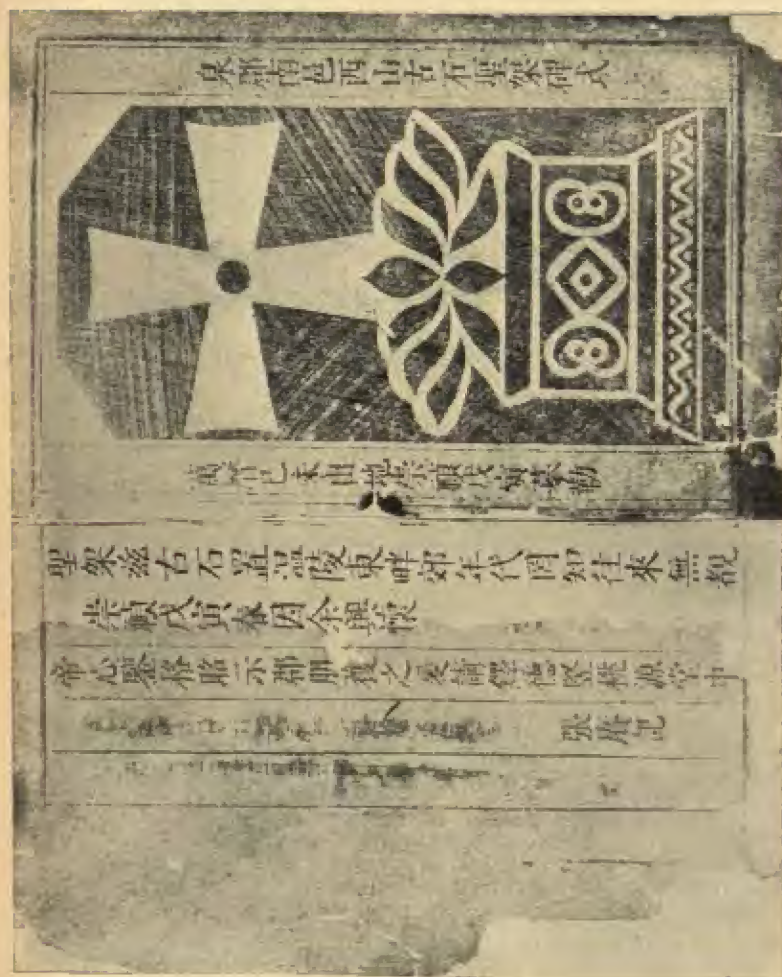


FIG. 2.—Engraving of a Cross dug up in 1619 on the Hsi shan south-west of Nan-an near Ch'uan-chou, and found by the Christians in 1638. From *T'ang ching chiao pei sung ch'ing ch'uan*, 1644.



Pl. 3.—Engravings of Crosses found in 1638, one (right) on the shore of the East Lake a mile outside the east gate of Ch'ian-chou, and the other (left) in the Shu lu Monastery in the city of Ch'ian-chou. From *T'ung ch'ing ch'iao pei ang ch'ing ch'uan*, 1644.



The author who has had access to the Library of the Columbia University and to the New York Public Library confesses that he has only used the first edition of Yule's *Marco Polo*, with the result that he writes (p. 16): "At Hankow in the South there survive the remains of a handsome Nestorian Church." Yule is not responsible for the confusion of Hankow with Hangchow (comparable to the confusion of Chicago with Boston), but he had been misled into thinking that the gate of the Jesuit Church of the seventeenth century (?) was the remains of a Nestorian Church, and the mistake was corrected in the second edition, 1875. On pages 15 and 16 we have Hsi-an fu spelt Singan-fu, Hsi-an-fu, Hsingan, and Sin-gan-fu. The last time it should be K'ai-fêng, and the date at which Ricci heard of Christians there was 1605, not 1608. To the exceptions (p. 2, note 3) to the statement that the History of Mar Yaballaha has been generally ignored by English writers may be added Dr. A. E. Moule's *The Chinese People*, 1914, pp. 314, 436; notes in this *Journal* for 1914, pp. 548, 575; Professor E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, vol. iii, 1920, p. 31; and "A Chinese Nestorian Pope of the East", by Canon Danby in *Bible Lands*, 1925, pp. 395-405. The "mission (unrecorded by Chabot) of John de Monte Corvino" (p. 9), is, in fact, fully recorded on pp. 213 ff. of the 1895 edition of Chabot's work. The note on "Archaon" (p. 19) seems neither to advance our knowledge of that difficult word nor to give a very satisfactory summary of what is already known. On p. 36, note 10, Jaghatay is apparently identified with his brother Ogotay.

Bar Sauma began his religious life as a hermit in the city of Peking, moving after seven years to a cave in the mountains a day's journey from the city, and it is tempting to guess (though it is no more than a guess) that the site of his mountain lodging may be marked by the Monastery of the Cross (十字寺 Shih-tzŭ Ssŭ, the regular name of the Nestorian monasteries in the Yüan dynasty) in the district of 房山 Fang-shan about 30 miles south-west of Peking. In this

small and now deserted Buddhist monastery two beautiful crosses carved on blocks of stone were found by Mr. R. F. Johnston in 1919. They stood at the corners of the terrace in front of the Temple Hall and the one at the south-east corner had this inscription in Syriac which was kindly deciphered for me by Professor F. C. Burkitt: ܣܕ ܕܝܡܡܐ ܣܕܐܠ ܕܝܐܠ, "Look unto it and hope in it" (Ps. xxxiv, 5). On his first visit in a thunderstorm Mr. Johnston failed to find the name "Shih-tzū Ssū" except on the very modern (1917) title over the gateway, but there is, in fact, an inscription on stone dated 1365 commemorating the grant of this title by the Emperor. This makes no explicit reference to Christianity and is about a century after Bar Sauma's time, but still it may possibly mark the spot which his piety had made famous, and it will not be too irrelevant if a rubbing kindly sent me by the Postmaster of Fang-shan, through Mr. L. C. Arlington, is here reproduced together with the similar crosses of about the same date, which were found long ago near Ch'üan-chou in Fukien.<sup>1</sup>

A. C. MOULE.

SIR JOHN CHARDIN'S TRAVELS IN PERSIA. With an Introduction by Sir PERCY SYKES. London: Argonaut Press, 1927.

This is the third publication of the Argonaut Press, produced in a limited edition, with all the skill and finish of paper,

<sup>1</sup> For the Fang-shan Crosses see "A Chinese 'Temple of the Cross'" in *The New China Review*, vol. i, pp. 89, 321, 522-33, vol. ii, pp. 421, 422; and especially "La Pagode de la Croix", by Ph. Clément (with notes by M. J. Lagrange and L. Cheikho) in *Le Bulletin Catholique de Pékin*, 1922, pp. 290-7, 420-8, 464-6; 1923, pp. 218-24; 1924, pp. 52-4, with numerous excellent photographs and facsimiles.

The Ch'üan-chou Crosses are reproduced from photographs of the original edition of *T'ang ching chiao pei sung ching ch'üan*, by Em. Diaz, Wu-lin (Hang-chou), 1644, kindly sent me by the Librarian of Zikawei. I do not know that they have been reproduced by photography from the original edition before, nor in any form in any English publication.

For yet another Cross found near Ch'üan-chou see Pelliot, "Chrétiens d'Asie centrale etc.", in *T'oung-pao*, 1914, plate facing p. 644.



printing, illustration, and binding that distinguishes the work of Mr. Lewis at the University Press, Cambridge. It is a magnificent edition as far as it goes, and this is said advisedly, for it is not the printer's fault that there is no index and no map—two omissions that one feels sure must hurt the writer of the introduction with his antecedents, as much as they cannot help hurting any reader with a desire for research. As far as the volume is a reprint of part of Chardin's huge work, it is as difficult for the inquirer into history as Chardin's original production, and except for clearness of type and a few appropriate changes it is no advance on it. Chardin is, however, excellent reading in any case, as anyone who peruses the book under review will find.

R. L. T.

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THE ASATIR, THE SAMARITAN BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF MOSES. By MOSES GASTER, Ph.D. Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1927.

Once again, as in the case of *The Samaritans*, noticed by me in this *Journal*, I find myself a pupil sitting at the feet of a master rather than a critic with views of his own, for not only has Dr. Gaster translated the *Asatir*, the ancient book of "the smallest sect in the world", for the first time, but he has added the *Pitron* or Samaritan commentary and the Samaritan story of *The Death of Moses*, and also an exhaustive introduction and notes. A completer edition could hardly have been devised.

In his preface Dr. Gaster tells us that the introduction is intended to benefit "the superficial reader", and that the book contains "a collection of Biblical legends and a parallel to the Jewish Midrash and the pseudepigraphic literature". We all have to be "superficial readers" in some direction or other, and in this case such a reader will find it necessary to be a student of considerable scholarship if he would profit by the width and depth of the learning placed at his disposal.

Dr. Gaster then goes on to tell us that *The Asatir* or *Astir* is "the oldest book in existence of this kind of literature", and he dates it in "the middle or end of the third century B.C.E.", say, 225 B.C.; and he says further, "the reader will see how I have reached a conclusion as startling to me as probably it will be to him, who will take this book for the first time into his hands." He also remarks that "it was very slow and uphill work, and I had to cover a wide field, leaving no document unexamined, which might help to throw light on the date and origin of this book". He discovered the MS. in 1907, and spent the next twenty years in working up an edition of it—years that have certainly not been wasted, if we consider the result.

It is with such remarks as those above quoted that Dr. Gaster whets the appetite of the "scholar"—I use that term advisedly, *pace* his remarks regarding the "superficial reader", who may essay to master his many arguments. Such a reader must also be prepared to find the book controversial in places, for, as Dr. Gaster says in his examination of the pseudepigraphic literature, he has "arrived at conclusions which differ widely from those accepted to-day". This result he has achieved with a breadth of view and a depth of scholarship which is to the present reviewer almost astonishing, and in one respect he has earned that reviewer's personal gratitude by lifting some of the Biblical legends "out of the narrow confines of Palestine and joining them to the wider cycles of world-legends"—the difficulty of such an attempt being very great, as the reviewer knows from personal experience. Amongst other things, Dr. Gaster has advanced "a new view of the Antichrist legend".

I have thus quoted largely from the preface to this book because it covers so much of the work in a few words, and because the space available in this *Journal* for notices of books precludes anything but the merest references to the innumerable points to be observed by the careful student of this edition of *The Asatir*. As one such, I can say that I have



only one quarrel with it. *The Asatir*, i.e. the Samaritan text, and *The Pitron*, i.e. the Samaritan commentary, have been printed on opposite pages, but unfortunately many of these pages are far from corresponding, and the reader, who wants to take the text and commentary side by side, will have a good deal of page turning. I suppose, however, that the exigencies of space has made this trouble inevitable.

Quoting Dr. Gaster again: "The best way to describe *The Asatir* is to call it a Midrash, Agadah, or legendary supplement of the Pentateuch." The reader will, therefore, know what to expect to find in its twelve chapters—a version of the Biblical story from Adam to the death of Moses, together with the Prophecy of Moses and an Oracle. The authorship of Moses is assumed in it, and it thus belongs to the pseudepigraphic writings ascribed to Moses.

Dr. Gaster then sits down to a steady, patient investigation of the "stream of literary tradition to its remotest sources", through the Palestinian Targum, Josephus, the Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemos, and other Hellenistic writers. Taking the oldest first—the *Sibylline Oracle*—that "remarkable product of Jewish Hellenistic propaganda", which dates from the second century B.C. onwards, Dr. Gaster shows by close and not very easy argument that it is closely connected with the *Asatir*. He then examines the *Sibyl of Tibur*, which is of Oriental origin, and other Oracles that show a still closer and more striking parallelism to the *Asatir* on examination; and when that is finished, after much close reasoning, Dr. Gaster arrives at the conclusion that "consequently the *Asatir* must belong to a much higher antiquity than any other Oracle known"—a conclusion the importance of which cannot help striking the student.

After this Dr. Gaster examines Josephus and remarks: "It will now cause no little surprise if we assert that many of these legends [in the *Antiquities*], far from being his own invention, were in fact drawn from a source closely approximating the *Asatir*," in spite of this last work differing

profoundly from his, and of his having a profound contempt for the Samaritans. Nevertheless, "the parallels between Josephus and the *Asatir* are very numerous", and again after the most careful investigations, Dr. Gaster arrives at the conclusions that neither Josephus nor the *Asatir* borrowed directly from one another, and that the evidence he has collected points to "an older source common to both . . . the common property of Jew and Samaritan alike." As he says, "the unexpected result of his investigation is to place Josephus' activity in a new light," i.e. his work is "nothing else but an enlarged Targum [exposition] in Greek of the Pentateuch, drawing its information from Aramaic paraphrases and collections of Biblical legends. Of these the *Asatir* is a Samaritan representative, thus far the oldest hitherto available."

The *Palestinian Targum* is next investigated. It is typically Jewish, and Dr. Gaster gives us a new date for it, "as the oldest of its kind . . . either as a contemporary of Josephus, or even of a somewhat earlier date." He then exhibits many parallels between the Targum and the *Asatir*, again giving an early date to the latter. Next the relation of the *Palestinian Targum* to the Oracle in the *Asatir*, which refers "to the events which are to happen at the end of days", is examined. This Oracle contains the prophecy that "a man chosen of God will return, who is to inaugurate an era of happiness and prosperity", and it is "of no mean importance to be able to trace it back to its obscure beginnings . . . A careful examination of all the dates available leads to the surprising result that the ultimate sources in the Pentateuch are the prophecies of Bileam [Balaam]", who "exercised a deep influence upon Israel", as the typical antagonist of the Jewish nation, and finally became the prototype of the Antichrist of the Christians. The interest of the general investigation here becomes evident.

I have left myself no space to go into Dr. Gaster's representations of the text of the *Asatir* itself, or of the Samaritan



commentary thereon, nor into his very numerous annotations in the footnotes to the text, nor even into his remarks on the pseudepigraphic and Samaritan literature of his subject, nor his notes on the Mandæan affinities with the *Asatir*. All these and much else are worked out with the same acuteness and fullness as the portions above noted. But there is one point of the greatest interest to myself, in which Dr. Gaster discourses on "The *Asatir* and the cycles of universal *Sagas*"—the Universal King, the Return of the Hero, the Child of Destiny, and the Antichrist Legend. He makes the legends of the Hellenistic literature, Josephus, the Palestinian Targum, and the literature of the Oracles "take their place in the greater world of myth and legend not limited to one nation, but international", and finally, he states that "we have in these Samaritan legends [of the *Asatir*] the oldest prototypes, or, at any rate, the oldest yet recovered, for these different tales and legends". I have no hesitation in saying that every student of folk tales and legends should study the half-dozen pages in which Dr. Gaster develops these ideas. I have been studying for some time the tales that have collected round the names—the joint names as they turn out to be in the Near East—of St. George and al-Khidr, and had independently come to the conclusion that they are but a phase, despite the infinite variety of the forms, of but one or two varieties of world legends, common now to Asiatico-European civilization. As Dr. Gaster has said in his lectures before the British Academy: "I do not believe in the fecundity of human imagination."

With these remarks, which are perforce but superficial, I take leave reluctantly of a remarkable book which it must be a source of pride to this Society to have been able to publish for the author.

R. C. TEMPLE.

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CHINA TO-DAY : POLITICAL. By STANLEY K. HORNBECK.  
8 × 5½, 150 pp. World Peace Foundation : Boston,  
Mass., U.S.A., 1927.

This is a treatise on similar lines to the preceding, but differs in two respects : it has no official status, but is issued for a Society which exists for the purpose of giving an unprejudiced account of public questions of to-day ; and it is written for the information of readers who, in general, are less well instructed in the affairs of the Far East than the inhabitants of Great Britain. Dr. Hornbeck was twenty years ago a Rhodes Scholar, spent four years in China as instructor, was a delegate to the Chinese Customs Tariff Commission, since 1924 has been lecturer on the History of the Far East at Harvard, and is now chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs in the State Department at Washington. He has written an account which is somewhat idealistic and not sufficiently based on the historical past, but is on the whole very informing. His narrative is in three parts : I, The Revolution and Nationalism, 29 pp. ; II, The Revolt against External Influences, 34 pp. ; III, The Attitude and Policy of the United States, 11 pp. Then follow 76 pp. of well selected Appendices.

H. B. M.

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CHINA AND THE OCCIDENT : THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE BOXER MOVEMENT. By GEORGE NYE STEIGER.  
9 × 6½, xix + 349 pp. Yale University Press. London :  
Humphrey Milford. 1927. 16s.

This is an age of the whitewashing of historical characters, whether persons or nations. Henry VIII is now an amiable uxorious king, whose object in suppressing the monasteries (and cutting loose from the Papacy) was to compel the lazy monks to work and so to redeem their souls ; his daughter, Tudor Mary, was a kind-hearted ruler who desired to save her subjects from the awful fate which for his heresy had



undoubtedly fallen on her brother, Edward VI, and did not resume the monastery lands because she wished to leave to her subjects the means of salvation; Alva harried the Netherlands for their good, France never ravaged the Palatinate, Germany had no share in the war guilt of 1914, and China, the long suffering, has never given any cause for having the unequal treaties imposed on her, or the attributes of self-respecting sovereignty filched from her. The Boxer movement of 1900 was the uprising of a justly indignant people against the Western diplomats who had attempted to impose by ultimatum an unnecessary and unjustifiable restraint on the wise action of the Chinese ministers, or had sought to spur their inaction; and the siege of the Peking legations, which historians have stigmatized as the crime of the century, was brought about by the action of the foreign diplomats in concert. This is Professor Steiger's thesis; and to maintain it he ascribes all the virtues to the Chinese ministers and people, accepts all their professions and pledges at their face value (or, in the language of the Stock Exchange, at their nominal par value), and receives all their statements as unvarying truth; while he withholds from foreign ministers and diplomats an equal credence for their statements, professions, or pledges, and makes them responsible for the consequences of their counsel or action, with no allowance for the excellence of their motives. He holds (p. 175) that the diplomatic representative has no right to demand protection for Chinese subjects, being Christian converts, who notoriously were the victims of persecution as *erh-kweitze*, secondary devils, pseudo-foreigners; and he further holds that the envoys collectively had no right to present concrete demands (p. 181), and asserts (p. 199):—

“The demands of the diplomatic body . . . for the adoption of specific decrees, meant the assumption of sovereignty by the representatives of the Treaty Powers. If, after this point, the Boxer movement threatened to become a revolution, it was a threatened revolution against government by ultimatum vested in the diplomatic body.”

Professor Steiger further adopts the contention of the Chinese, especially later Chinese publicists, that the Admirals' ultimatum and the seizure of the Taku forts constituted a definite act of war against the Government of China (pp. 187, 230, 234), and that there was nothing to justify the act, regardless of the fact that the city of Tientsin had been in the hands of armed Chinese for at least ten days, that the railway, the Admirals' line of communication with Tientsin, was cut by armed Chinese before the final conference of the Admirals, that before this "the river was full of the bodies of Chinese sympathizers who had been killed and thrown into it", that on 14th June (two days before the ultimatum was presented) three mission chapels in the city were burned, and the next day the French cathedral (*Notre Dame des Victoires*) and the remaining mission buildings were all destroyed. Legation guards were provided for each of the legations which were opened in Peking in 1861, but as years went by they were gradually reduced in number; substantial guards were, however, brought up in 1894, 1898, and in 1900. Whenever the writer of this work has occasion to refer to the summons of 1900 (pp. 185, 193, 195, 202, 215, 222, 228, 232), he casts a doubt on the wisdom of the step and intimates that Chinese hostility was much increased by it; the question may well be asked what would have been the fate of the personnel of the legations, the hundreds of missionaries and their families, and the thousands of Chinese converts within the siege lines, if there had been no legation guards for their defence. Professor Steiger renders a poor service to the Chinese in supporting them in a state of mind which makes it difficult for foreign governments to act in the spirit of the British note of December, 1926.

The make-up of the book is excellent, and it has a most satisfactory bibliographical note and an adequate index.

H. B. MORSE.

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CHINA AND FOREIGN POWERS. By Sir FREDERICK WHYTE.  
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , viii + 78 pp. Oxford University Press. 1927.  
 2s. 6d.

This work, which might have been entrusted to Grub Street, or, better still, to Fleet Street, has in the capable hands of Sir Frederick Whyte, successively a publicist, member of Parliament, and President of the Legislative Assembly, India, been turned into a state document. The history of China's foreign relations during four centuries has, more or less well, been condensed into eight compact pages; to the "Period of Chinese Revolt from 1900 onwards" are devoted the remaining 29 pages of the author's text; while the 40 pages of appendices have been selected with great judgment. The full title of the pamphlet—China and Foreign Powers, an historical review of their relations—is incomplete; to it should be added "in so far as they affect Great Britain"; for the writer has had constantly in mind that he was preparing a brief of the British case before the Court of Public Opinion, and no brief could have been better prepared than this.

H. B. M.

TSENG KUO-FAN AND THE TAIPING REBELLION. By WILLIAM JAMES HAIL.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , xvii + 422 pp. Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1927. 18s.

The Taiping Rebellion brought the Chinese Empire to the verge of destruction and devastated the greater part of the Eighteen Provinces; in its course cities were sacked, and many millions of lives were lost through the incidents of war; its leaders and its armies were maintained by plunder, and nowhere was a stable government set up; and there were many to urge the recognition of what they claimed was a *de facto* government, and, in any case, was an improvement on the effete and corrupt Manchu administration. There were then only three powers that counted in Far Eastern matters—

England, France, and America, with Russia in the background; France was repelled by the ultra-Protestantism of the form of Christianity professed by the Taiping adherents, but this very quality in the early years of the rebellion attracted many earnest thinkers among the English and Americans. The governments of all three, however, reflected that it was with the Empire that their treaties of 1842-4 were made, and that the rebels were likely to denounce the unequal treaties, while giving the Western merchants no greater degree of justice, or freedom from inequitable exactions, than had been given by the established administration. They accordingly in 1853 declared neutrality between the Empire and the rebels against its authority, and maintained it in the port of Shanghai even when two of them, England and France, were at war, 1856-60, with the Empire. Thereby the Empire was saved, since, without that neutrality, the Taiping forces would beyond a doubt have taken Shanghai, and secured access to the sea and supplies of munitions and food.

Dr. Hail, Dean and Professor of History of Yali College at Changsha in the province of Hunan, China (a missionary offshoot of Yale University in America), has done well to give this history of this great rebellion and its suppression, and he has done it well; and he has done well to connect it specifically with Tseng Kwofan, who was prominent in the suppression aided by his co-provincials of Hunan, the province in which Dr. Hail's work has lain for twenty years; but he has done less well in belittling the others who shared in the labour and the glory of the suppression, which he reserves solely for Tseng. In fact the rebellion was crushed in the thirteenth year after the siege of Changsha by the ability, steadfastness, courage, and power of prompt decision of five men—three Chinese (Tseng Kwofan, Li Hungchang and Tso Tsungtang) from three provinces, and two Westerners (Ward and Gordon) from two countries of the West; and it is safe to say that the Empire could have been saved with difficulty if any one of the five had abstained. This belittling of the others and glorifying of



Tseng Kwofan pervades the whole work, but apart from that the history is good.

A few corrections of fact must be made. Li Hungehang (p. 222) was not appointed Futai of Kiangsu until July, 1862, and he did not assume control over Ward's Ever-Victorious Army until October of that year, after Ward's death, and did not provide for its maintenance from government funds (p. 252) until Gordon took command at the end of March, 1863. The abandonment of foreign neutrality between the government and the rebels was not in any way due to the "Russian offer to aid China", and only partially to "the commercial motive" (p. 228); it was made possible by the change in policy of the Court of Peking which followed on the Empress Dowager's *coup d'état* of November, 1861; and even before this the English and French allies had manifested the benevolence of their neutrality when, on 21st August, 1860, their troops were at the same time attacking the imperial forts at Taku and defending the imperial city of Shanghai from a Taiping assault. In his introduction Dr. Hail refers to the Ever-Victorious Army as a force of three thousand men, with the intent of minimizing its influence on the success of the imperial arms. After his earlier victories, in the spring of 1862, Ward was authorized to increase his force to 6,000 men; under this authority, having then the rank of Titu (Provincial Commander-in-Chief) he raised six battalions (1,000 each) of infantry, and one of riflemen (600), besides his artillery (700) and his bodyguard (200). In May, 1863, Gordon took to the siege of Kunshan 3,900 infantry, besides his artillery and bodyguard, besides garrisoning his depot, Sungkiang, against any surprise, and besides his recruiting depots. In addition, both Ward and Gordon had (what Chinese commanders never had) both discipline and artillery, and they both saw that their force received its pay in full (which the Chinese commanders never did); moreover, they had foreign officers, of whom 48 were killed in action, 73 were seriously wounded, and 130 were mustered out on the dis-

bandment of the force at the end of May, 1864. In its four years of campaigning the Ever-Victorious Army was engaged in a hundred battles, and failed of success in only three or four; and it was a potent factor in the salvation of the Empire.

In his laudation of Tseng Kwofan Dr. Hail does less than justice to the eminent qualities of Li Hungchang and Tso Tsungtang. In the East, throughout the whole extent of Asia, officials and commanders have, generally speaking, been addicted to methods of exaction and extortion which the Occident, in its new-found virtue (about a hundred years old), stigmatizes as corruption and stealing, but which the Orient regards as the self-determination of the official's reward for his abilities and opportunities. Of the three above, Tseng and Tso may both be considered as emulating the moderation of William Pitt, Lord Chatham, while Li grasped his opportunities, in peace and war, after the manner of Sir Stephen Fox. As commanders all three were equally resolute, steadfast in adversity, and prompt in decision; but in strategy Tso Tsungtang alone displayed any great qualities, as shown in his post-rebellion campaigns in Kokonor and Turkestan. In statesmanship all three held viceroyalties; Tso Tsungtang showed no exceptional ability, but was not a failure; from Nanking Tseng Kwofan was transferred to the metropolitan province of Chihli, and at the crisis of the Tientsin massacre (1870) he showed a hesitancy and feebleness of grip that destroyed his reputation as an administrator; while Li Hungchang, his former subordinate, then his rival, and his successor in the Chihli viceroyalty, displayed a promptness of decision and a breadth of statesmanship which made him the negotiator of China's treaties until his death, and the virtual prime minister of the Empire until he was discredited by the result of the war with Japan.

Making the necessary allowance for his bias in favour of Tseng Kwofan (following a Japanese writer he styles Tseng the Washington of China), Dr. Hail has written an excellent



account of an important period in the modern history of China. The book has a most satisfactory bibliography and an adequate index.

H. B. MORSE.

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LES TABLETTES DE KERKOUK ET LES ORIGINES DE LA  
CIVILISATION ASSYRIENNE. Extrait de *Babyloniaca*.  
Tome ix, fasc. 2-4. By G. CONTENAU. Geuthner, 1926.

This is an important study of an interesting subject, which concerns anthropology, archæology, and linguistic study. In appearance, the ancient Assyrian resembled one of the mixed types supposed to have resulted from a mixture of the "Armenoid" with another race. The art of the Assyrians as represented by the seals of the second millennium is closely connected with the style called "Syro-Hittite", which originated either in North Syria or Cilicia. Certain elements of the "Subaræan" names of people living at Kirkuk, the ancient Arrapha, Arrapachitis, in the fourteenth century B.C., can be aptly compared with certain Hittite and other names in Asia Minor, and even more frequently with the names of certain subjects of the Mitanni kingdom. These questions M. Contenau discusses at length, with ample illustrations of the art and a list of personal names. His views, always well argued and clearly expressed, are of considerable interest. Others will be inclined to stress differences where he has pointed out similarities; time will bring more evidence and more precision in analysis, but this study has resulted in clear gains to knowledge, and must always receive close attention from those interested in the Nearer East of the second millennium B.C.

Some part of the explanation of the intricate skein of facts must unquestionably lie in the relation of the Hurri and the Subaræans. It was, I think, Ungnad who first pointed out that the letter of Dushratta to Amenophis IV of Egypt was couched in a language to which the "Subaræan" names

must belong. Since then he has claimed, with good reason, that the "Hurri" language can only be a dialect form of this Subaræan language. History makes it clear that the Hurri were widely spread; men of that stock were ruling various important cities of Syria in the fourteenth century, and if North Syrian art owes its particular character, as Götze has plausibly suggested, to them, some part of the chain of evidence with which M. Contenau deals may be reasonably accounted for. For what he has already given us, we thank the learned author—and voraciously demand more from his pen on this subject as the material increases.

SIDNEY SMITH.

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## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January-March, 1928)

The Council record with regret the death of M. Emile Senart, their distinguished Hon. Member. M. Senart, the doyen of the Hon. Members, elected in 1892, died on 21st February. An Obituary Notice will appear in the July *Journal*. The Society has also lost by death—

Kaviraj A. C. Bisharad.  
Mr. J. N. Bose.  
Dr. W. E. Geil.  
Sayed Aziz Hassan-Khan.  
Mr. Jagmandir Lal Jaini.

Mr. H. G. A. Leveson.  
Rai Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.  
Mr. Edwin Ransom.  
Mr. A. J. Shelley-Thompson.

Resignations have been received from :—

Mr. Ramdat Bharadwaj.  
Rev. E. J. Clifton.  
Captain Arnold Platts.

Mr. J. S. Trimingham.  
Rev. G. A. Wilder.

During the quarter the following have been elected :—

Moulvi Hafiz Jalul-uddin  
Ahmad.  
Mr. Phakirdas Banerji.  
Mr. Kastoore M. Banthiya.  
Rai Sahib Padmanath Gohain  
Barooah.  
Rai Sahib Gulap Chandra  
Barua.  
Mr. Harold C. Bowen.  
Mr. N. Chengalvarayan.  
Mr. Abdus Satter Chowdry.  
Mr. R. D. Daga.  
Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dhar.  
Mr. Bibhuty Bhusan Dutt.  
Mr. Narendra Chandra Ghose.  
Mr. Agha Akhtar Hosain.

Mr. Syed Badrul Hossain.  
Dr. Choudhri Zafar Husein.  
Mr. Choudhri Azhar Husein.  
Mr. Choudhri Hyder Husein.  
Mr. Md. Latifuddin Idrisi.  
Mr. K. Clement Jones.  
Sayed Misbahuddin Tamkin  
Kazini.  
Mr. Afaque Ahmed Khan.  
Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hosain  
Khan.  
Mr. M. Basheer Ahmed Khan,  
M.A.  
Mr. Girijaprasanna Lahiri.  
The Rev. J. McCarthy.  
Mr. R. W. Malliah.

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|--|-------------------------------------|
| Mr. Md. Abdulla Minhas.                    | Mr. Sayyad Sajjad, M.A.             |
| Rai Bahadur Sardar Jwala Sahai Misra.      | Pandit Swarogh Chandra Jain Saroja. |
| Miss D. Murray.                            | Mr. Manzoor H. Siddiqi.             |
| Mr. Jagat Narain.                          | Mr. Bhagat Singh, B.A.              |
| Mr. Bashir Ahmad Nomani.                   | Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh.      |
| Mr. B. P. Pande.                           | Dr. Balwant Singh.                  |
| Mr. Y. R. Parpia.                          | Sir Rameshwara Singh, G.C.I.E.      |
| Sastri Sohan Lal Partak.                   | Mr. C. F. Strickland, I.C.S.        |
| Dr. J. G. Peters, Ph.D.                    | Mr. V. S. Subramanyan.              |
| Mr. V. G. Vasudeva Pillai.                 | Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Wahud.           |
| Syed Guta Mohiuddin Qadri.                 | Mr. John Walker, M.A.               |
| The Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. | Mr. Stuart N. Wolfenden.            |
| Rai Bahadur D. Ropmay.                     | Mr. Wasi Mohammad Yas.              |
| Mr. Abdul Munim Saidi.                     |                                     |

## GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

*10th January, 1928*

Sir Edward MacLagan, President, in the Chair.

Mrs. Ayscough read a paper entitled "Court Life in the Tang Dynasty as illustrated by the Life of Tu Fu".

Mrs. Ayscough spoke of the decade A.D., 746-56 and pointed out how in her great power of recuperation, China has possessed an individual characteristic which has endured throughout her long history. From the earliest times until the present day, what may be described as a series of waves have beaten upon her shores. The flow of prosperity when a new dynasty has been established has always been followed by the ebb of adversity when this same dynasty has fallen. Underlying this surging tide has persisted a cardinal principle. This was a fixed belief in the inspired perspicacity of the man chosen by Heaven and by the "black-haired people" to become the Son of Heaven and rule the Central Flowery State. He was expected to exercise this perspicacity more



especially in the choice of his Ministers, and indeed, faced with the difficulties of organizing a State, the first Rulers of a dynasty have, as a rule, chosen the best men available. With a century or two of peace, and the enervating influence of Court life, however, vigilance has invariably slackened. The clear eyes of the Son of Heaven have been clouded by the dust of flattery, intrigue has flourished, power has passed into the hands of eunuchs, and catastrophe has swept all before it.

No period in Chinese history exemplifies this reiterating occurrence more clearly than does the T'ang epoch A.D. 746-56; and no documents bear more eloquent testimony to the unhappy state of affairs existing then than do the poems of Tu Fu; furthermore, these same writings give an insight into a point of view among Chinese of the educated classes, which still exists, and which has its influence upon the state of affairs to-day. This is a deeply rooted conviction that the ideal man should not serve under a bad Government, but should retire from public into private life.

Mr. Hopkins and Sir Stewart Lockhart spoke at the conclusion of the lecture, which was illustrated by coloured lantern slides.

*15th February, 1928*

The monthly meeting of the Society was held at the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, conjointly with the Central Asian Society, when Miss Mildred Cable lectured on her journey through the Gobi Desert. The lecture was entitled "From the End of China's Great Wall to Moscow", and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Chairman of the Central Asian Society, presided.

*13th March, 1928*

Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Director, in the Chair.

Professor S. H. Langdon read a paper entitled "Results of the Herbert Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum Expedition

at Kish (Hursagkalamma) and Jemdet-Nasr during the two seasons, 1925-7 and the discoveries in 1928".

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed:—

China Branch R.A.S., *Transactions*, pts. v-vii, 1855-9.

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*Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. i, No. 2; vol. ii, No. 1; vol. vi, Nos. 3, 4.

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— La mention der Sinaï dans les inscriptions protosinaïtiques.

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Unger, E. Der Turm zu Babel.

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Cannon, W. W. Jerome und Symmachus. Some points in the Vulgate translation of Koheleth.

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*Calcutta.* *From the Publishers.*
- Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥ. B. Ishāk B. Manda al-Iṣbahani, *Aus dem Kitāb Fath al-Bāb Fi-l-Kunā wa-l-Alkāb*, vorgelegt von S. Dederling. 10 × 7. 1927.  
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# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1928

PART III.—JULY

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## Islam and the Protected Religions

By A. S. TRITTON

### TAXATION

IN legal terminology *kharāj* means land tax, and *jizya* poll tax. It has been proved conclusively, and here it is only needful to mention the fact, that this usage is not primitive, and that both words, *kharāj* in the east and *jizya* in Egypt, meant tribute. The commonly accepted tradition is that 'Umar I imposed two taxes, land and poll, which were uniform throughout the empire.

Information about taxation is found in the papyri, historical works, law books, and those written for the instruction of secretaries.

### *The Papyri*

Among the papyri discovered in Egypt are many dealing with taxation, for the most part between the years A.H. 80 and 100. There are lists of payments by individuals, tax rolls, notifications of taxes due, requisitions, and details of sums paid by persons and institutions. Many of these papers are fragmentary, fail us when we most want their aid, and take for granted what we most want to know. Still some things are clear. There were several taxes. The land paid both money and corn, though it is not clear whether these



were two separate taxes or parts of one; the *tetartia*, paid in money; requisitions which seem to have been paid usually in money; special requisitions of milk and honey; and the poll tax. No Muslim is recorded as paying taxes. This might be chance, but, considering the testimony of Muslim historians, it is certain that they did not pay.<sup>1</sup>

### *Poll Tax*

There is no record of a woman paying poll tax, which agrees with the statements of the historians and lawyers. Not all men paid it. Some priests paid, but others did not (1420, 38-47, 49, 77). Sons and children (presumably grown up) paid while other children (presumably minors) did not (1420, 39, 45, 87). There is no evidence that monks paid. The rate of assessment varied, it was 3 *dínárs* (1427, 5; 1428, 6),  $2\frac{1}{2}$  (1428, 5), and 4 (1428, 11). Easement was given by assessing a man as a fraction of a person, so nine men are counted as  $8\frac{1}{2}$  (1427, 5). In A.H. 195 a baker paid  $\frac{1}{2}$  *dínár* (670). A few totals will show the amounts actually paid:—

|            |                     |           |                                  |
|------------|---------------------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| 95 men pay | 230 <i>dínárs</i> . | 7 men pay | 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>dínárs</i> . |
| 5 "        | 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "   | 5 "       | 13 "                             |
| 7 "        | 17 "                | 12 "      | 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ "               |
| 15 "       | 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ "  | 44 "      | 108 $\frac{1}{2}$ "              |
|            |                     |           | (1420, 3, 146)                   |

### *Land Tax*

The land paid both cash and corn; for convenience we may call the latter payment the corn tax. Landholders including women paid this tax and some who had no land even paid the corn tax. Tradesmen paid a special tax, apparently in place of the land tax. Corn land and vineyards were registered separately and probably at different rates (1339). The palms and acacias were counted (577). The rate of the land tax varied; often it was 1 *dínár* on 4 *aroura*, though it might be as low as  $\frac{2}{3}$  or as high as  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . In one case

<sup>1</sup> In the references to papyri numbers below 1000 refer to *Führer durch die Ausstellung des Erzherzog Rainer*, those above to *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. iv.

3·4 *aroura* of irrigated land and 5·1 of unirrigated each paid 1 *dínár* (1428).

Some leases of crown lands of a later date may serve for comparison. (The last three were certainly granted to Muslims.)

40 *feddán* at a rent of 30 *dínárs*, for 10 *feddán* were without water and not taxable. A.H. 176 (621).

50 *feddán* at a rent of 50 *dínárs* and payment in kind. A.H. 177 or 178 (625).

1 *dínár*, 10 *ardebb* of wheat, and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *ardebb* of barley for the *feddán*. No date (626).

1 *dínár* and 15 *ardebb* of wheat the *feddán* for wheat land and 1 *dínár*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *ardebb* of wheat, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  *ardebb* of barley for land under barley. A.H. 180 (638).

At the end of the first century most of the holdings seem to have been small; the biggest sum paid by an individual was about 9 *dínárs* (1419). The following prices and wages will be useful for estimating the real value of money. In A.H. 80 20 *ardebb* of wheat cost 1 *dínár* and in A.H. 88 12 cost 1 *dínár*, while later 10 *ardebb* of wheat or 20 of barley cost 1 *dínár*. (587, 1433, 1434). In A.H. 92 1 sheep cost  $\frac{1}{2}$  *dínár* (1375).

A ship-builder for wages and expenses got 2 *dínárs* a month.

A caulker for wages and expenses got  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *dínárs* a month (1410).

A carpenter for wages and expenses got  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a *dínár* a month (1336).

A sawyer got 11 *dínárs* yearly, a labourer 16, and a carpenter 23. (1341, 1366.)

In A.H. 88 the corn tax was roughly 1 *ardebb* for every *dínár* of the land tax (1420) but in 96 (?) it was 2 *ardebb* to the *dínár* (1424). In 98 and the five following years the land tax of Aphrodite (Ashkuh) remained constant at 6951 *dínárs* 15 carats, i.e.  $\frac{15}{64}$ . It was not always so. In A.H. 80 Psurou (سپرو) paid 70 *dínárs* 21 c. and in 91 it paid 104 $\frac{1}{2}$  (1412, and *Der Islam*, 2, 267).



The following list shows how payments varied :—

|                                    | A.H. 80-85. | A.H. 91.    |
|------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Pakaunis . . . . .                 | 371 dinárs. | 498 dinárs. |
| Empheuteuon . . . . .              | 390 "       | 131½ "      |
| Bounon . . . . .                   | 40 "        | 47½ "       |
| Keranos . . . . .                  | 50 "        | 25½ "       |
| Poimen . . . . .                   | 102 "       | 30½ "       |
| Monastery of Mary . . . . .        | 114 "       | 98 "        |
| "    Pharos . . . . .              | 111 "       | 5½ "        |
| "    Mary . . . . .                | 48 "        | 47½ "       |
| 3 Padiades . . . . .               | 436½ "      | 400½ "      |
| 2 " . . . . .                      | 233 "       | 253½ "      |
| 5 " . . . . .                      | 421 "       | 461½ "      |
| Monastery of Barbaros . . . . .    | 110 "       | 10 "        |
| (1412, 1419, PSR)                  |             |             |
| Again for the years . . . . .      | A.H. 88 and | A.H. 97     |
| Desert monastery of Mary . . . . . | 39½ dinárs. | 114 dinárs. |
| Abba Ermaotos . . . . .            | 28½ "       | 189½ "      |

It is clear from these figures that some of the monasteries were rich; the desert monastery of Mary had eight estates in A.H. 98, and that of Barbaros had ten (1419).

The central government notified a district how much it had to pay and local officials distributed the sum among the taxpayers. A typical notice is, "From Kūrā b. Shuraik to the people of Psourou. Your share of the tribute for the year 88 is 104½ dinárs and of the corn tax 11½ ardebb wheat Written by Rashīd Šafar 91." It seems that the lunar year 91 was the solar year 88.<sup>1</sup>

### *Tertaria*

This was about 1 per cent of the land tax. It is noteworthy that R. 609 has a list of three money taxes and a Syriac historian speaks of taxes, tribute, and poll tax.<sup>2</sup>

Requisitions fall into two classes; those "included in the schedule" and those not included. The "included" requisitions bear no fixed proportion to the land tax; but vary from one-half in the case of Sakoore to one-ninety-second in the case of Pakaunis. The "not included" vary even more (1413). The requisitions for milk and honey were not

<sup>1</sup> Caetani, *Annali*, vol. iv, pl. v.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronica minora Syriaca*, 335.

levied on the smaller subdivisions. Indeed the smaller places seem to have been burdened only with the bigger, more general requisitions. The following table shows the requisitions on three monasteries:—

|  | Holy<br>Mary.    | Barbaros.      | Abba<br>Ermaotos. |
|--|------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Allowance for the Commander of<br>the Faithful . . . .   | —                | —              | —                 |
| Goods for the boats . . . .  | $\frac{2}{3}$    | —              | $\frac{2}{3}$     |
| Cloth for a hair tent . . . .  | $\frac{1}{13}$   | $\frac{1}{2}$  | $7\frac{2}{3}$    |
| Fine . . . . .   | $33\frac{1}{10}$ | —              | $28\frac{1}{2}$   |
| Half sailor for the fleet, expenses,<br>and 2 measures of boiled<br>wine for the Muhājirūn . . . . | $\frac{1}{2}$    | $\frac{1}{2}$  | $\frac{1}{2}$     |
| 2 measures of boiled wine for the<br>Muhājirūn of the fleet . . . .                                | $\frac{2}{3}$    | $\frac{1}{2}$  | —                 |
| Carriage of goods for the boats at<br>Klysmā . . . . .   | $\frac{1}{2}$    | $\frac{1}{2}$  | $\frac{1}{2}$     |
| Pile for embankment . . . .  | $\frac{1}{2}$    | —              | —                 |
| Expenses of governor . . . .   | $\frac{2}{3}$    | $\frac{1}{2}$  | $\frac{2}{3}$     |
| Care of embankment . . . .   | $\frac{1}{2}$    | $\frac{1}{2}$  | —                 |
| Goods for Klysmā . . . . .   | —                | $\frac{1}{2}$  | $\frac{1}{2}$     |
| Sailor for Anatolian fleet and<br>expenses . . . . .   | —                | —              | $\frac{1}{2}$     |
| 40 workmen for the mosque at<br>Damascus . . . . .   | —                | —              | $\frac{1}{2}$     |
| Care of embankment, baskets . .  | 50               | 20             | ?                 |
| Money total (dinārs) . . . .   | $36\frac{1}{2}$  | $2\frac{1}{2}$ | $31\frac{1}{2}$   |

(A.H. 88, 1433.)

Contributions are often mentioned. It is not certain if these were the same as the requisitions or not. From the Rainer collection come the following. 20 ardebb of barley (551), 3,164 ardebb of wheat (A.H. 21 553), 3 meals for men (555), 342 ardebb of wheat and 171 measures of oil for 342 soldiers and 12 armourers (?) (557). This last reminds one curiously of 'Umar's method of finding out how much was wanted by the soldiers as rations. Then 65 sheep (558) and 99 horses (564) are called for. In A.H. 91 is a demand for 70 *camisia* at  $\frac{1}{4}$  dinār each for "the subsidy of the Commander of the Faithful" (1362). Divers articles of food are wanted by the governor "for the maintenance of us and the officials who are with us, both Arabs and Christians, and of various persons



...” (1375). Many sailors were wanted for the fleets and the taxpayers had to provide their wages ; hence the frequent occurrence in the accounts of half a sailor or some other fraction, the district having to provide that part of his wages. Labourers had to be supplied for work in Jerusalem and Damascus and their wages paid.

At this time many of the Egyptian peasants fled from their holdings. It is safe to assume that one reason for their doing so was the burden of taxation.

It is obvious that there are serious discrepancies between the account given by the lawyers, and that of the papyri. The latter prove the existence of taxes which are not even hinted at by the legal system.

### *The Historians*

The terms given to the various places conquered were not on a model imposed from Medina, but depended on local conditions and the temper of the victor. For the sake of completeness, terms imposed by the prophet, whether historical or legendary, are included in the following list of treaties.

The prophet wrote to Bahrain, “Whoso prays facing in the same direction as we do and eats what we kill is a Muslim with the same privileges and duties as we have. Whoso does not do this must pay one *dinār* in Ma’āfirī cloaks.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the people of Bahrain made peace, promising to pay half their dates and corn.<sup>2</sup>

Every adult male in Bahrain paid one *dinār*,<sup>3</sup> in Yemen one *dinār* or its value in cloth.<sup>4</sup>

A male *dhimmī* in Yemen paid one *dinār*. A governor tried to take one-fifth of the crops, but was not allowed to. A Christian living in Mecca paid one *dinār* a year.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Kharīj*, Abū Yūsuf, 75.

<sup>2</sup> Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 81.

<sup>4</sup> Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Kitābu 'l-Umm*, iv, 101.

The terms with Nejrán were: (1) the payment of 2,000 cloaks of the average value of 40 dirhams weight of silver; any deficiency could be made good in horses, camels, arms, or provisions; (2) the entertaining of the prophet's messengers for a month; (3) the supply of 30 horses, 30 camels, and 30 coats of mail in the event of war in Yemen; these were to be made good by the prophet if destroyed. The tribute of cloaks was diminished by 'Uthmán and by subsequent Caliphs as the numbers of the Nejránis decreased.<sup>1</sup>

On his return to Medína from Tebúk, the prophet imposed a tax on the dhimmis in Medína, Mecca, Khaibar, Yemen, and Nejrán, 1 dínár or thereabouts on the men, and nothing on the women and children.<sup>2</sup> He levied 1 dínár a head on Tebúk and Aila.<sup>3</sup>

In the reign of Abú Bekr almost the first place outside Arabia to be conquered was Boşrá; there every adult male had to pay 1 dínár and 1 jarīb of wheat.<sup>4</sup> The same terms were given to Antioch later.<sup>5</sup> Banikia paid 1,000 dínárs and a *tailasán*.<sup>6</sup>

In the reign of 'Umar conquests became rapid. Many traditions refer to Syria but it is impossible to know whether they mean Damascus or Syria as a whole.

At first every one paid 1 dínár and 1 jarīb, but later 'Umar changed this.

Khálid imposed on Damascus 1 dínár, 1 jarīb, and oil and vinegar.<sup>7</sup> Abú 'Ubaida imposed a fixed tribute, not to be increased if they multiplied, not to be diminished if they became fewer.<sup>8</sup>

2 dínárs a head and food. Some were taxed according to their ability to pay; if their wealth increased so did the tax, if it diminished the additional tax was dropped.<sup>9</sup>

On adult males 4 dínárs, 2 mudd wheat, 3 kış oil, and the

<sup>1</sup> Bal. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Bal. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Bal. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Bal. 124.

<sup>5</sup> Aş-Şúli, *Adabu 'l-kuttáb*, 214.

<sup>6</sup> Bal. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Bal. 244.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn 'Asákir, i, 178.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn 'Asákir, i, 150.



duty of entertaining Muslim travellers for three days.<sup>1</sup> Another version makes the wheat and oil a monthly payment, adds to these ghee and honey, and omits the entertainment.<sup>2</sup>

In Rakka every man paid 1 dīnār, several ḳafiz of wheat, vinegar, oil, and honey.<sup>3</sup>

In Edessa every man paid 1 dīnār and 2 mudd of wheat.<sup>4</sup> In Al-Jazira—North Mesopotamia—tribute was at first paid in kind, food, oil, and vinegar. Then 'Umar reduced this, and introduced the graduated poll tax with 2 mudd of wheat and 2 ḳiṣṭ each of oil and vinegar.<sup>5</sup> Another version is 1 dīnār, 2 mudd of wheat, and 2 ḳiṣṭ each of oil and vinegar, and that 'Abdu'l-Malik raised it to 4 dīnārs without grading.<sup>6</sup>

Barusma and az-Zawābī agreed to pay 4 dirhams a head. Barusma broke faith and was sacked.<sup>7</sup> This resembles the story that Constantine the Patrician of Syria told 'Umar that the terms imposed by Abū 'Ubaida were 4 dirhams and a cloak a head. He afterwards confessed that this was his own invention.<sup>8</sup> It also resembles the treaty made by 'Ishoyabhbh whereby the rich paid 10 dirhams and the poor 4.<sup>9</sup>

There is a story that is almost unbelievable but yet is too curious to have been invented. The tribe of Bajila formed a quarter of the army which fought at Kādisiya so 'Umar promised them a quarter of the Sawād—South Mesopotamia. Finally he persuaded their chief Jarīr b. 'Abdullah to surrender his claims—according to one story, after he had enjoyed them for three years—for 80 or, in another version, 400 dīnārs. A woman refused to give up her share till 'Umar gave her a pure-bred camel with a red saddle-cloth and filled her hands with gold. Another version is that after the battle of Jalūlá Jarīr gave up his rights at the Caliph's request. Yet another says that every man of the tribe received a pension of 2,000.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bal. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Bal. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Bal. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Bal. 251.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas of Marga, ii, 126 n.

<sup>6</sup> Bal. 125.

<sup>7</sup> Bal. 174.

<sup>8</sup> *Kharāj*, 23.

<sup>9</sup> *JAOS*, xli, 389.

<sup>10</sup> Bal. 267.

Other places paid lump sums. Híra paid 80,000 or 100,000 dirhams yearly.<sup>1</sup> Yahyá says, "Terms were made with the men of Híra to pay a sum which they distributed among themselves; there was no fixed amount on the individual."<sup>2</sup>

Anbár paid 400,000 dirhams and 1,000 cloaks.<sup>3</sup>

Edessa and Harrán paid fixed sums.<sup>4</sup> Hims paid 170,000 dinárs according to one story, but Tabarí says that some of the inhabitants paid 1 dinár and food.<sup>5</sup>

The Samaritans at first paid poll tax. Yazíd b. Mu'áwiya made them pay land tax and put a poll tax of 2 dinárs on those in the Jordan province and 5 on those in Palestine. Some of them appealed to Mutawakkil and he cut it down from 5 to 3.<sup>6</sup>

When Tiflis was captured in the reign of 'Uthmán, each family agreed to pay 1 dinár, both sides promising to play fair in counting families.<sup>7</sup>

In the treaty made by Suráka (A.H. 22) with the people of Armenia and the Gates, it was arranged that they should join the Muslim armies and military service take the place of tribute. Those who did not join the army had to pay the same tribute as the people of Ádherbaiján.<sup>8</sup>

In al-Jazíra the villagers were treated exactly as the townspeople except that they had to supply rations to the Muslims.<sup>9</sup>

Egypt. The traditions are many.

2 dinárs on every male.<sup>10</sup>

2 dinárs a head and food for the Muslims.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bal. 243.

<sup>2</sup> *Kitābu 'l-Kharāj*, Yahyá b. Adam, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Bal. 246.

<sup>4</sup> *Kharāj*, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Bal. 130. Tabarí, i, 2391. *Futūḥ Shām*, Azdí, 128.

<sup>6</sup> Bal. 168.

<sup>7</sup> Bal. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Tab. i, 2665.

<sup>9</sup> *Kharāj*, 23.

<sup>10</sup> Makrizí, *Khitaṭ*, i, 76.

<sup>11</sup> Makrizí, *Khitaṭ*, i, 294.



2 *dínárs* and food. The food was later compounded for at the rate of 2 *dínárs*, making a tax of 4.<sup>1</sup>

2 *dínárs* on every adult male, and on 1 *jarīb* 1 *dínár* and 3 *ardebb* of food.<sup>2</sup>

2 *dínárs* on every male except the poor, and on every landowner 3 *ardebb* of wheat, and 2 *ķiṣṭ* each of oil, honey, and vinegar. All had to provide clothing for the army, shoes, trousers, turbans, coats, and cloaks.<sup>3</sup> Aṣ-Ṣūlī gives the same tribute without the clothing.<sup>4</sup>

The graded money tax, 12 *ardebb* of wheat yearly and 3 days' entertainment of Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

It is said that 'Amr imposed a tax of 26½ *dirhams* on all, and on the rich 2 *dínárs* and 3 *ardebb*s of wheat.<sup>6</sup> This is intelligible if the second tax was in addition to the first when the rich would have paid about twice as much as the poor.

It is definitely stated that the Copts paid to the Muslims the same tribute they had paid to the Byzantines.<sup>7</sup>

The general impression gained from these traditions is that the larger part of the tribute was derived from a poll tax. The papyri show that the poll tax was a smaller item than the land tax. It was held that if a town had capitulated the terms of the capitulation were binding on the Muslims, whereas they were free to do as they liked with one that had been captured by force of arms. There was much discussion whether Egypt had capitulated or not. The discussion was purely academic though traditions were quoted on both sides. Mu'āwiya tried to add to the tribute of Egypt but the attempt was foiled by the refusal of Wardān, a freedman of 'Amr's.<sup>8</sup> On the other side this tale is told. The headman of Ikhna came to 'Amr and said, "Tell us what tribute each one has to pay, and we will pay it." 'Amr pointed to a corner of the church and said, "If you gave me that filled with money from

<sup>1</sup> Bal. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Bal. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Bal. 125. Mak. i, 76.

<sup>4</sup> Mak. i, 76.

<sup>5</sup> Bal. 215.

<sup>6</sup> Sūlī, 217.

<sup>7</sup> Abū Ṣālib, *Churches*, 75.

<sup>8</sup> Bal. 217.

the floor to the roof, I would not tell you what you have to pay. You are our treasury. If we need much you will pay much, if our burdens are small, so will yours be."<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that the tribute to Egypt—and probably of other provinces was increased. 'Abdullah b. Abí Sarḥ extracted a bigger revenue than did 'Amr, though the figures twelve and fourteen millions are exaggerated, and 'Amr's defence before the Caliph is famous. Other increases are mentioned. While 'Abdu 'l-'Azíz was governor a census of the monks was taken, and they were made to pay 1 dínár each.<sup>2</sup> Severus says, "This was the first *jizya*." It is not clear whether he means the first poll tax or the first tribute paid by monks.

Aṣ-Ṣúlí has an account that deserves to be quoted in full. "These terms were given them; their wives, children, estates, and houses were not to be sold, their treasures not confiscated, and no addition made to their tribute. This continued till 'Abdullah b. Sa'd b. Abí Sarḥ became governor; he raised two million of revenue till the reign of 'Abdu 'l-Malik who made his brother 'Abdu 'l-'Azíz governor of Egypt. He made a survey of the estates—which were many—and gave fiefs to some soldiers. This added to the burden on the payers of poll tax who were asked to pay a million dínárs. They went to 'Abdu 'l-Malik and complained. When they came back 'Abdu 'l-'Azíz added to their tribute."<sup>3</sup>

The tribute was increased by two-thirds; no date is given.<sup>4</sup> Kúrta b. Shuraik added 100,000 dínárs to the tribute.<sup>5</sup> Usáma made each monk pay 1 dínár.

'Umar II freed the estates of the church and the bishops from *kharáj* but Yazíd restored these taxes.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mak. i, 77, 168.

<sup>2</sup> Mak. ii, 492. Severus, *Patriarchs*, ed. Seybold, 134.

<sup>3</sup> Ṣúlí, 217.

<sup>4</sup> Sev. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Sev. 140.

<sup>6</sup> Sev. 143.



In the reign of Hishám the tribute was doubled.<sup>1</sup>

Ibnu 'l-Habbáb increased the tribute by one-eighth or one-twenty-fourth.<sup>2</sup>

Abu 'l-Kásim doubled the tribute.<sup>3</sup>

In A.H. 167 Músá b. Muṣ'ab doubled what was taken from each feddán and laid taxes on those who had stalls in the markets and on animals.<sup>4</sup> This was evidently part of the policy of the caliph Hárún who added to the tribute of the Christians so that many emigrated and fled from their estates leaving them in the hands of the Arabs.<sup>5</sup> Another increase was made in A.H. 213.<sup>6</sup>

The phrase "doubled the tribute" is so common that clearly it is not to be taken literally. Even if Christian evidence is suspect, there is enough Muslim testimony to prove that the tribute of Egypt was made heavier.

#### *Methods of Assessment*

The mode of assessment outlined in the demand notes of the governor preserved among the papyri is described by Makrízí following Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Hakam. This account takes the original assessment for granted and treats of increases only. The method is the same. "Amr when he was sure of the tribute (or, had received assurances from the officials), fixed for the Copts the tribute paid before to the Greeks. That had been allotted justly. If a village had been cultivated and populous, the tribute had been increased; if the inhabitants and the land neglected, it was diminished. Those who know the villages, the officials, and the heads of the people, came together and examined the state of cultivation; then, if they decided on an increase, they allotted this between the districts. They met the village headmen and divided it according to the capacity of the villages and the extent

<sup>1</sup> Sev. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Sev. 150. Kindí, *Governors*, 73. Maḡ. ii, 492.

<sup>3</sup> Sev. 155, 163.

<sup>4</sup> Kindí, 125.

<sup>5</sup> *Syriac Anonymous*, ed. Chabot, 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Kindí, 185.

of their fields. Then each one took its share (of the increase) and combined it with the tribute and the cultivated area. They began by subtracting two feddāns from the total area for their churches, carts, and boats; then they subtracted enough to meet the entertainment of Muslims and visits of the ruler. Next they estimated the number of workmen and hirelings in each village, and gave them shares according to their ability. If there were any fugitives (from other places) they were given shares equal to their ability. A share was seldom given except to young or married men. Then they took what was left of the tribute, and divided it among themselves in proportion to the size of their holdings. Then a re-arrangement was made for those who were ready to cultivate according to their capacity. If a man could not cultivate his land and pleaded inability, they gave what he could not work to those who could; and he who was ready to do more than his share supplied the deficiencies of the weak. If they acted stingily towards each other, division was made according to their preparedness. The basis of the division was the twenty-four *kíráts* in the *dínár*.

"Each feddán paid  $\frac{1}{2}$  ardebb of wheat and 2 waiba, that is 12 mudd of barley. Clover (or mimosa leaves for tanning) was not taxed. 'Umar took from tributaries the appointed sum, neither more nor less. He considered the case of those who surrendered on condition of paying tribute, though no sum had been fixed; if needful he fixed it low, but if they were rich he made it higher."<sup>1</sup>

It is well to emphasize certain points in this description. The agreement with the papyri has already been noted. Land is held by the commune rather than by individuals. Fugitives who have tried to escape the burden of taxation do not succeed in doing so entirely. Certain fields are set apart to meet the cost of public works, but this does not mean any lightening of the burden of tribute for it presses more heavily

<sup>1</sup> Mak. i, 76.



on the remaining land. The entertainment of Muslims is a communal matter not a private one, as is suggested by most references to this duty. In its emphasis on the fairness and the good temper of the proceedings it reads like a rescript from the governor.

### *Land Tax*

Most detailed accounts of the land tax refer to Mesopotamia. A selection of them follows. The unit of measurement is always the jarib, a square of 60 cubits side, the area sown by a jarib, a measure of capacity.

1 dirham and 1 kafiz. "He left them the palms for their own use."

|   |                            |          |          |
|---|----------------------------|----------|----------|
| Vineyards . . . . .                           | 10                         | dirhams. |          |
| Palms . . . . .                               | 5                          | "        | (10 B.)  |
| Sugarcane . . . . .                           | 6                          | "        |          |
| Wheat . . . . .                               | 4                          | "        |          |
| Barley . . . . .                              | 2 <sup>1</sup>             | "        |          |
| Vineyards . . . . .                           | 10                         | "        |          |
| Vegetables . . . . .                          | 6                          | "        |          |
| Sesame . . . . .                              | 5                          | "        |          |
| Summer Greens . . . . .                       | 3                          | "        |          |
| Cotton . . . . .                              | 5 <sup>1</sup>             | "        |          |
| Peas, vineyards, sesame, vegetables . . . . . | 8                          | "        |          |
| [Palms were not taxed.]                       |                            |          |          |
| Vineyards and vegetables . . . . .            | 10                         | "        |          |
| Wheat . . . . .                               | 2                          | "        | 2 jarib. |
| Cotton . . . . .                              | 5                          | "        |          |
| 1 palm (fârisi) . . . . .                     | 1                          | "        |          |
| " (dikla) . . . . .                           | $\frac{1}{2}$              | "        |          |
| Barley . . . . .                              | 1                          | "        | 1 jarib. |
| Bad land . . . . .                            | $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>2</sup> | "        |          |
| Rough wheat . . . . .                         | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$            | "        | 1 sa'.   |
| Medium wheat . . . . .                        | 1                          | "        |          |
| Fine wheat . . . . .                          | $\frac{2}{3}$              | "        |          |

Barley paid about half these rates, and vegetables, etc., were free. Gardens (palms, fruit-trees, vineyards) 10 dir.<sup>4</sup>

These lists all agree with the statement that the tribute of Mesopotamia was fixed by "measurement" (مِسَاحَة).

<sup>1</sup> Bal. 269. Şûlî, 218.

<sup>2</sup> Bal. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Şûlî, 218.

<sup>4</sup> Bal. 271

The figures are very different from those given by Ibn Hawkal for Persia, where the tribute was also by "measurement". Taxes were heaviest in Shíráz. His figures are for the big jarib,  $3\frac{2}{3}$  of the small jarib.

|                                       |                   |          |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| Wheat and barley (watered by streams) | 170               | dirhams. |
| Trees                                 | 192               | "        |
| Vegetables                            | 237 $\frac{1}{2}$ | "        |
| Vineyards                             | 1425              | "        |

In Kuvár taxes were two-thirds of the above. There had been no tax on vines and fruit-trees in the plains till A.H. 302, when 'Alí b. 'Ísá b. al-Jarráḥ imposed the land tax.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Hawkal also says that in Egypt Jawhar the minister of Al-Mu'izz made the rate 7 dinárs on the feddán; before it had been  $3\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>2</sup> In part of Upper Egypt the corn tax had been at the time of the Fátimids 3 ardebb on the feddán, in A.H. 572 it was  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , and later 2.<sup>3</sup> Some comment is necessary. The kafiz was either  $\frac{1}{6}$  or  $\frac{1}{16}$  of the jarib. Now a crop may be anything from 13 to 25 times the amount of seed sown. So the tax in kind, if it were one kafiz would be at the highest estimate one-seventy-eighth part or one hundred and thirtieth of the crop. The addition of the dirham to be paid in money would not bring the tax anywhere near the tithe which the Muslim farmer paid. A tax of two jarib (capacity) sounds more reasonable. Ibn Hawkal's figures seem to err on the other side; especially the tax on vineyards, unless the policy of the government was to tax them out of existence. It is impossible to believe that palms were tax-free. Possibly in those parts where isolated trees only were found there was no tax on them. It is definitely said that solitary palms regarded as common property were not taxed.<sup>4</sup> It is more likely that the figures 1 dínár or  $\frac{1}{2}$  on each palm according to the quality of the tree are right. The Turkish government levied a tax of 7 piastres on each tree, though they are said to have been not over careful in counting them.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hawkal, 216.

<sup>2</sup> Mak. i, 101.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Hawkal, 108.

<sup>4</sup> Bal. 271.



*Poll Tax*

Most of the information about the poll tax comes from the lawyers. Books usually say that it was graduated, four, two, or one *dínár* in lands with a gold currency, that is Syria and Egypt, while where silver was current the *dínár* was reckoned at 12 dirhams, in Mesopotamia and Persia. Another theory makes the *dínár* equal to ten dirhams. This system is too simple; the differences of the schools show that this amount of agreement is fictitious.

The views of the four imams are these:—

Abú Hanifa says that the poll tax is fixed at 12, 24, and 48 dirhams.

Aḥmad b. Hanbal says that it is not fixed, but is at the discretion of the ruler. Another version of his teaching is that the lower limit is fixed but not the upper.

Málík says that it is fixed at 4 *dínárs* or 40 dirhams. Probably he mentions the highest rate only, and takes the others for granted. Sháfi'í says that it is fixed, 1 *dínár* on rich and poor alike. These differences reflect different local conditions. Sha'rání says this definitely, for he writes, "These differences are due to the fact that the Imáms take into account the conditions prevailing in the countries in which they live."

If a man were too poor to pay the lowest rate, Sháfi'í held that he should be banished. The other three held that he should be excused payment.<sup>1</sup> Another writer says that he who cannot pay the graded tax should be given relief.<sup>2</sup>

From these statements of the lawyers' views it is clear that the commonly accepted history is a later systematization.

Opinions differed as to who paid. Abú Yúsuf says that women, boys, the poor in receipt of alms, the indigent blind, the paralysed, and aged did not pay. Some add to this list servants, lunatics, and men who live in cells. On the other hand Sháfi'í held that the paralysed, aged, blind, monks, and

<sup>1</sup> *Mizán*, Sha'rání, ii, 161.

<sup>2</sup> *Yahyá*, 9.

hired servants paid.<sup>1</sup> In one place the *Kitābu 'l-Umm* assumes that women may at times pay.<sup>2</sup>

Hasanu 'l-Baṣrī said, "monks pay no *jizya* because they are poor and have left the world."<sup>3</sup> Ibn 'Abdu 'ul-Ḥakam knows that monks pay no taxes for "the dhimmīs have to bear the tribute of those of them who turn monks".<sup>4</sup> Abū Yūsuf says that rich monks were taxed. If a convent had estates or property in trust the father superior paid for the monks under him. If he pleaded poverty he was allowed to take an oath valid in his religion and was excused payment.<sup>5</sup> Theodosius, a Chalcedonian Christian who held high office in Alexandria, was an enemy of the Coptic patriarch Agatho and made him pay 36 dinārs *jizya* for his disciples. Presumably these were monks so we may conclude that at that time it was not usual for monks to pay tribute.<sup>6</sup> It has already been said that in Egypt 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz made the monks pay *jizya*, while Usāma's action was to prevent men escaping tribute by becoming monks. 'Alī b. 'Isā wished to take the *jizya* from bishops, monks, and poor Christians but the Caliph Muḥtadir stopped him.<sup>7</sup>

### *Entertainment of Muslims*

The rules for this varied. Where there was a gold currency they had to be entertained for three days, but in South Mesopotamia only for a day and a night. The food to be supplied was bread, porridge, condiments, oil, milk, ghee, cooked vegetables, fish, or meat, whatever was easy to provide. Three was the maximum number to be received.<sup>8</sup> Ḥimṣ is said to have come under the one day and night rule.<sup>9</sup> If rain delayed these guests beyond the legal time, they had to pay.<sup>10</sup> When some dhimmīs complained to 'Umar that these guests laid on them a burden greater than they could bear, asking for chicken and sheep, he said, "Give them only what

<sup>1</sup> *Kharāj*, 69. *Isān*, ii, 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Šūll*, 216.

<sup>3</sup> *Kharāj*, 69.

<sup>4</sup> *Maḳ*, ii, 495.

<sup>5</sup> *Futūḥ*, Azdi, 152.

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<sup>6</sup> *Kitābu 'l-Umm*, iv, 98.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 156.

<sup>8</sup> *Sev*, 113.

<sup>9</sup> *Kitābu 'l-Umm*, iv, 102, 124.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam, 152.



you yourselves eat and such of your food as is lawful for them."<sup>1</sup> Ma'mún gave orders to release the Christians from the duty of providing lodgings in their houses for soldiers.<sup>2</sup>

### *Taxes on Trade*

'Umar I instituted taxes on trade. The common tradition is that the rates were, for a Muslim  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, for a dhimmí 5, and for a foreigner 10. The tax was paid once a year only. Málik, however, held that it was paid on every trade journey. A Taghlibí or Nejrání was on the same footing as another dhimmí, but a Magian was treated as a foreigner. Another tradition is that only foreigners paid this tax at a rate of 10 per cent. Another says 10 per cent on dhimmís, and still another that a dhimmí did not pay in his own province, but every time he went outside it he paid 10 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

'Umar I took from the Nabaṭæans 5 per cent of the wheat and oil to encourage the transport of these goods to Medína, and 10 per cent on the pulse. A governor in the time of 'Umar took ten per cent from the Nabaṭæans.<sup>4</sup> The author tries to reconcile these two statements but evidently knows nothing about the matter. Another version of the same tradition is that 'Umar took 10 per cent from Copts in Medína and 5 per cent on wheat and raisins.

The tax on slaves was 10 dirhams and on horses and camels 8.<sup>5</sup> The minimum taxable was 200 dirhams, 20 dínárs, or 20 mithkáls; but 'Umar II is said to have made 10 dínárs the minimum for a dhimmí: this was the doctrine of Abú Hanífa.

The goods of a slave were not taxed. A dhimmí wine-merchant had to have his goods valued by two other dhimmís. If a dhimmí declared that his debts equalled the value of his goods he paid nothing. At one time in Yemen taxes on

<sup>1</sup> Ibn 'Asákir, i, 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Syr. Anon.*, ii, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Most references to trade taxes are from *Kharáj*, 77. Mak. ii, 121.

<sup>4</sup> *Kitābu 'l-Umm*, iv, 125.

<sup>5</sup> Mak. i, 103.

wine presses, bridges, and roads were abolished, but had to be restored because of the loss to the revenue.

In the fourth century in Persia in addition to the religious taxes, there were tithes on shipping, fifths from mines and pastures, profit on the mint, tax establishments (oetroi, toll bars ?) in towns, storehouses, dues on salt pans and swamps, dues on the sale of perfumes. The item storehouses included rent of ground, mills, and rose-water factories. Most of these taxes were the same or nearly so in all provinces.<sup>1</sup> Makrizi gives a long list of dues that had to be paid in Egypt. Many brought in so little that they cannot have covered the cost of collection. Probably many of these existed from the earliest times.

Rabī'a b. Shuraḥbīl was controller of these taxes in Egypt under 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ and Zuraik b. Ḥayyān in Ubulla under 'Umar II. Anas b. Sīrīn was appointed to collect them in Ubulla but refused the post,<sup>2</sup> for "the pious of an earlier generation disapproved of them". Perhaps this disapproval may be connected with a change in the meaning of the word *maks* (مكس). Originally it was quite general and meant tribute, tax. Later it was limited to certain special dues which were not mentioned in the Koran or Traditions, and were consequently looked at askance by all good Muslims.

'Umar II is said to have abolished these dues.<sup>3</sup> This may be an anachronism; still it may be true, for it is evident that taxes were levied which had no place in the legal system.

Manṣūr first started a tax on shops in A.H. 167, and in the same year the governor in Egypt—as part of the Caliph's policy—put a tax on stalls in the market and on animals.<sup>4</sup>

A.H. 250 saw the introduction into Egypt of a monopoly of natron and dues on grazing and fishing. Though they brought in 100,000 dinars yearly Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn abolished them. They were introduced again under the Fāṭimids and were called *maks*. Saladin abolished them, but his son 'Uthmān

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hawḳal, 217.

<sup>2</sup> Mak. i, 103.

<sup>3</sup> Mak. ii, 123.

<sup>4</sup> Mak. i, 103. Kindī, 125.



reintroduced them. We hear of some dues the abolition of which was opposed by the Copts. In A.H. 801 Balbaghá abolished the rent (assessment) of the Cattle Lake, but the Copts restored it. He also found that some dues in Egypt brought in about 70,000 dirhams daily, that the government got no profit from them, but that they profited the Copts and their servants. He proposed to do away with them, but did not succeed.<sup>1</sup> In A.H. 389 it was proposed to tax certain kinds of cloth made in Baghdád, but the opposition was so strong that the proposal had to be dropped.<sup>2</sup>

### *Conclusions*

The methods of exaction were not as severe as they might have been. Apparently the subjects were allowed considerable latitude in the payment of taxes, for there are frequent complaints in the papyri of delay in payment and other forms of slackness. 'Umar is said to have compelled the Nabatæans of Syria to give some of their fruits and chaff to the Muslims, but they were not forced to cart it for them.<sup>3</sup> At times relief was given. A Copt said to 'Amr, "If I lead you to a place whence ships go till they reach Mecca, will you release me and my family from tribute?"' 'Amr agreed.<sup>4</sup> When Barḳa was first conquered, no collector of tribute entered it; they sent the money when it was due.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Bell's judgment is perhaps more severe.<sup>6</sup> "To sum up, while the evidence is not at present such as to justify very positive conclusions, it seems probable that the Arab government during the first century of the Hijra was on the whole efficient and not noticeably oppressive, but that the nature of the fiscal system (which, be it remembered, was inherited from the Byzantine Empire) tended to a constant increase in the

<sup>1</sup> Mak. i, 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, iii, 336.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn 'Asákir, i, 179.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam, 166.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam, 171.

<sup>6</sup> *Greek Pap. in the British Museum*, iv, 51.

burden of the tax-payers, and gave exceptional opportunity for the exactions of the subordinate officials."

In later times the land tax was paid in instalments and this was probably the case from the first.<sup>1</sup> The poll tax seems to have been paid as a whole.

In Egypt the pensions and rations of the Arabs enrolled in the *diwān* and their families, repairs to the dykes, rations of the clerical staff, and the supply of corn for the Hijáz were provided out of the tribute; the balance was sent to the capital of the empire.<sup>2</sup>

It is to be noted that the Byzantine Empire levied land, corn, and poll taxes, and its officials when travelling received free entertainment. It is, at least, a curious coincidence that its senators paid a tax, the three grades of which were in the proportion of 4, 2, and 1.

The following conclusions are probable. The original terms made with the conquered places were almost forgotten. When remembered the historians interpreted them in the light of later conditions and so misunderstood them. The clearest example of this process is the words *kharāj* and *jizya*, which both meant tribute.

'Umar's settlement was not a homogeneous system, but varied from town to town, and was less comprehensive and thorough than historians make out.

The distinction between "capitulated" and "conquered" is a legal fiction. Within a few years of the conquest the Muslims treated the subject peoples much as they chose.

The original tribute was that paid to the preceding government; it may have been about 2 *dinārs* a head in the west.

The graded poll tax was first levied in Mesopotamia.

At first monks did not pay poll tax.

The subject peoples at first bore the whole weight of taxation; though it is not possible to decide how heavy that was. It certainly grew heavier, but then the *dhimmis* did

<sup>1</sup> Mak. i, 405.

<sup>2</sup> Mak. i, 79.



not bear the whole weight; for the Muslims paid land tax, the religious taxes were paid into the treasury, and Muslims and dhimmis alike were liable to the other burdens.

### *Later Developments*

The poll tax became known later as *jawdlī*. When Saladin conquered Jerusalem in A.H. 583 the Christians native to the town obtained permission to reside there by paying the poll tax.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the third century the poll tax from Baghdād is given as 120,000 dirhams and again as 200,000.<sup>2</sup> That of Miṣr (Egypt or Cairo) was 130,000 dinārs in A.H. 587, and 11,400 in 816.<sup>3</sup> It was paid according to the lunar year.<sup>4</sup> In A.H. 682 it was paid in Muḥarram, having been postponed from Ramaḍān, the usual date.<sup>5</sup>

In A.H. 678 Saifu 'd-Dīn Kalāwūn abolished a tax of 1 dinār on the dhimmis over and above the poll tax which had been in existence eighteen years.<sup>6</sup> It was called *muḥarraru 'n-Naṣārd*.

Figures giving the totals for tribute are irritating in their fewness and vagueness.

Alexandria began by paying 18,000 dinars and in the reign of Hishām it paid 36,000. The prefect Menas extorted 32,056 pieces of gold—presumably dinārs—from the town. He was dismissed and his successor demanded only 22,000, the rightful sum.<sup>7</sup> The figure 60,000 dinārs, reached by assuming a population of 300,000 paying 2 dinārs a head, is obviously a fiction.

A number of totals are given for Egypt as a whole.

Date.

19-25 2,000,000 dinārs. 'Amr governor.

26-35 4,000,000. 'Abdullah b. Sa'd governor.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Athīr, year 583.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khurdābeh, 125, 251.

<sup>3</sup> Mak. i, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Mak. i, 276.

<sup>5</sup> Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, iii, 39.

<sup>6</sup> Mak. i, 106. Quatremère, iii, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Bal. 223. John of Nikiou, 384.

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| Date.  |   |
| 47-62  | Surplus sent to Damascus 600,000. Maslama governor.   |
| c. 107 | 4,000,000. 'Abdullah b. Ḥabḥāb, finance minister, expenses 2,700,783 (tribute 2,723,783. Ibn Khurdādbēh). |
| c. 200 | 4,275,000. (2 dinārs on the feddān) Ma'mūn caliph.  |
| 254    | The tribute had sunk to 1,800,000 (the text has 800,000,000) but Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn raised it to 4,000,000.   |
| 358    | 3,400,000. Jawhar. (3,200,000. Ibn Ḥawkal.)   |
| 463    | 2,800,000. <sup>1</sup>   |

These figures are enough to show that the twelve millions attributed to 'Amr and Usāma, and the fourteen millions given to 'Abdullah b. Sa'd are exaggerated.

Three figures are given for Hims, 340,000, 218,000, and 118,000 dinārs. No argument can be based on them.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the conquest Barḳa paid 13,000 dinārs.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Khaldūn's tribute list gives it as 1,000,000.

Thus the tribute in Egypt grew smaller while the rate of land tax rose from 1 dinār the feddān to 7.

Occasional acts of grace on the part of the ruler are recorded. Thus Ma'mūn was kind to the people of Edessa, and ordered all burdens and taxes to be removed from them. As it stands, this must be an exaggeration; it may have been a temporary measure. He entered the great church and wondered at its beauty. He asked the metropolitan what its revenue was. The bishop said, "By thy grace, O king, its wealth is great; but also much of the income is spent in the burden of the taxes laid upon it." Ma'mūn then ordered that no tax should be levied on the inns, shops, baths, and mills (belonging to it) but only on gardens and agricultural land; for he said that it was not right that anything with a roof should pay taxes.<sup>4</sup> This idea was not peculiar to Ma'mūn, for two legal opinions have been preserved; that if a Muslim or a dhimmī

<sup>1</sup> Mak. i, 79, 98. Bal. 216. Ibn Khurdādbēh, 83. Ibn Ḥawkal, 108.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khurdādbēh, 76, 246, 251.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥakam, 170.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. Anon., ii, 23.



builds a shop on *kharāj* land, it pays no taxes, and if a Muslim settle on ownerless land and make a market, there is no tax on it.<sup>1</sup>

The Muslim year was lunar, so there were more calendar years than agricultural. Khálidu 'l-Ḳasrí stopped the intercalation in the Persian calendar. It has been noted already that the taxes of the solar year 88 were paid in A.H. 91. Apparently there was no systematic equalization of the two calendars, but from time to time a year was dropped. So in the time of Mutawakkil A.H. 241 was counted as 242 for the purpose of finance. A year was dropped at A.H. 278, at 499 two were dropped, another at 507, and two more at 565.

In the course of his reign Mu'taḍid shifted Nawrúz from 11 Šafar to 13 Rabi' II, which was 11 Ḥazírán.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bal. 448.

<sup>2</sup> Mak. i, 274-81.

## Ibn Khurdādhbih on Musical Instruments

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER, Ph.D.

"ABŪ'L-QĀSIM 'UBAIDALLĀH [IBN 'ABDALLĀH] IBN KHUDĀDHBĪH [c. 820-912]. And [his grandfather] Khurdādhbih was a Magian who turned Muslim at the persuasion of the Barmakids. Abū'l-Qāsim became Director of the Posts and the Intelligence Department in the Province of 'Irāq 'Ajamī (Al-Jabal). And he was 'boon companion' of Al-Mu'tamid and was intimate with him. And his books are: *On Liberal Education in Music*; *The Generality of the Genealogies of the Persians and the [Arab] Immigrants*; *The Routes and Kingdoms*; *On Cookery*; *On Entertainment and Musical Instruments*; *On Wine*; *On Setting Stars*; and *On Boon Companions and Associates*."—*AL-FIHRIST* (A.D. 988), p. 149.

IN an article written in 1926 on "Byzantine Musical Instruments in the Ninth Century"<sup>1</sup> I mentioned that one of the earliest extant accounts in Arabic of the musical instruments of the Arabs and their neighbours is contained in an oration delivered by Ibn Khurdādhbih before Al-Mu'tamid (870-93). The narration appears in the *Murūj al-dhahab* of Al-Mas'ūdī (d. c. 956). Both of these writers were competent, to some extent, to deal with the question in its general aspect, and for that reason the recital has an added interest. Ibn Khurdādhbih had been taught music by the famous Ishāq al-Mawṣilī (767-850), who was his father's personal friend. By his books,<sup>2</sup> and by other means,<sup>3</sup> some historical details of music and musicians were preserved, and they have been cited by later writers. Some of this information has, however, been challenged more than once by the author of the *Kutāb al-aghānī*, who censures Ibn Khurdādhbih for his mere conjectures, and for making statements without sufficient authority.<sup>4</sup> Yet it may be presumed that the details given by Al-Mas'ūdī on the authority of Ibn Khurdādhbih may be trusted. The former, who had the highest opinion of the latter,<sup>5</sup> would scarcely

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.* 1925, p. 299 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Aghānī*, i, 19; v, 3; vi, 16; viii, 13, 149, 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Aghānī*, ix, 58; xix, 133; xxi, 249. For details see *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vi, Préface.

<sup>4</sup> It is only fair to say that Ibn Khurdādhbih is sometimes quoted at second hand in this work.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, i, 13.



have quoted him at such length without reservations had he not approved. Al-Mas'ūdī was a great traveller and observer, and he had himself dealt with the music and musical instruments of the Arabs, Greeks, Byzantines, Syrians, Nabatæans, Indians, Persians, and others in his various works.<sup>1</sup> If Ibn Khurdādhbih had erred, "the *Imām* of the historians," as Ibn Khaldūn has called Al-Mas'ūdī, would assuredly have corrected him.

Ibn Khurdādhbih was of Persian descent, his father was a Governor of Ṭabaristān, and he himself had been a government official in 'Irāq 'Ajamī. It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that Ibn Khurdādhbih could speak from personal acquaintance so far as related to Iranian musical instruments at least. For his information concerning the music of other countries, we know that in some cases he depended on literary sources.<sup>2</sup> It is also probable that some of his *data* were obtained from the government archives at Sāmarrā or Baghdād, at the time that he was writing his work on *The Routes and Kingdoms* (*Al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*).

Ibn Khurdādhbih's oration on music has been edited in text and French translation by Barbier de Meynard in *Les Prairies d'or* (1861-77).<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding the existence of this excellent work, I venture to suggest that a fresh text of Ibn Khurdādhbih's oration, based on other MSS., together with an adequate *apparatus criticus*, is eminently desirable. The need is all the more pressing since we now know, although it was hitherto unsuspected,<sup>4</sup> that his *Kitāb al-laḥw wa'l-malāḥī* (*On Entertainment and Musical Instruments*) is in existence.<sup>5</sup> I therefore take the opportunity to call attention

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., ii, 322.

<sup>2</sup> He quotes a certain Fandurūs al-Rūmī, as well as writers on mathematics. Possibly, he also obtained information from Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Shākir (d. 873).

<sup>3</sup> viii, 88-99. There are also two oriental texts at least, Būlāq (A.H. 1283) and Cairo (A.H. 1303).

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopædia of Islām*, ii, 398.

<sup>5</sup> *Al-Hilāl*, xxviii, 214.

to a MS. in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek in which there is a fragment on musical instruments obviously based on Ibn Khurdādhbih. This MS. (Pm. 173, fol. 1),<sup>1</sup> although a somewhat late copy (A.D. 1688), deserves attention on account of its variants from the MSS. used by Barbier de Meynard. For that reason I submit a translation of it:—

“And it is said that the first to invent the ‘ūd (lute) was Lamak ibn Matūshalah.<sup>2</sup> . . .<sup>3</sup> Then after that there were invented the *ṭubūl* (drums; sing. *ṭabl*) and the *duff* (tambourine). And Dalāl bint Lamak made the *ma‘āzif* (instruments with open strings; sing. *mī‘zaf*, *mī‘zafa*, ‘*azf*). Then the people of Lūt (Sodom and Gomorrah) invented the *ṭanābīr* (pandores; sing. *ṭunbūr*) to charm the youth. Then the shepherd-folk and the Kurds invented different sorts [of instruments] to pipe (lit. “whistle,” *ṣafara*) with, and when their cattle were dispersed they piped and they gathered together. Then the Persians invented the *diyānay* (? double reed-pipe) to [accompany] the ‘ūd; and the *suryānī* (reed-pipe, flute, flageolet) to [accompany] the *ṭabl*; and the *kabar* (single-headed drum) to [accompany] the *ṣanj* (harp).

“And the *mathnā* [string of the ‘ūd] was double the ply of the *zīr* [string]; and the *mathlath* [string] was triple the ply of the *zīr* [string]; and the *bamm* [string] was quadruple the ply of the *zīr* [string].<sup>4</sup>

“And the music (*ghinā*) of the Persians was with ‘*idān* (lutes; sing. ‘ūd) and *ṣunūj* (harps; sing. *ṣanj*). And they had music (*ghinā*), notes (*naghām*), and rhythms (*iqā‘āt*). And the music of the people of Khurāsān and

<sup>1</sup> Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, No. 8502.

<sup>2</sup> The text has Malik instead of Lamak, and Matūshalah, the same as Abū'l-Fidā'. Barbier de Meynard has Matūshalakh.

<sup>3</sup> Here follow details of the invention of the lute.

<sup>4</sup> As the translation is not quite literal I give the text:

وجعل الثني ضعف الزير والمثلث ضعفا وزن الزير (الوزير text) واليتم  
ثلاثة اصعاف وزن الزير



their neighbours was with the *muwannaj* (a kind of harp), and upon it were seven strings. And its rhythm was like the rhythm of the *sanj*. And the music of the people of Al-Raiy, and Ṭabaristān, and Al-Dailam, was with the *ṭanābīr*. And the Persians preferred the *ṭunbūr* beyond all other musical instruments. And the music of the Nabaṭeans and Jarmaqs was with the *qundhūrāt* (sing. *qundhūra*), and their rhythm was like the rhythm of the *ṭanābīr*.

"And of musical instruments the Byzantines (Al-Rūm) had the *arghan*<sup>1</sup> (*ὄργανον πολύχορδον*), and upon it are twenty-six strings,<sup>2</sup> and it has a wide compass (صوت بعيد المذهب); and it is of the invention of the Ancient Greeks (Yūnāniyyūn); and also<sup>3</sup> [an instrument of] twenty-four strings, namely the *salbāq*<sup>4</sup> (*σαμβύκη*), and it [the word] is interpreted to mean 'a thousand voices'.<sup>5</sup> And to them [the Byzantines] is the *lūrā*<sup>6</sup> (*λύρα*), and it is the *rabāb* (rebec), and to it are five strings."

Some of the variations from the other texts are worthy of notice and comment.

Lamak ibn Matūshalah is, of course, the Lamech ben Methusael of Gen. iv, 18. In Al-Mas'ūdī, Lamak's son Tūbal<sup>7</sup> is credited with the invention of the *ṭabl* and *duff*. Barbier de Meynard says that Ḍalāl is the Zillah of Gen. iv,<sup>8</sup> but the former is Lamak's daughter, and the latter is a wife.

<sup>1</sup> The Cairo text has *الاور*.

<sup>2</sup> The Paris and Cairo texts say "sixteen strings".

<sup>3</sup> The text has *لها*, but this interferes with the sense, and I have presumed that *أيضا* was written originally.

<sup>4</sup> The text has *اللبق*.

<sup>5</sup> The text has *المضوت* which is meaningless in any translation of the diacritical point. The Cairo edition has *النصون*. I have adopted Barbier de Meynard's reading *الف صوت*.

<sup>6</sup> The text has *الوار*, and the Cairo edition *اللوزا*, instead of *اللورا*.

<sup>7</sup> The Cairo text has *موسك* in place of Tūbal.

<sup>8</sup> *Prairies d'or*, viii, 417.

The invention of the *ṭunbūr* by the people of Lūt may be compared with an account elsewhere which credits it to the Sabæans as follows: "The pandore (*ṭunbūr*) came from the Sabæans who measured the earth, and so it was called the 'measured pandore'."<sup>1</sup> This agrees with the name of the instrument called the *ṭunbūr al-mizānī* (measured *ṭunbūr*) mentioned in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (c. 980), which appears to have been an earlier name for the *ṭunbūr al-baghdādī*.<sup>2</sup> Both these accounts of the origin of the *ṭunbūr* may have had a common origin with that related by Julius Pollux (second century A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

'Abd al-Qādir ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), in his *Sharḥ al-adwār*, holds the opinion that the instrument "invented" by the shepherd-folk and the Kurds was the *nāy safīd*, a name given to the flute.<sup>4</sup>

The words *diyānāy* (دياني) and *suryānāy* (سرياني) reopen an old discussion. These forms occur in Al-Mas'ūdī<sup>5</sup> and in the *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* of Al-Fārābī (d. c. 950). As far back as 1840, Kosegarten suggested that the latter was intended for *surṇāyī* (سرنائي), but he made no allusion to the structure of the former.<sup>6</sup> Barbier de Meynard boldly adopted *dūnāy* (دوناي) and *surṇāy* (سرنائي) in their stead in *Les Prairies d'or*, but gives no reason. Von Hammer had already registered such forms as *dūfāy*, *dūrāy*, and *dūsāy* (? *dūzāy*), all of which were evident malformations of *dūnāy*.<sup>7</sup> Land, in editing part of Al-Fārābī's treatise, pointed out that the three MSS. of this author at Leyden, Madrid, and Milan

<sup>1</sup> A MS. in the writer's possession.

<sup>2</sup> *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 237. Kosegarten, *Liber cantilenarum*, 91.

<sup>3</sup> *Onomasticon*, iv, 60.

<sup>4</sup> Nūr-i Osmāniye MS. (Constantinople), No. 3651. Quoted by Yekta Bey in Lavignac's *Ency. de la musique*, v, 2971. See also Bodleian MS., No. 1842, fol. 79 v, and British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173 v.

<sup>5</sup> The Cairo text has *ḥānī* (حائي) in place of *diyānāy*.

<sup>6</sup> Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 101, 104.

<sup>7</sup> Klesewetter, *Musik der Araber*, 92. Cf. Land, *Actes du sixième congrès international des orientalistes* . . . , 1883, ii, p. 84.



gave *diyānay*, but proposed *dūnāy* in its stead.<sup>1</sup> At the same time he inserted *surṇāy* in the text in place of *suryānay* without comment, as though the form occurred in the MSS. Yet the fact is that in both the Leyden (Or. 651, fol. 79) and the Madrid (No. 602, fol. 67) MSS. the word is *suryānay*.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, if we accept the opinion of the author of the *Burhān-i-qāṭi*<sup>3</sup> (seventeenth century), the above would appear to have been the original form, and it was due to the fact that it was a Syrian instrument (*nāy rūmī*),<sup>4</sup> the word being derived apparently from *Suryā* (Syria) and *nay* or *nāy* (reed). The Syrians had long been noted for their "wood-wind" instruments.<sup>4</sup>

In Barbier de Meynard's text the entire passage is different from the Berlin MS. In the former it runs:—

"Then the Persians invented the *nāy* to [accompany] the 'ūd; and the *diyānay* to [accompany] the *tunbūr*; <sup>5</sup> and the *suryānay* to [accompany] the *ṭabl*; and the *sinj* to [accompany] the *ṣanj*."

A noteworthy variant in the Berlin MS. is the substitution of the *kabar* for the *sinj*. The latter word, which also appears in the Cairo text, probably stood for a cymbal. In the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in Arabico* we have the word *sinj* equated with *cinbalum* (*cymbalum*), and in the Maghrib

<sup>1</sup> Land, op. cit., ii, 163, 165. Cf. 84.

<sup>2</sup> The *Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'* (Dieterici ed., ii, 311) give a plural *suryānāt* (سُرْيَانَات), and in another place (ii, 305) we have *surtay* (سُرْتَاي), a singular in the midst of a number of plurals. The former word is identical in both the Cairo (a diacritical point missing) and Bombay editions, although the latter word is written *surṇāy*. The word is given as *surṇāy* in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (p. 237), in the *Shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā (India Office MS., fol. 173), and in the treatise of Al-Ḥusain ibn Zaila (British Museum MS., Or. 2361, fol. 235). Strange to say, both the Būlāq (xvi, 138) and Sāsi (xvi, 133) editions of the *Aghānī* refer to a *surṇāb* (سُرْنَاب), and the word stands uncorrected in the *Taḡhīb* issued in 1917.

<sup>3</sup> *Rūm* sometimes stood for Syria, as it was once part of the Byzantine Empire.

<sup>4</sup> Athénaios, iv, 78.

<sup>5</sup> The Cairo text has طنبور for طنبور.

to-day the *zunāj* (plur.) are metal castanets.<sup>1</sup> In the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (eleventh century) *kabar* is equated with *chorus* in Psalm cl. In the *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-intifā'* (twelfth-thirteenth century) the *kabar* is described as a drum (*tabl*).<sup>2</sup> Ibn *Khallikān* (d. 1282) is more precise in defining it as a drum with one "head" (lit. "face," *wajh*).<sup>3</sup>

The specification for the various thicknesses of the strings of the 'ūd does not occur in any of the published texts of *Al-Mas'ūdī*, nor in the MSS. used by *Barbier de Meynard* apparently. The measures given in the Berlin MS. agree in substance with those formulated in a treatise which I have attributed to *Al-Kindī* (d. 874),<sup>4</sup> where the *zīr*, *mathnā*, *mathlath*, and *bamm* strings are made of one, two, three, and four strands (*tabaqāt*) respectively.<sup>5</sup> The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (tenth century) are more exact, and compound these strings of 27, 36, 48, and 64 threads (*tāqa*) respectively.<sup>6</sup>

The *muwannaj* of the people of *Khurāsān* is of interest because in the printed texts the instrument is called the *zanj*. The latter word زنج might very well be a copyist's error for وُج (wanaj = *muwannaj*). The *wanj* as a musical instrument with open strings, and practically identical with the *sanj*, is mentioned in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*.<sup>7</sup> It was certainly a stringed instrument in the time of *Bar Bahlūl* (fl. 963) the Syriac lexicographer.<sup>8</sup>

The *qundhūra* (قنذورة) of the Nabatæans and Jarmaqs is perhaps just as vague as the *ghīrwāra* (غبروارة) or

<sup>1</sup> *Beaussier, Dict. pract. Arabe-Français* (1882).

<sup>2</sup> Madrid MS., No. 603.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn *Khallikān*, *Wafayāt* (Bulāq ed., A.H. 1275), ii, 450.

<sup>4</sup> *JRAS.*, Jan., 1926, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> Berlin MS., No. 5530 (Ahlwardt), fol. 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (Bombay ed.), i, 98, 106.

<sup>7</sup> *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 237.

<sup>8</sup> Bodleian MS., Marsh 157, fol. 845. See also the *Lisān al-'arab* (thirteenth century), where the *wanj* is said to be the *mizhar* or 'ūd. The *Tāj al-'arūs* (eighteenth century) includes the *sanj* and *mī'zaf* as well.



'*irwāra* (عِرْوَارَة) of the published texts. Barbier de Meynard thought that *kinnāra* (كِنَارَة) was intended,<sup>1</sup> and strangely enough we find that the Nabatæans of Palmyra had the *kinōrā*.<sup>2</sup>

So far the Berlin MS. In Al-Mas'ūdī's account of the oration of Ibn Khurdādhbih, many other instruments of music are introduced. To the Byzantines the following are ascribed in addition:—

"The *qithāra* (κίθάρα), with twelve strings; the *ṣaltij* (ψάλτιγς), of calves' skins. And all these are of the *ma'ūzif* type (instruments with open strings) of diverse construction. And they [the Byzantines] had the *urghānun* (ὄργανον πνευματικόν), possessing bellows and iron-work."<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Khurdādhbih also includes some interesting information about the '*ūd* (lute). He says:—

"Fandurūs al-Rūmī (Fandurūs the Byzantine)<sup>4</sup> says that the four strings [of the '*ūd*] correspond to the natures (humours). So the *ṣīr* corresponds to the yellow bile, and the *mathnā* to the blood, and the *mathlath* to the phlegm, and the *bamm* to the black bile."

This passage is worthy of attention because it differs from the system laid down by Al-Kindī and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'. There is clearly a mistake in Al-Kindī, and it would appear to have been copied by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Al-Firūzābādī (d. 1414) in his *Qāmūs* mentions a *qinnā* which he likens to a *ṭunbūr*.

<sup>2</sup> *ZDMG.* xviii, 105. See *Corp. Inscr. Semit.*, ii, No. 268. Cf. *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, by Jaussen and Savignac, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JRAS.*, Jan. 1926, p. 92 et seq. Barbier de Meynard says that some MSS. give القنارة and القنارة. The Cairo text also gives *urghānīn*. Barbier de Meynard prefers *salinj* (*salinj*) although three of the MSS. consulted by him gave المصليج. Probably the word should be المصليج and it would thus be nearer the Byzantine Greek.

<sup>4</sup> Also قندروس (*Qandhurūs*).

<sup>5</sup> The account of the natures, attributed to Ziryāb (ninth century) in Al-Maqqarī's *Nafh al-ġib* (*Analectes*, ii, 86, *Moh. Dyn.*, ii, 119), is probably

Ibn Khurdādhbih also contributes the following information concerning the structure and value of the 'ūd :—

"According to most of the peoples and the majority of the savants, the 'ūd is Greek [in origin]. It was constructed by the geometricians upon the form of the natures of man.<sup>1</sup> Then if the strings are in just relation to the celestial numbers (*al-aqdār al-sharīfa*) the natures are in agreement. Thus it creates an emotion, and the emotion restores the soul to its natural state at once. And each string is equal to the string next it plus a third.<sup>2</sup> And the fret (*dastān*)<sup>3</sup> which is nearest to the nut (*anf*) is placed on the point of one-ninth of the total string, and that which is nearest to the bridge-tailpiece (*mushṭ*)<sup>4</sup> is placed on the point of one-fourth of the total string."

From this account we see that the *sabbāba* (first finger) fret on the 'ūd was fixed at 204 cents (8:9), and the *khinṣir* (fourth finger) fret at 498 cents (3:4).

The question of the Greek origin of the lute is remarkable in view of the mythical foundation by Lamak the Semite. Further, Al-Mas'ūdī himself informs us in his *Tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf* that since Ptolemy (Baṭulmiyūs) does not mention the lute in his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* it is obvious that the instrument was unknown to the Greeks at that time.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Abū'l-Fidā' (d. 1331) places the invention of the 'ūd in the days of the Persian monarch Shāpūr I (241-272).<sup>6</sup> Prior to the correct formula, although the "compounds" of the elements are obviously wrong.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Influence of Music; from Arabic Sources* for a lengthy treatment of this question.

<sup>2</sup> This may refer to the thickness of the strings or to the *accordatura*.

<sup>3</sup> Barbier de Meynard's text has *dastabān* and the Cairo text الرمان, but *dastān* is intended, although the word is probably derived from the Persian *dast-band*.

<sup>4</sup> The *mushṭ* on the lute served the double purpose of bridge and tail-piece.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, viii. Ptolemy's *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* (perhaps the *Harmonics*) is not recorded by either Wenrich or Steinschneider, but it was certainly known to the Arabs, and is also mentioned by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (*ʿIqd al-farīd*, iii, 186) and Al-Maqqarī, *Analektes*, ii, 87.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. Antislam.*, 82.



the Hījāzian Arabs borrowing the 'Irāqian or Persian lute about the close of the sixth century, which is also told us by Ibn Khurdādhbih, they had a lute of their own called the *mizhar*.<sup>1</sup> This is alluded to by Ibn Khurdādhbih in another passage:—

"The Indians have the *kankala* (كنكالة)<sup>2</sup> which has but one string stretched across a gourd. And it serves them in place of the lute or harp. . . . The Arabs used to call . . . the lute the *mizhar*. And the music of the people of Al-Yaman was with *ma'āzif*."<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Khurdādhbih also introduces an occasional paragraph on music in his book on *The Routes and Kingdoms*. On the sea route from India to China he describes an island called Bartā'il in the Sea of Šanf, where we read of the '*azf* and *ṭubūl* resounding throughout the night.<sup>4</sup> In India we are told that there were seven castes (*ajnās*), the sixth and seventh having musicians among them. The former he calls the *Sandāliyya* (cf. چنڈال), and they were men of entertainment (*lahw*) and music (*luḥūn*; lit. "melodies"). The latter he names the *Dunbiyya* (cf. دؤمبر), who were men of entertainment, stringed instruments (*ma'āzif*) and jesting (*la'ib*).<sup>5</sup> From Bukhāra he relates a charming story of a shepherd-lad who played on a stringed instrument (*watar*),<sup>6</sup> a *yarā'* (flageolet), and a *mizmār* (reed-pipe) in so enchanting a way that the naiads lured him away.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Iqd al-farid* (Cairo ed., A.H. 1305), iii, 186.

<sup>2</sup> The three MSS. consulted by Barbier de Meynard, as well as the Cairo text, have ككالة. Al-Jāhiz (d. 864), however, gives *kankala* (*Majmū'at rasā'il*, p. 80). Being a one-stringed instrument with a gourd sound-chest one is inclined to suggest that *yaktāra* (يكتارة) was intended.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1213) also attributes the *mī'azaf* to the people of Al-Yaman (Lane, *Lexicon*). According to the *Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l-ʿintifā'* this instrument was used in the time of the Prophet.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, vi, 68 of text.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, vi, 71.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the *ṭunbūr* since it is referred to as having two strings.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 181.

# Confirmation of Endowments to Priests and Officials by Samsi-Adad V and his son Adad-Nirari III and by Sargon in the Reign of Sennacherib

By THE LATE C. W. H. JOHNS, D.D., Litt.D., MASTER OF ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

FOREWORD.—This article was written by Dr. Johns during the earlier years of the War, and left unfinished. On Professor Langdon's urgent advice it is now published as left by the author. The footnotes with one exception are by Professor Langdon, and any slight additions to the text are in square brackets.

A. S. JOHNS.

DR. JOHNS left among his papers a closely written and almost complete manuscript to which he had given no distinctive title. In looking over this manuscript I saw at once that he had copied and joined up K. 2800, Sm. 318, and K. 2655. At any rate, it is obvious that he would have made these joins, if he had been able to return to the British Museum, and would have seen that K. 2655 actually completes the copy of the last edict of Adad-nirari III on the obverse. A discovery of this kind is too important to remain in obscurity, and the discovery surely ought to go to the illustrious scholar who made it. There was only a transcription of the text in the manuscript, and after copying and joining up the three fragments I have given the author's edition with some notes to bring it up-to-date, as the author would undoubtedly have done better than myself. Moreover, Dr. Johns has also given an edition of his own text, K. 3042, in his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 1077, referring to ancient endowments by Shalmaneser, Tiglathpileser, Adad-nirari III, and Sargon, and confirmed by Sennacherib. This text has also remained unedited for many years. The manuscript, therefore, contained not only a new document of extraordinary importance, but the first edition of an equally important document, and the two texts throw much light upon the history of Assyria from Šamsi-Adad III to Sennacherib.



The study does great credit to the late Master of St. Catharine's, and is also a well deserved tribute to the genius of George Smith, whose astonishing ability is again revealed. I should say that wherever Adad-nirari III appears in this article, the manuscript had Adad-nirari IV. It should be noted that the transcription was made by Dr. Johns from copies which I did not see, and consequently my copy does not always follow the transcription precisely. He was unable to revise his copy, but his transcription proves that it was remarkably accurate.

The composition of the great tablet partially represented by K. 2800 + Sm. 318 + K. 2655 is a curious one. The present text represents about one-quarter of the whole tablet, that is the lower right part of the obverse and upper right part of the reverse. It was originally a huge single column tablet, and now that this part is joined up, the missing fragments will certainly be found and added to it in due time. But why should the scribe of Sennacherib edit the edicts of Šamši-Adad and Adad-nirari on the obverse, and then give extracts from the campaigns of Sennacherib on the reverse? The confirmation of old endowments to priests and officials seems at first sight to have no relation to military campaigns. If the entire text were available the reason for this would be clear. At present a conjecture forces itself upon the student. Sennacherib directed certain ancient endowments to be conveyed to officials who had served him well in his campaigns. Parallels to this procedure are to be found in the history of Babylonia and the complete text will probably confirm this suggestion.

Mrs. Johns deserves the thanks of Assyriologists for bringing this important article to publicity. I have learned much from it myself, and gladly bestow upon it a labour due to the memory of a scholar whose services to Assyriology were admittedly great and indispensable.

S. LANGDON.

JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD.  
7th May, 1928.

## § A

In his Assyrian *Eponym Canon* (London, S. Bagster and Sons, 1875), p. 77 f., G. Smith said: "I have recently put together some considerations in favour of the accuracy of the canon, from three texts of Sennacherib. The first of these (which we will call Aa) is dated in the twenty-second year of Sennacherib, 684 B.C. This states that the tablet was copied from one which had been neglected and buried, and was found after 101 years. As this tablet belonged to Nebbi Yunus, the palace of which was built by Vulnirari III, and restored by Sennacherib about 693 B.C., it appeared probable that the tablets were found when the restoration of the palace commenced in 693 B.C., and they would then have been written in 794 B.C.; but for a long time I gained no clue in confirmation of this date, until I found a companion tablet (which we will call Ab) according to which Sennacherib restored the offerings and institutions made by Vulnirari, in the 'eponymy of Mannukiassur', that is 794 B.C.; and a third tablet (which we will call Ac) of the same period, related that various predecessors of Sennacherib had made offerings, and among the names mentioned are Samsivul, Vulnirari, Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, and Sargon. The only date given in the tablet is again 794 B.C., and it states that Vulnirari had made the 'writings' and offerings in the eponymy of Mannukiassur. These incidental statements of the inscriptions and offerings of Vulnirari in 794 B.C., the finding of the tablets after 101 years, and the restoration of the offerings and palace of Vulnirari in 693 B.C., form a curious confirmation of the accuracy of the canon, but do not amount to a proof, as the connexion between the three statements of Sennacherib is not certain."

Apparently this section was written by G. Smith to combat the views of J. Oppert (and others) who desired to insert a more or less lengthy period somewhere before the Sargonid dynasty, which would, of course, be impossible if there were exactly 101 years between the eponymy of Mannuki-Aššur



and the year 693. If the facts are all exactly as stated in the above section, even though not a proof as G. Smith admits, they certainly are a very strong presumption in favour of the absolute continuity of the eponym Canon from its commencement. Hence it seems worth while to examine them strictly. The names quoted are soon modernized. For Vulnarari III we should now read Adad-nirari III, for Mannukiassur, Mannu-ki-Aššur; for Samsival, Šamši-Adad V; the Assyrian equivalent of Tiglath-Pileser should be Tukultiapil-Ešarra and for Shalmaneser, Sulmanu-ašarid.

### § B

It will be at once noted that G. Smith does not here give the reference number or British Museum Class-mark of any of the three tablets. But on p. 81 of the *Eponym Canon* he does give some further information. There he says there are dates in three eponymes during the reign of Vulnarari III; the first, which is not a contemporary statement, is on two tablets of the time of Sennacherib; one, K. 2655, reads: "(a) The king had given in the month Tebet, in the eponymy of Mannukiassur. (b) . . . of Samsival and Vulnarari." The other reads: "The writings appointed and he the sacrifices gave in the eponymy of Mannukiassur, making of Vulnarari. . . . These statements refer to the eponymy 794 B.C." On p. 82 he gives the other two eponym dates of this reign known to him, but they need not concern us here, as the tablets bearing them, K. 310 (*ADD* 651) and K. 2827 (*ADD*. 653) do not refer to offerings, writings, sacrifices, or the building of the palace of Adad-nirari. They are contemporary documents, and have no reference to Sennacherib.

### § C

In the appendix, p. 205, of the *Eponym Canon*, G. Smith returns to the subject, thus: "I have found a large fragment K. 2800, belonging to one of the tablets mentioned in p. 77, and can now see that this text consisted of four columns of writing, the first part describing the eighth campaign of

Sennacherib; the latter part stating that he found an inscription of Vulnirari, a copy of which he gives. This inscription, copied in the time of Sennacherib, has the date in the eponym of Mannu-ki-assur. I am unable to confirm my suggestion as to the 101 years between this date and Sennacherib's discovery of the inscriptions, because I cannot fix the date of the eighth campaign, which may have happened as early as 696 B.C. or as late as 691 B.C., and the tablet shows no connexion with the fragment mentioning the 101 years."

This leaves the question distinctly less clear than the first section did, and demands close examination no less than that did. We may start with the statements of the first section.

Aa, the first tablet in section A, was "dated in the 22nd year of Sennacherib, 684 B.C." This in itself is distinctly interesting, as the latest dated historical inscription of Sennacherib is dated in his 15th year, 691 B.C., the well known "Taylor Cylinder". What were the inscriptions known to G. Smith to be dated in 684 B.C.? On pp. 90-1 of the *Eponym Canon*, under that date, he gives to the eponym Manzarnê, *šaknu* of Kullani, the dates on K. 2670, K. 1429, and an unnumbered tablet. Now, K. 2670 contains astrological forecasts and is published in full, III Rawlinson, Pl. 2, No. xxii.<sup>1</sup> The day is the 30th, the month Tebet, and in line 7 we read *ul-tu 101 šandê*, and line 8 has *û-kab-bir*, which may have suggested to G. Smith that it had been neglected and buried and was found after 101 years. The tablet, so far as now preserved, makes no reference whatever to a palace or to Adad-nirari. But G. Smith would know if it was found at Nebbi Yunus, and in his *Assyrian Discoveries* (London, S. Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1875), p. 89 and *passim*, he states that the works executed there by Layard and later by the Turkish Government "showed the existence of palaces" there, "the first built by Vulnirari (III), 812 B.C., the next by Sennacherib, 705 B.C., who after finishing his great palace on the Kouyunjik mound

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Weidner in *Babyloniaca* vi, 28.



built a new one here late in his reign. From this building came the fine memorial cylinder with the account of the expedition against Hezekiah King of Judah." By this description G. Smith probably means the Taylor Cylinder. These extracts show what was in his mind when he described Aa. It will be noted that he nowhere says that Aa names a palace or Adad-nirari III; but if K. 2670 was found in the palace of Sennacherib at Nebbi Yunus, as he states Aa was, he might well conclude it was found there at the conjectural restoration in 693 B.C., and so was written in 794 B.C.; and copied, as itself states, in 684 B.C. In his other references to Aa in §§ B and C, he says nothing inconsistent with its being K. 2670.

It would perhaps be unsafe to insist that G. Smith could only have meant by his first tablet (Aa) one which expressly names Sennacherib's twenty-second year. He might have arrived at that date by some more or less valid line of argument. Nor can we insist that he only knew of three tablets dated in that year, those given on pp. 90-1 of the *Eponym Canon*. This would absolutely confine Aa to K. 2670; for K. 1427 (*ADD.* 20) is a private contract and the unnumbered tablet is certainly K. 337 (published III Rawlinson 47, No. 7, and *ADD.* 19) a duplicate of K. 1429. But the only other documents given by the *Catalogue* as dated in this year are Rm. 167 (*ADD.* 230), Rm. 176 (*ADD.* 149), and 83-1-18, 405 (*ADD.* 142), which all came to the British Museum after G. Smith's death in 1876. Moreover, they are private contracts, and make no reference to any statement credited to the first tablet by G. Smith.

A small point may be noted here. In the *Eponym Canon*, p. 90, the date of K. 2670 is given as the 20th day, but the publication in III R. gives 30th and in his *History of Sennacherib*, p. 19, G. Smith corrected it to 30th. The *Catalogue*, p. 464, does not give the cuneiform of the date, as usual; but when I collated the text in 1895 I saw the three wedges of "thirty" quite clearly.

Further, we may note that in § A, G. Smith speaks of "the connexion between the three statements of Sennacherib" not being certain. No other tablet known to me could be supposed to make a statement about "101 years", unless it was K. 2670. But that is the statement not of Sennacherib himself but of Nabû-zukup-kên, the scribe of many astrological works mostly written at Kalah, some as Aššur, who occurs 716-684 B.C. He was the son of Marduk-šum-ikīša and grandson of Gabbi-ilāni-êreš (or perhaps a more remote descendant), and in 684 B.C. father of Istar-šum-êreš, for whose benefit K. 2670 was copied out. For the history of these people see Tallquist's *Assyrian Personal Names*, *passim*. The statement was made in 684 B.C., in the time of Sennacherib indeed, but it has no necessary connexion, as G. Smith finally saw (see *Eponym Canon*, p. 205, end of § C), with the interval between the finding of the tablets of Adad-nirari and the eponymy of Mannu-ki-Aššur. The tablet K. 2670 is described in the *Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery* for 1883, p. 167, No. 4. Whether it really was found at Nebbi Yunus may be doubted.

We now turn to the companion tablet Ab of § A. This was in some sense a tablet of Sennacherib. A comparison with § B makes it probable that it is K. 2655, which on one side preserves part of a duplicate of the Taylor Cylinder, col. v, 51-62, see *Catalogue*, p. 463, where, however, no mention is made of the record which G. Smith quotes in § B and (a) and (b). But in 1895 I certainly copied on the reverse<sup>1</sup> the words *šarru (LUGAL) id-du-nu araḥ AB li-mu Man-nu-ki-Aššur*<sup>2</sup> and in the next line, *ša Šam-ši-Adad Adad-nirari*,<sup>3</sup> and in the next line again *amēl nagir êkalli ū Marduk-bēl . . .* followed by *im-nu-ū-ma*. This completely substantiates what G. Smith wrote of K. 2655 in § B. When in § C he says of K. 2800 that it belongs to one of the tablets mentioned in p. 77 (see

<sup>1</sup> This in reality the obverse, see copy, Obv. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing now remains of this name on K. 2655, and *LUGAL* at the beginning has now disappeared.

<sup>3</sup> The signs *ŠAB-GAB* = *nirari* are possible at end of Obv. 34.



§ A), it clearly does not belong to the first tablet, Aa, whether that be K. 2670 or not, because he says of the text to which both belong that the first part describes the eighth campaign of Sennacherib and the latter part states that he found an inscription of Vulnirari. This is not consistent with what he says of Aa, but is consistent with what he says of Ab. G. Smith does not say the fragments join. Evidently they do not. The *Catalogue*, p. 477, while it refers to *Eponym Canon*, p. 205, does not point out that one side of K. 2800, that with fifteen lines, is a duplicate of the Taylor Cylinder, though this could be deduced from § C, but when I copied K. 2800 in 1895, I noted that it joined Sm. 318 which the *Catalogue*, p. 1308, does not indicate as a duplicate of the Taylor Cylinder. Nor does the *Catalogue*, p. 1690, give either K. 2800 nor Sm. 318 among the duplicates of 55-10-3, 1. But the obverse<sup>1</sup> of K. 2655 gives fragments of col. v, 51-62 and K. 2800 + Sm. 318 of v, 83-vi, 25.<sup>2</sup> Hence, about twenty-one lines of the Taylor Cylinder text are lost between K. 2655 and K. 2800 + Sm. 318. It is clear that G. Smith had not discovered the significance of Sm. 318 when he wrote his *Eponym Canon*.

Finally we can unquestionably identify the third tablet Ac of § A with K. 3042 published in *ADD.* 1077. The *Catalogue*, p. 498, calls it "list of articles of tribute (?), animals, corn, meat, wine, etc." "Mentions Šulmanu-(ašarid); Tukulti-apil-(Ešarra); Sargon, Adad-nirari, the son of Šamši-Adad; the eponymy (*lim-mu*) of Mannu-ki-Aššur, i.e. 795 (?) B.C., and the city of *dlu* Ši-mir-ra, etc." But it gives no reference to the *Eponym Canon*. G. Smith, however, p. 81, though he does not quote it as K. 3042, clearly means the same tablet as Ac, on p. 77, and his quotations from it leave no doubt possible as to its identity. The predecessors of Sennacherib, whom he calls Samsival, Vulnirari, Tiglath Pileser, Shalmaneser, and Sargon are the

<sup>1</sup> In reality the reverse. See Rev. 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> See Rev. 20-38.

same as the *Catalogue* gives; no more and no less. It is, however, difficult to see what he took to be the "writings" on p. 77, at any rate, the text has no mention of any. The "Offerings" in the eponymy of Mannukiaššur probably are the *Lu-MEŠ* properly *šēnē* "sheep", but often used for *niḫē* in the general sense of offerings or sacrifices in historical texts. These occur *ADD.* 1077, col. viii, l. 9, where we read *šū* "he" (which G. Smith evidently referred to Adad-nirari named in line 3) *LU-MEŠ idan*, followed by the eponymy. On p. 81 he quotes "the writings appointed", which looks like an attempt to render *amēl rāb kakulat ipkidūni*, for *pakādu* does mean "appoint" in some cases. Here he renders *šū LU-MEŠ idan* by "he the sacrifices gave", but in line 11 he renders *naphar šā Adadnirari* by "making of Vulnirari". Of course, it means "all from Adadnirari", indicating, as in line 3, where the same phrase occurs, that all the benefactions listed above were given by Adad-nirari III, son of Šamsi-Adad.

We now have satisfactorily identified the tablets mentioned by G. Smith in A, B, C, namely his first tablet Aa is K. 2670, the companion tablet Ab is K. 2655 (which, with K. 2800 + Sm. 318 once formed a large four<sup>1</sup> columned tablet), the third tablet Ac is K. 3042. Of these, the first and third are completely known. Unfortunately in 1895 I had no further interest in K. 2655 than to ascertain that it was not a "contract" tablet, and I copied nothing beyond what I have already quoted above. I am not sure that a further examination might not give us further hints as to the endowments referred to by Sennacherib. This it is not possible for me to give during the war. Nor is my copy of K. 2800 + Sm. 318 sufficiently careful to form a final edition, but subject to all reserve for future collation, it contains enough of interest to justify publication.

<sup>1</sup> I have joined up the three tablets and am of the opinion that there was only one column on each face. The break on the left side is beyond the middle of the tablet. [S. L.]



The position which the study of these tablets reveals so far as I can carry it, may be set out first. Sennacherib, some time after the conclusion of his eighth campaign, i.e. after 691 B.C., built a palace on the Nebi Yunus mound. This had been partly occupied by a palace of Adad-nirari III. In doing this he discovered, probably, some inscriptions of that king and perhaps of his predecessors. These recorded certain endowments of the temples in Nineveh which had been made by earlier kings and either renewed or augmented by Shalmanasar, Tiglath-pileser, and Sargon. These may have consisted in lands which Sennacherib wished to appropriate and felt obliged to replace by some equivalent. But K. 3042, so far as now preserved, only mentions revenues in food and drink, apparently due from certain officials to the temples. Apparently he contented himself with confirming the settlements with respect to these revenues made by his predecessors. At any rate, K. 3042 no longer indicates that he added anything to them. The references to the earlier endowments in the copies which he gives in K. 2655 and K. 2800 + Sm. 318 merely recite the old "writings". The recognition of further fragments of the text to which these fragments belong may some day complete our knowledge of what Sennacherib did. The sort of fragments required must be tablets, not prisms or cylinders. They should bear on one side further extracts, duplicates more or less of the Taylor Cylinder.<sup>1</sup> It is by no means certain that they would even indicate Sennacherib as the king whose inscription they are.

*Transliteration of my copy of K. 2800 + Sm. 318*

Obverse: Duplicate of the Taylor Cylinder text, with variants.<sup>2</sup>

Col. v: 1. 83, (*dāmu u rûtu* <sup>3</sup> *û -muk*) *išu ma-gar-r(u-uš)*; 84, (*pagri kûradîšunu kima urkiti*); 85, *û-mal-la-a ši-(ra sapsapate unakîsma)*. Col. vi: 1, (*baltaşun abût kima bini*

<sup>1</sup> The extracts from the Taylor Cylinder are given on the reverse.

<sup>2</sup> See also the duplicate in Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, p. 46, 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pîr-šu ri-it-mu-ku*. See Luckenbill, *ibid.*, 46, 9.

*kiš-š)e-e*<sup>1</sup>; 2, *ú-na-kis ri-ti-(šun)*; 3, (*šemirê? ašpi hurāši KI-RIS ibbi ša ritti-*) *šu-nu am-ḥur*; 4, (*ina namšari zaḫtuti ḥuzannišu*)-*nu ú-pa (r-ri)*; 5, (*patri šibbi hurāši kaspi ša ḫabli-*) *šunu e-(kim)*; 6, (*sitti amēlūti rabūtišu adi Nabū-šum-*) *iš-kun*; 7, *mār Marduk-(apil-iddin ša lapān taḫazī-ia)*; 8, (*iplaḫū*) *id-ku-ú idā-(šun balṭusun)*; 9, (*ina ḫabal tamḫari itmuḫa*)-*ma idā-(ai iṣu narkabāti)*; 10, *adi imér ŠUHUB-MEŠ-(šina ša ina kitrub . . .)*; 11, (*zarātešun*)<sup>2</sup> *u-maš-ši-rú-(ma)*; 12, *ana šuzub napšātišun*) *amēlu*<sup>3</sup> *ú-da-i-šu*; 13, *e-(teḫu kī ša admi iṣṣuri kuššudi itarraku) libbē (šun)*; 14, (*šinātešūn ušarapu kirib narkabātešun*; 15, *u-maš-ši-ra-ni (zū-šun ana radādišun)*; 16, (*narkabāte sisē-ia*) *ú-ma (ir)*. . .

In restoring the above text I have used the transcription of the Taylor Cylinder given in *KB.* ii, pp. 108-110. I do not feel sure that this tablet originally gave all the same text as in the Taylor Cylinder. In fact, assuming that all the lines of our text were of the same length and not sometimes more widely spaced than at others, it is difficult to suppose that the text was not more condensed. It is certain that it omitted lines 11-16 of the Taylor Cylinder. But obviously it is impossible to conjecture how the condensation was effected.

There are traces of a line or two before what corresponds to line 83 of the col. of the cylinder, of which I read *i* and *rú* in what should correspond to line 82, but I fail to see to what words of the Taylor text they correspond. The first certain line of our text gives *muk* as its first sign, evidently the end of [*r*]it*muk* as a variant for [*r*]it*muku*. The occurrence of the determinative *iṣu* before *magarruš* in our text confirms the meaning of *magarru* as a "wheel". This may be derived from *garāru* "to run", as G. R. Berry, *Hebraica*, xi, p. 190, derived *mugirru*, for which see *iṣu mugirri ABL.* 355, r. 14; *ḫirši*

<sup>1</sup> The text omits *si-ma-ni*.

<sup>2</sup> The space does not permit the full text of the cylinder. It surely read *kitrub taḫazī umalṭiru* and omitted *ša* in line 10.

<sup>3</sup> The sign is Br. 4251 with inserted  $\blacktriangleleft$ , written Br. 4243 + KAN. See Thureau-Dangin, *REC.*, 292; Meisner, *SAI.*, p. 155 note. Read *pagré*.



*mugirri* ABL. 80, r. 10, *iṣu mugir* ABL. 620, 8, and for *magarru* see *tibiḥ ma-ga-ar-ri*, ABL. 74, r. 3. In Gautier's *Archives d'une famille de Dilbat*, No. lxvi, l. 5, we have 5 *ma-ga-ar-rum*. We may also compare ADD. 822, 7, for *naggar mugirri* and ADD. 50, 3, for *PIN mugirri*. I do not at present see the difference between *magarru* and *mugirru*, and some sort of "chariot" or "wagon" would suit some passages as well as "wheel". One may perhaps regard *magarru* as a Semitic form from the *MĀ-GAR-RA* which occurs in King's *Letters of Hammurabi*, vol. iii, p. 6, No. xxxiv, l. 16, which Delitzsch, *BAS.* iv, 482, makes out to be "*Schiffsvorrat*", taking it from *MĀ* "ship" and *GAR* = *akālu*. But ideograms like *MĀ* . . . rendered *maturru* came to mean some vehicle used on land, like our word "ark", compare our use of "boat" for a costermonger's barrow.

Now begins the difficult question of what is missing. What I will call, for convenience, line 3 of our text preserves at the end of the first part of *ru*, but not *uṣ*. Nothing of line 84 is left on our table, but as the next line gives *umallā ṣi(ra)* from line 85, and as it seems probable that line 3 of our text once ended with *ruṣ*, we may provisionally suppose that one line of our text answered to all line 84 and *umallā ṣirā*. Now our fifth line preserves (*kiš*)-*še-e u-nakiš riṭ-ti-(ṣunu)*, corresponding to the last syllable of vi, 1, and all of vi, 2, and must have had what corresponded to *sapsapate unakisma* of v, 85. Some condensation of the Taylor text is probable here. I have conjecturally met this by omitting *simāni*. Naturally we cannot be sure of this. Condensation may have been effected by the use of ideograms, perhaps one for *sapsapate*. In view of this difficulty, we must all along remember that our restorations from the Taylor text may be fuller than the original.

I shall now confine myself to the variants actually exhibited. Our text nowhere shows the fragment *ṣu-un* of the Taylor texts, but gives *ṣu-nu* instead: for Taylor's *kaṭiṣun* it clearly had *ritti (ṣunu)*, though it no longer preserves *ṣunu*. Line 3

of our text gives *šu-nu*, as does Taylor vi, 3. Line 8 of our text gives *ID-2* for Taylor's *i-da* vi, 8. Our line 10 replaces the *sisē* of Taylor vi, 10 by *innēr ŠUHUB-MEŠ ŠUHUB* (if that is how the ideogram is to be read). Br. 10864, is explained by the Yale Syllabary, 298, as *parû*, with a reading ending in *gi*; so not to be read *ŠUHUB* really. For the word *parû*, see Delitzsch, *HWB.*, p. 539. It is known from the historical monuments, but whether "mule" is an exact rendering may be doubted. The next line of our text, 17, preserves the end of Taylor vi, 17. In our line 18 the sign which precedes the *idāišu* ending, Taylor vi, 18, appears to be *amēlu*.<sup>1</sup> Possibly this points to a variant text unless *amēlu* is meant to replace *ummanatešunu*. Line 21 of our text is clearly identical with Taylor vi, 21. On line 22 was clearly *uma'ir* of Taylor vi, 22. I cannot recognize the traces left of the next three lines of our text as repeating any part of the Taylor text. But some variant of it may have really been there; or the account here given of Sennacherib's buildings may have begun.

*Transcription of K. 2800 + Sm. 318 [+ K. 2655]*

Reverse

1. . . . šer HAR-MEŠ . . .
2. . . . MEŠ BAR KU (?) . . .
3. . . . (?) TUR-MEŠ ŠAL SUHU(R-LAL-MEŠ) . . .
4. . . . (ginu)-ú ša amēl šangû . . .
5. . . . māt (?) Aš-šur-ki ú-zak-ki . . .
6. . . . ša eli ŠAL SUHUR-LAL-MEŠ ID (?) . . .
7. . . . ina ékalli i-da-an. Here follows a blank space of two lines.
8. . . . LUGAL māt Aš-šur-ki mār Šam-ši-Adad šarru kiššati . . .
9. . . . LUGAL kiš-ša-ti LUGAL māt Aš-(sur-ki) . . .
10. . . . ša bit ilu VII-bi ša bit GAD-mu-(n) . . .

<sup>1</sup> Sign *RAB-GAN* + *BAD* = *pagru*. See King, *Magic*, 2, 22; V Raw., 46, 28, Ancient sign, Thureau-Dangin, *REC.*, 291. A variant is *LU* + *BAD* = Sumerian value *ad* = *pagru*, Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, 273, and *Yal. Syllabary*, 166.



11. . . . šá EN-ZI-ZI am-mar ir-ra-še-pa . . .
12. . . . MEŠ šá bīt GAD-mu-ri C šá bīt ilu PA . . .
13. . . . ilu e-ki C šá EN-ZI-(ZI) . . .
14. . . . AN-BAR-MEŠ šá amēl mutir pu-t e šá amēl su-(kal)<sup>1</sup>  
rabū šá GAD . . .
15. . . . mārē Ninûa-ki LXXX šá āli . . .
16. . . . ū šá kak-ti AN-BAR-MEŠ nāgir ēkalli i-mah-  
(har) . . .
17. . . . šá a a-la-te šá ilu XV il-ku-šu la-bi-(ru) . . .
18. . . . šá ali Ni-nu-u-a-ki id-da-(an) . . .
19. . . . ina šatti-šu a-na ēkalli id-da-(an) . . .
20. . . . (?) -šu a-na gi-ni-e id-da-(an) . . .
21. . . . bīt ilāni amēl nāgir ēkalli-ma id-da-(an) . . .
22. . . . i (?) -ša-du šá ilu XV GAD (?) - . . .
23. . . . ŠAL SUHUR-LAL AN-AN GIŠ ERIN . . .

There follows a space of two or three lines, blank.

24. . . . mār Šam-ši-Adad PA-(LUM) . . .
25. . . . a-ša-rid PA-(LUM) . . .
26. . . . šu (?) šá bīt e-ki šá ir-rap-še (?) . . .
27. . . . ēkalli i-mah-har
28. . . . na (?) erī [i-mah-har]
29. . . . še-ri [i-mah-har]<sup>2</sup>

The lines are possibly only about half-preserved. I cannot restore the left-hand portions with certainty in any case. In line 24 we may be sure that the name of Adad-nirari began the line, but what titles were before his designation as son of Šam-si-Adad one cannot say. Analogy with other inscriptions of his, e.g. *ADD.* 651-656, 808, lead us to expect *šarru* (probably written *LUGAL* as in line 8) *māt Aššur (ki)* and the addition of *PA-LUM* after his father's and his grandfather's name, in lines 24 and 25 with the analogy of *ADD.* 651, leads us to expect *PA-LUM* before *mār*. We do not know how his name was written here (for the possible writings see

<sup>1</sup> I copied *amel* . . . *ekalli* here. [S. L.]

<sup>2</sup> Here Dr. Johns did not complete the text by adding the new join, K. 2655. See *obv.* 27-30.

APN., p. 10), but we may, comparing what line 25 must have had (*mār šul-ma-nu*) conclude that we have about half the line preserved. At the end not more than one or two characters can be lost, as what we have reaches nearly to the edge of the tablet. The signs are spaced out more in some lines than in others, and something may have been written over on to the right-hand edge.

In the first line the ideogram *UZU-ĦAR* is given by ZA. xxx, p. 294, l. 16, as *mīri*, with a reading *murū* for *ĦAR*. The *mīru* is some part of the body of man or animal, and here we probably have to do with some joint of meat forming a sacrificial offering to the gods. Of similar flesh offerings we have a great many examples in ADD. and in the many texts relating to the endowments of temples.

For line 2 I can suggest no tolerable restoration.

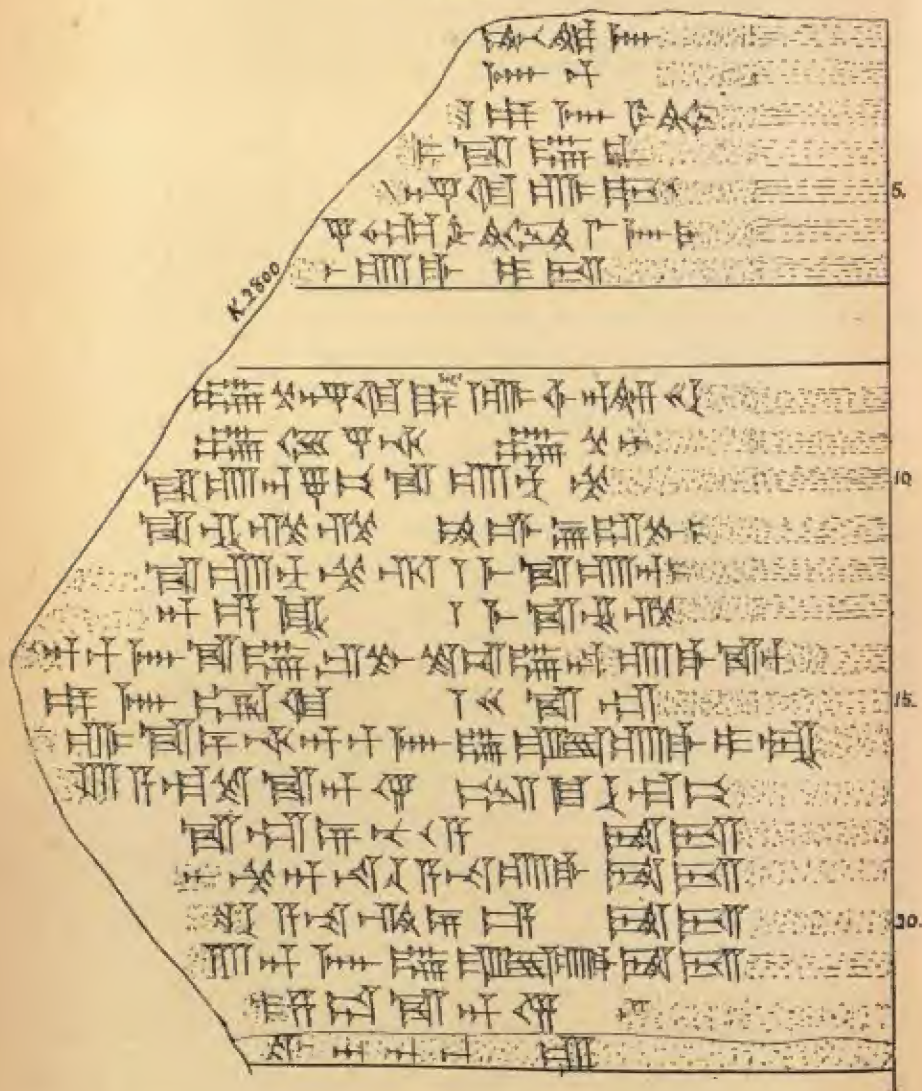
In line 3 the *TUR-MEŠ* may indicate the plural of an ideogram ending in *TUR*, (*BANDA* ?) or may have to be read *mārē*. For the ideogram *ŠAL SUĦUR-LAL*, which comes again in line 6 and perhaps in line 23, the sign-lists give no equivalent. But Br. 8620 gives *SUĦUR-LAL* as *ziḡnātu*, and HWB., p. 260b, would connect this with either *badulu*, p. 167, or *šartu*, p. 636b, but in neither case suggests a meaning likely to suit here. Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 49a, thinks *badulu* may be for *batulu* "youth". If so, *SAL SUĦUR-LAL* might be for *batultu* "maiden". The *batulâte* would be in place in connexion with the *bīt Kidmûri*, or temple of Ištar in Nineveh. SAI., 6529, restores from K. 9961 (CT. xix, 2), line 14, *SUĦUR-LAL* as *kimmātu* and line 16, *SUĦUR-LAL* as *kimmat kit-(mumu)*, but pointing out that these restorations are uncertain. When I copied K. 9961 I thought I saw *kid-mu-û-(ri)* ? in line 16.<sup>1</sup> This may be a mistake of mine or the signs may have disappeared since.

<sup>1</sup> But see RA., xiv, 8, 51. *kimmātu* is now known to mean "hair of the head". Since *sû-lal* = *ziḡnu* "beard", and *sufur-lal* = *ziḡnātu*, and *mes-sû-lal* = *badulu* "youth" (RA., xiv, 85, 15), *sul sufur-lal* may well = *batultu*.



K. 2800 + Sm. 318 + K. 2655

Obverse

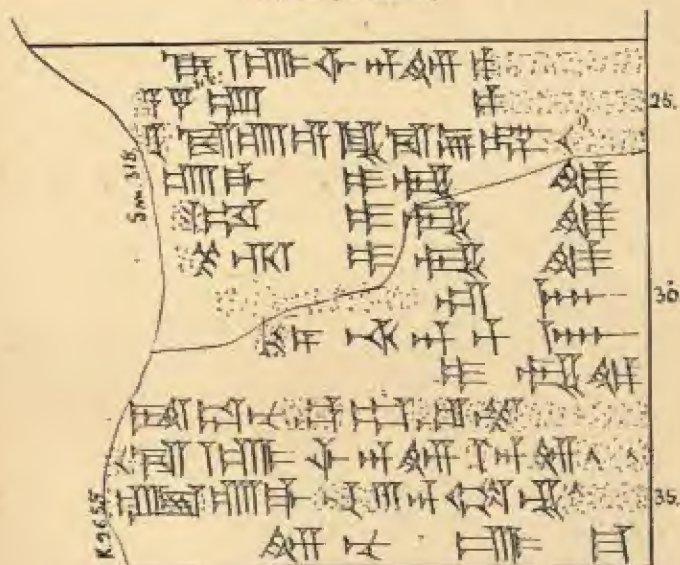


These ladies may well have been regarded as associates of Ištar, and at any rate they appear to be beneficiaries under the edict.

In line 4 we almost certainly have a reference to the *ginū* or fixed maintenance of the priest. In K. 3042, ADD. 1077, which is so closely connected with the endowments here given, we have reference to the allowance for the priest of Nabū, viii, 28, and for the priest of Gula, viii, 30 ff.

K. 2800 + Sm. 318 + K. 2655

Obverse (continued).



<sup>1</sup> Nothing missing at end of line.

In line 5 the name of a king may be conjectured before *māt Aššur*. The term *uzaḫki* is usual of the action by which a monarch set free from all state dues, property, or estate, held as endowment or by royal grant. It so commonly accompanied the grant of lands that we may conjecture that this edict gave lands to the temple whose produce was to form its endowment.



The text does not enable us to say whether the benefactor was Adad-nirari or one of his predecessors.

But in line 8, we can hardly suppose the king of Assyria, who is said to be son of Šamši-Adad and probably grandson of Shalmaneser, to be other than Adad-nirari III. Here we have welcome information as to the temples benefited.

The first temple names on the part preserved is that of the god Sibitti. For the name and functions of this god see Deimel's *Pantheon Babylonicum*, p. 233, and the *Literature* there. See also Jastrow, *Die Religion*, *passim*.<sup>1</sup> Sennacherib frequently names this god. He had a temple in Kar-Nergal. But which was his temple in Nineveh is not clear yet. Perhaps he only had a chapel in *bît Kidmûri*.

Beside the spellings of *Kidmûri* registered by Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, p. 159, see *HWB.*, p. 318, Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 372.

In line 11 the compound *EN-ZI-ZI* seems to be parallel to a divine name or perhaps a temple name. It does not appear to be explained by the usual sign-lists. A meaning like *bél napšâte* "Lord of Life" might well be an epithet of some god, but is not the necessary meaning, if here used as an ideogram. It occurs also at the end of line 13, where it seems to be parallel to a temple-name.

In the same line *irrašepa*<sup>2</sup> could be from *rašápu*, a verb not given in the lexicons, but possibly a by-form of *rasápu*, perhaps with the meaning "to fall".

In line 13 the sign *ilu* is clearly there, but may be the end of a word, *pa-an*, for example.<sup>3</sup> However, in line 26 we have *bît e-ki*, which seems to be a temple-name, so that *ilu-e-ki* may be the name of a god.

The name *e-ki* occurs in a list of gods and temple-names published by Scheil, *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, vol. xiv (1917),

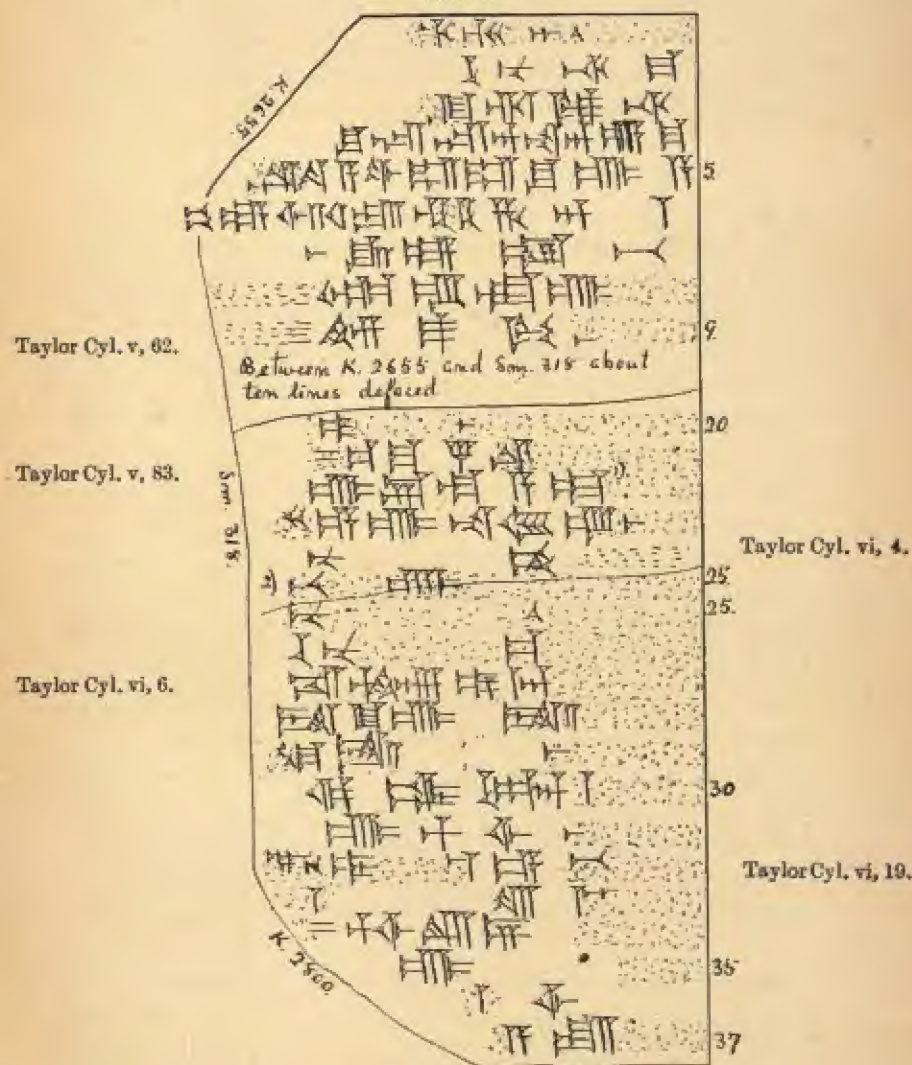
<sup>1</sup> See now C. F. Jean, *RA.*, xxi, 93-104 (1924). The "Seven gods" are the Pleiades.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *ir-ra-tu*, i.e. "as much as shall come in".

<sup>3</sup> Certainly to be restored *\*NIN-PA-AN*, i.e. *inBélit-parši*, mentioned by Šamši-Adad V and Adad-nirari III, *AKF.*, i, 41.

K. 2800 + Sm. 318 + K. 2655

Reverse



<sup>1</sup> si-[ri], Var. EDIN.

<sup>2</sup> Line in break is copied twice.



p. 171 f., col. ii, l. 3, *ilu bēlūt* (or *šarrat*) *e-ki*, but whether the text means that this goddess is Aruru is not clear.<sup>1</sup> But as Ištar is often called *ilu bēlūt* (or *šarrat*) *Kidmūri*, there is some reason to expect *e-ki* to be a temple-name, if not a by-name of *Kidmūri*. Our context, however, names *Kidmūri* in the line above, and Scheil's text does suggest Aruru, while the temples are separated by the temple of Nabū, probably. Now, in K. 3042, viii, 28-30 (*ADD.* 1077), so closely connected with our text, the temple of Nabū is followed by a reference to the goddess Gula. Perhaps Aruru is in some aspects the same as Gula. In Scheil, *ibid.*, col. ii, l. 6, the gods among whom *šarrat-e-ki* occurs are part of the seventeen gods of the temple of Ištar Aššurītun. In line 9, another (?) *bēlūt e-ki* is reckoned among the six gods of the temple of Nin-ēkal. Further, in line 16, yet another *bēlūt e-ki* is reckoned among the sixteen gods of another temple and apparently of *bīt Kidmūri*. Scheil suggests that *šarrat-e-ki* is a name of Ištar equal to *bēlūt terti*.

That the temple at end of line 12 is that of Nabū and not of Nusku is rendered likely by the mention of the temple of Nabū in K. 3042, viii, 28.

In line 14 *AN-BAR* might be taken as the ideogram for Ninurta, but then a plural sign is difficult to explain. The occurrence of *KAK-ti AN-BAR-MEŠ* in line 16 suggests that we have here the same expression. The ideogram *KAK-ti* may be read *sikkat šili* when it is part of the body, see *ZA.*, xxx, p. 294, line 3, and *SAI.*, 3617, gives references to Boissier, *Divination*, where it appears to be some part of a sacrificial omen. But I imagine that while *sikkat TI* may mean the bolt of a rib, which can hardly be made of iron, *AN-BAR*, *parzilli*, we could imagine the use of iron stays or ribs in temple

<sup>1</sup> See also Schroeder, *KAV.*, 42, ii, 33, <sup>10</sup>*KASKAL ? e-ki* of the temple of <sup>11</sup>*Ninegal*; l. 36, <sup>12</sup>*Išhtar ša bīt e-ki*; *ibid.*, 43 obv. ii, 13, <sup>13</sup>*Bēlūt-e-ki* of the temple of Ištar of Nineveh. Read *KAV.*, 42, ii, 33, *gašan* = *bēlūt*, for *kaskal*? For *Išhtar ša bīt e-ki*, 42 ii, 36, var. *RA.*, xiv, 172, ii, 14, has *KI-NAD* (= *mašalu*) "bed-chamber." See also Schroeder in *AKF.*, i, 41. *RA.*, xiv, 172, ii, 16, <sup>14</sup>*Bēlūt-e-ki* = var. *e-ki*, *KAV.*, 42, ii, 38.

restorations. Or, as *KAK* by itself may mean *sikkatu*, *KAK-ti* may be a writing of *sikkati* as plural. We would then have bolts of iron which also are appropriate to a restoration.

In line 14, when we read *ša mutir pûte* we need not render "of" the *mutir pûte*. The word *ša* may be the relative pronoun, "which" the *mutir pûte* gave (understood). It may have been the duty of the *mutir pûte* of the *sukallu* (of the palace or temple) under the terms of the old endowment to provide iron bolts or stays when needed for a restoration. Or it may have been a personal free gift on this occasion, perhaps even a restitution.

The signs at the end of line 14 are not very clear, *su* is I think, certain, *kal* not at all, *GAL* probably to be read, *rabû*, quite certain, and *ša* also. The final *GAD* which may be part of *Kidmûri* may be *hu* or *nam*. Hence my transcription here is merely a conjecture.

In line 15, the *mârê Ninûa* "sons of Nineveh", meaning the people of Nineveh, must have been preceded by a number, as it is followed by "eighty of another" city.

It is noteworthy that the *nâgir êkalli*, who is named in line 16 and again in line 21, is also named on K. 2655.

What the force of *imaḥḥar* may be does not appear. If we render "he receives", we seem to forget that the text is a copy of a document already 100 years old. It must be future "he shall receive".

The sign *ša*<sup>1</sup> at the beginning of line 17 is not very clear. If it is right, perhaps we may see in *ša-a-a-la-te* a plural of *ša'iltu*, a female enchanter, or augur. It is scarcely likely to be the phonetic reading of *ŠAL SUḪUB-LAL-MEŠ*, but may prove to be.

In the case of *ilkušu* the *šu* should refer to some masculine person, but may refer to Ištar for whom *ša* would be more correct. The *ilku* must be the "due" owed to some god, as *labiru* "ancient" or "obsolete" indicates.

In line 18 some one (or perhaps more than one) official or

<sup>1</sup> The sign is badly damaged, and may well be *ša-a-(a-la-te)*.



inhabitant of Nineveh is charged with giving, probably the *ilku labiru* of line 17.

In line 19 some one shall give yearly, *ina šattišu iddan*. This is more likely than "in the self same year".

In line 20 perhaps the first *šu* is another case of some such expression as *ina šattišu* or *ina arhišu*, *ana ginê* must mean as *ginû* or fixed perpetual offering. We may note that K. 3042 mentions monthly offerings, viii, 22.

Whether *bît ilâni* in line 21 is the end of an official title or the place where the offering was to be made (compare the *ina êkalli* of line 7), it is surely the *nâgir êkalli* who "shall give" *iddan*.

At the end of line 22 I am inclined to restore *Ištar Kid-(mûri)*.

In line 23 *AN-AN* may be read *ilâni*, possibly *Amu*, but the whole line is uncertain, being on the junction of K. 2800 and Sm. 318, and thus much broken.

At the end of line 26, *še* is very doubtful, only one wedge is left and that may be *u*.

In line 27 perhaps *nâgir* preceded *êkalli*; whatever the sign was, it ended in a vertical.

The sign before *erî* in line 28 appears to be *ri*, and so we could restore *Kid-mu-ri* and perhaps take *i* as part of *idan*,<sup>1</sup> which, however, is always *iddan* in our text.

Here we have to do with three copies (made evidently in the time of Sennacherib and after the conclusion of his eighth campaign) of edicts conferring or confirming endowments of certain temples in Nineveh. The two later edicts date from the reign of Adad-nirari III. The first is preserved in such a fragmentary condition that we have no direct evidence of its date. But as it precedes the others it is at least as early as Adad-nirari III. The copies are obviously made with great care, preserving the form of characters known from other inscriptions of the period.

The first edict is represented by only seven lines, the second

<sup>1</sup> The join now makes *i-mah-har* certain.

has sixteen lines, and of the third we have only the remains of six lines.<sup>1</sup> They all fail to give a full specification of the endowments, but it is probable that these consisted of charges upon certain officials to render certain dues to the temples. But some of the officials named are probably attached to the temples by their office and named as beneficiaries of or under the edicts.

We may conjecturally divide them thus :—

Beneficiaries, the *māre* (?) and the *ŠAL ŠUHUR-LAL-MEŠ*, l. 3 ; the *šangû* whose *ginû* is named, l. 4 ; the *nāgir êkalli* shall receive the iron bolts (?) probably in trust for the temples, l. 16 ; possibly the same official shall receive something, l. 28. . . . [Officials] charged with dues ; the *mutir pûte* of the *sukkal rabû* of Kidmûri is charged with iron bolts, for repairs (?) in l. 14 ; the unnamed official of Nineveh shall give the ancient *ilku* to Ištar, l. 17 ; someone else shall give something yearly to the palace, l. 19 ; and something else yearly or monthly for the *ginû*, l. 20 ; for or in the temples the *nāgir êkalli* shall give something, l. 21.

These settlements were evidently summarized lower on the tablets ; for the reverse <sup>2</sup> of K. 2655, which G. Smith doubtless rightly recognized as part of the same tablet, after a break <sup>3</sup> of about twenty lines, recorded what the king gave in the eponymy of Mannu-ki-Aššur, 794 B.C. The king referred to must be Adad-nirari III, and it expressly names him with his father Šamši-Adad. That suggests that the first edict, if not an earlier one cited before it, dates from the latter king. It refers to the *nāgir êkalli* who appears in our text bound to receive and give to the temples. We may, therefore, assume that it was not the particular *nāgir êkalli* of the reigns of Šamši-Adad and Adad-nirari who was intended, but the official in that office who was so charged. Sennacherib, doubtless, confirmed these charges.

<sup>1</sup> Now thirteen lines.

<sup>2</sup> In reality obverse.

<sup>3</sup> There is no break, the fragment continues the third edict.



Along with the *nāgir ēkalli*, K. 2655 gives the name of Marduk-bēl . . . but the state of that tablet prevents us from knowing what he did or should do ; whether this was the name of the *nāgir ēkalli* is not clear from the text. In the reign of Adad-nirari III, 808 B.C., Bēl-dan was *nāgir ēkalli*, and in 778 B.C., Bēl-lišir. It is scarcely likely that either of these names was that on K. 2655. Of course, someone else may have filled the office between 808 B.C. and 778 B.C. I know of no *nāgir ēkalli* in Sennacherib's time with a name like Marduk-bēl . . .

The only other word on K. 2655 which I have noted is *imnū*, and this perhaps refers to the two kings Šamši-Adad and Adad-nirari, indicating that these refer to the above noted endowments or charges which (*šá*) those kings to the *nāgir ēkalli* and Marduk-bēl . . . (the latter's title probably followed), *imnū*, i.e. assigned or reckoned.

Now we turn to the third tablet, K. 3042, fully published in *ADD.* 1077. It is not certain that all the entries are concerned with the endowments of one and the same temple.

The items of revenue are connected with certain officials, of whom it usually said *idan*, which I take to mean "he shall give", thus fixing his responsibility for a certain supply to the temple. Thus the *rāb ašlakē še (ēkalli ?)* was charged with a *ka*-measure of oil and a *ka* of some other commodity (i, 3). The *rāb harbi* of the (*tartanu ?*) was charged with providing a *pūzu ku-sag* (i, 6). These and evidently other contributions now lost were what (*šá*) Shalmaneser (III, 858-824 B.C., grandfather of Adad-nirari III, or was it Shalmaneser IV, 782-772 B.C. ?) confirmed or made binding (*irkusu*). This verb, *rakāsu*, seems used rather of re-settling an endowment which had become obsolete than of making a fresh endowment. Then we find five *šam šaduppi* which the palace gardener (*šākinu ēkalli*) was charged with. This was all the *ridūte* (if so to be read) of some one, perhaps Shalmaneser, or of something, perhaps the temple (i, 11-14). Then we have one *ka*-measure of wine, which someone had to give said to be all

from some city, which a Tiglath-Pileser fixed or confirmed (i, 17-17). Then twenty *akâlê*, each a *ka*-measure, fourteen *ka* of beer (?) and two *ka* of *upuntu*<sup>1</sup> perhaps "peas", all of which the *râb kâtinu* had to give. As the name Ludari follows, perhaps he was the benefactor, though he may be the contemporary holder of the office (i, 18-22). Again, the *râb nuḥatimê*, or chief baker, from the city Hatrakka (Hadrach ?) and of Šimirra had to bring and give *inaššia idan*. This was all that Sargon had confirmed (*irkusûni*). The scribe then summed up as all seven *ka*-measures of *akâlê*, dishes,<sup>2</sup> *bîtê* (?), said to be *akli* of one *ka* apiece. Then thirty-eight *ka akâlê* dishes,<sup>2</sup> *ridûte* of ten *ka* apiece. A male sheep out of every three thousand, which Pappû the palace scribe (of the king) or which the king gave to Ištar. With this the list breaks off, i, 28-36. The next column preserves fragments of other contributions too fragmentary to make out clearly. But another god, *Si-ḫi* . . . is named<sup>3</sup> and a priest. Cols. vi and vii evidently continued the list of contributions, though the latter part appears to be concerned with the distribution of joints among the officials of the temple. The last column, viii, begins with *šâ êkurrâte* "of the shrines", *gabbu* "all", *imahḫarûni* "they shall receive", clearly the orders of Sennacherib. Then comes all which Adad-nirari (III) son of Šamši-Adad (to ?) the *râb kaḫulat* "appointed". Then *ilkakâte imahḫar* "he (or they) shall receive the revenues". Then follows *šû* which must mean he, that one, and should by construction refer to the *râb kaḫulat*, who should give, *idân*. The date follows. But *idan* can hardly mean "gave". So we must take the date, *limmu Mannu-ki-Aššur* (794 B.C.) with the next line *naphar šâ Adad-nirari* "all which Adad-nirari gave", the verb being understood. Then follows a summary, one hundred *akâlê*, twelve *ka* of beer, to the con-

<sup>1</sup> Text surely *KU-KUR-MAL* = *maḫḫatu* "fine meal".

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Johns obviously corrected his copy here, i, 29, reading *banšur* for *gišgaš*. Also line 31.

<sup>3</sup> Col. ii, 10.



fectioners (?),<sup>1</sup> one homer of beer *ana ħarī* for the seventh day the *rāb kaḫulat* shall give, all which Sargon awarded (no verb is written). Again, an addition in all one hundred *akālê*, in all one homer and twelve *ka* of beer, three sheep all ewes (?), three times in the month *innipašūni* they shall sacrifice (?), *zaussu* (?), 30 *ka aklê*, 10 *ka* per day, in all eighteen *ka* of beer, six *ka* per day, all for the temple of Nabû for his priest. Three times, one joint (a tail ?), each one day, before Gula of the Waste (*šá šêrī*) for her priest, three times a joint (a rib ?) each one day for his priest (whose ?), in all thirty *ka akālê*, eighteen *ka* of beer, three tails (?), etc. There was more, but it is too fragmentary to make out.

The tablet is not only fragmentary, but obscure from its elliptical constructions. But we can read enough to conclude that what G. Smith said about it is practically correct, though the "writings" and the "making of" Adad-nirari do not appear. It is quite evident that what Sargon did is already past, the present tenses must belong to Sennacherib's time, unless later. The reference to Mannu-kī-Aššur speaks strongly for the same occasion as produced K. 2655 and K. 2800. There is much to investigate and comment upon, but these things do not concern us here.

We naturally seek to find any record that Sennacherib concerned himself with temple endowments. This was certainly the case in *ABL.* 43, transcribed and translated by van Gelderen, *BAS.*, iv, p. 513 f. Where the king inquires "who among the notables are not obedient and have not given or not sent in", with reference to the neglect of the *ginû* of Ašur, and the writer lists the governors of fifteen cities as well as a *rāb karman* who had not given the *ginû* in barley and emmer-corn. These officials then, amongst others, had some time been charged to contribute to the regular support of the temple of Ašur. The letter, probably addressed to Esarhaddon, further refers to appointments of officials made by Sargon and Sennacherib. Our text may

<sup>1</sup> *SUR-MEŠ*, probably *sāḫitūti* "wine pressers".

well, then, be a report to Sennacherib in answer to his inquiries as to the old endowment and on whom their payment was chargeable and how they were to be distributed. He could then issue confirmations and make fresh regulations.

The most complete collection of sources for the Assyrian History of Sennacherib is still George Smith's *History of Sennacherib translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions*. This was left incomplete, but ready for press, and was edited by A. H. Sayce (London, Williams and Norgate, 1878). That it was intended to include more may be inferred from the fact that it omits all mention of documents known to him and already treated by him partially in his *Assyrian Eponym Canon* (1876) and elsewhere. But the importance of the inscriptions of this king lead Smith to deal with others exhaustively.

A very instructive chapter (V) on the historic value of these sources, confirming the conclusions I reached as the result of my lectures on Sennacherib at Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1897, and considerably advancing them, partly due to more recent texts, partly to the more drastic applications of critical method, appeared in 1916, in vol. iii, No. 1, pp. 43-7, of the University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series, entitled *Assyrian Historiography, A Source Study*, by Professor A. T. E. Olmstead.

Dr. Bezold, in his great *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collections*, vol. v, p. 2187, gives a list of 151 inscriptions of Sennacherib, and also of twenty-two others, in which his name is mentioned, beside forty-six places in which his name occurs in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Some of these references overlap.

The ways in which the name Sennacherib is written are analysed in Tallquist's *Assyrian Proper Names*, p. 196 f., where references not in Bezold's list occur.

Bezold had previously classified the inscriptions of Sennacherib then known to him in the *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Berlin*



for 1888, p. 745 f., in an article on "Die Thontafelsammlungen des British Museum". Also he had dealt with the subject in his *Kurzgefasster Überblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* (Leipzig, Schultze, 1886), and gave a very useful bibliography in his "Inschriften Sanheribs", *KB.*, ii, p. 80, note 1. Considering his careful method, exhaustive knowledge of all that had been published on Sennacherib and his evident interest, we may safely assume that he has overlooked very little indeed.<sup>1</sup>

The inscriptions of Sennacherib do not all necessarily give his name. They may be easily recognized as his inscriptions by their contents corresponding in a more or less close fashion with those that do name him. And he is mentioned by name in inscriptions which belong to his successors. Further, he is mentioned in some documents dated in his, or later reigns, which are in no sense inscriptions of his.

#### A

The fullest of his inscriptions is the so-called Taylor Cylinder; 55-10-3, 1, more appropriately termed the Prism inscription.

The full text is published in *IR.*, 37-42, transliterated and translated by C. Bezold, in *Schrader's Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Band II, pp. 80-113, under the title "Die Prisma-Inschrift" (published H. Reuther, Berlin, 1890). Dr. Bezold there gives in his notes a list of the duplicates, note 1, p. 80 f., from which he quotes the most noteworthy variants. From the *Catalogue* we may supplement this list considerably.

Thus K. 1634, 1651, 1665, 1666, 1674, 1675, 1751, 2627, 2655, 2662, 3752, 4484, 11718; Sm. 1026, 2029, 2083, 2123; D.T. 69, 200, 236, 320; Rm. 37, 952, 1003, 1029, 1030; Rm. 2, 56, 94, 98, 185; 78-8-28, 1; 79-7-8, 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, 220, 305,

<sup>1</sup> To the literature cited above should now be added, *The Annals of Sennacherib* by D. D. Luckenbill, Chicago, 1924. It will be seen from Dr. Johns' exhaustive examination of the Bezold and King's *Catalogue* that Luckenbill did not make use of a large number of texts.

307 ; 80-7-19, 4, 10, 11, 317 ; 81-2-4, 168, 169, 170, 171, 175, 478 ; 81-7-27, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 17 ; 82-5-22, 12, 22 ; 83-1-18, 598, 599, 605 ; Bu. 89-4-26, 39, 137, 141, 145, 177, are noted as more or less duplicates of this text. They number in all 66. The *Supplement* to this *Catalogue* by L. W. King, adds Nos. 2, 112, 145, 373, 475, 1844, 3331. We now know that K. 2800 + Sm. 318 give Prism V. 83-VI 25.

The "cylinder" is dated *Adar XX limu Bēl-ēmūrāni*, i.e. 686-5 B.C.<sup>1</sup> (probably the latter year). See *Eponym Canon*, p. 90. K. 1674 is dated in 697 B.C., and omits all mention of the Fifth Campaign and later events. Among the duplicates are therefore reckoned some texts which are only parallel to the earlier parts of the Taylor Cylinder which embodies them.

## B

The so-called Rassam Cylinder, 80-7-19, 1, often quoted as Senn. Rm., was partly published by B. T. A. Evetts, *ZA.*, iii, p. 311-31. *KB.*, ii, p. 80, note 10, gives a quotation. A bibliography will be found, *Catalogue*, p. 1728.

The *Catalogue* indicates the following texts as duplicates, K. 1636a, 1636b, 1637, 1638, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1644, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1650, 1838, 4492 ; Sm. 1894, 2607 ; Rm. 38, 39 ; Rm. 2, 91, 95 ; 48-11-4, 281 ; 79-7-8, 3, 288, 302 ; 80-7-19, 2, 3, 4, 14, 101 ; 81-2-4, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47 ; 81-7-27, 1, 7, 21, 264 ; 82-5-22, 23, 24, 25 ; Bu. 89-4-26, 74, 138, 139, 144, 175 ; also K. 1514, 1524, 1574, 1575, 1643, 1689, 1699, 1722 f., in all fifty-four duplicates. The *Supplement* indicates Nos. 1, 113 . . .

It covers the first three campaigns and some account of the building operations. It is dated *Aiaru limu Mītunu*, i.e. 700 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

## C

The so-called Bellino Cylinder, K. 1680, was published by Layard, *Inscriptions*, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>1</sup> 691.

<sup>2</sup> See Luckenbill, *ibid.*, pp. 20 and 60-1.



The *Catalogue* indicates the following text as duplicate K. 1649.

It deals with the first two campaigns and comes down to 702 B.C., being dated in the eponymy of Nabû-li'u. It also records some building operations.

The above texts thus appear to record three different redactions of which C is the earliest. B used C and A used both; in each case omissions occur. In spite of the labour devoted to the subject, especially by C. Bezold, who makes a point of indicating the work of other scholars, there is still need of a careful classification of these many duplicates so as to estimate the historic value of each account, and limit its date.

D consists of L. W. King's Cylinder or prism, published in *CT.*, xxvi, pp. 1-37, called 1909, 3-13-1, and its duplicates, 1909-2-13, 1 and 1910-10-8, 142 + etc., accounts of which will be found in the *Supplement* to the *Catalogue*, Nos. 3328-30. A full discussion of the contents of this text, dated 694 B.C., and affording accurate dating for the events of 696, 695, and 694 B.C., is given by L. W. King, in his preface to *CT.*, xxvi, p. 38, etc.

A great many of the above inscriptions dealing with the various buildings of this king were treated together by Meissner and Rost in *Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs* (E. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1893).

The *Catalogue* regards as building inscriptions, K. 1356, 1635, 1675, 1838, 3752, 5413a, 2662, Rm. 26, 79-7-8, 17; 81-7-27, 3; 81-2-4, 328, K. 4492.

It must not, however, be hastily assumed that all these refer to buildings alone. Some may be the ends of texts in groups A-D, or, at any rate, duplicates of them.

The Palace of Sennacherib which he called *ša šanina lá išu* is described in K. 1680; 80-7-19, 1, 2; 79-7-8, 302; 81-2-4, 42. [See Meissner and Rost, *ibid.*, 1-46.]

Some texts are apparently on votive vases as 56-9-9, 138, published III R. 3, No. 13.

A votive inscription is Sm. 1893.

Of other inscriptions noted in the *Catalogue*, we may remark :

K. 1645, a cylinder fragment dated probably 699-8 B.C.,  
has *mīgir ilāni rabūte*, etc.

K. 1695 is a prismoid, conjecturally Sennacherib's.

K. 1764        "        "        "        "

K. 6177 a Babylonian text.

K. 13828 ?

Rm. 2, 80 is a prismoid.

Rm. 2, 186 is a cylinder.

80-7-19, 5 is a prismoid.

80-7-19, 12 is a cylinder.

82-3-23, 80 may be a tablet.

Bu. 89-4-26, 41 prismoid.

Bu. 89-4-26, 149 cylinder.

Bu. 89-4-26, 150, text given by Winckler, *OLZ.*, i, 107, has  
Taylor Cylinder, v, 39-47, condensed.

Bu. 91-5-9, 217, is a cylinder.

D.T. 166, Winckler, *OLZ.*, i, 75, says it refers to Sennacherib's  
buildings.

Suppl. 1008.

" 1762.

K. 1752, Meissner and Rost, *ibid.*, p. 1.

K. 3752        "        "        "

There are inscriptions of Sennacherib not in the British Museum. A number of those in the Berlin Museum are published by Ungnad in Heft I of the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1907), No. 74, a brick duplicate of IR. 70, concerned with the palace at Tarbisi; No. 75 a stone with a legend showing that he made an image of Ašur and the great gods; No. 76 a brick with his name and titles; No. 77 an alabaster tablet dealing with events down to the battle of Halule and mention of an Arabic campaign. See Scheil, *OLZ.*, vii, 69 f. But none of these name his buildings at Nineveh, nor refer to earlier kings who built there.

One could hardly expect any reference to such buildings in the inscriptions found at Aššur and published in the



*Keilinschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* by L. Messerschmidt [and Otto Schroeder], Nos. 43-50 and 72-4 [of vol. i, and Nos. 117-24 of vol. ii. Noted in Luckenbill, *ibid.*, 20-1].

In the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xi, p. 189, Scheil published a duplicate of No. 44 of the Kouyunjik Gallery, which gave some important corrections of the edition of I Raw., pl. vii, No. viii F. It had already been described by its finder, Budge, in *ZA.* iv, 284.

In *Le prisme S d'Assaraddon* (Paris, Champion, 1914), Scheil published in transcription and translation a duplicate of Taylor, col. v, 5-12.

It will naturally occur to the reader to inquire whether any texts of Adad-nirari III exist which throw light on his endowments and buildings.

We may first examine those already published in *ADD.* Nos. 651-6, 803, 808. These have been admirably transliterated and translated by A. Ungnad in his *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden* (Leipzig, Pfeiffer, 1913), Nos. 1-7.

We will follow his numeration in order that the reader may check our references easily. No. 1 dated in the eponymy of Mušallim Ninurta, 793 B.C., therefore just after the date of our endowments, leaves no doubt of the reign. Adad-nirari, son of Šamši-Adad, son of Shalmaneser, can only be Adad-nirari III. Unfortunately the text is too defective for us to discern what was the endowment or for whom. But the phrases in lines 7-8 suggest that the king did what he did (he speaks in the first person) for the benefit and favour of the gods for all future time, and in the oath by the great gods of Assyria, among whom he indicates Sibitti as in our edicts by which he would bind his successors not to change the tenor of his edict, he suggests a similar intention. A careful comparison of the text and tablets, however, shows that this cannot be part of K. 2800 + Sm. 318. This text has been repeatedly published, see the references under K. 310 in the *Catalogue*, p. 80.

No. 2, my No. 653, was dated in the eponymy of Balātu, 787 B.C., but beyond the certainty that it is due to Adad-nirari III we gain no further information.

No. 3, my No. 803, is not dated by eponymy, but names an Adad-nirari and seems to record a sale of estate to that king, though it is most unusual for the king to appear as direct purchaser. Analogy with Sargon's dealings with the owners of the land he absorbed for the building of Dûr-Sargon, see No. 809 (Ungnad's No. 10), suggests that Adad-nirari may have acquired the estate either to build his palace, or to endow a temple. The nature of the text renders it quite foreign to either of our edicts.

No. 4, though undated in its present state, unless Tâb-Bêl in line 13 be an eponym's name, was executed by Adad-nirari III. The mention of a Tiglath-Pileser in line 5 raises the question whether the text may not rehearse an endowment of Adad-nirari's which Tiglath-Pileser may have confirmed. We know from K. 3042 that Tiglath Pileser did confirm certain endowments to the temples concerned, and it is probable that these were part of those recited by our edicts. But the connexion is not yet certain. The phraseology of the text suggests that this Tiglath Pileser was a king; for only a king is known to use the phrase *ana arkât ûmê*, which also occurs in No. 1.

No. 5 merely preserves the superscription of an edict, but is obviously of Adad-nirari III, as I already saw when I published it as No. 654. I have since joined it to No. 7, which removes all doubt as to its authorship. Unfortunately nothing is left of the body of the text.

No. 6, my No. 808, has lost its superscription, but shows that Adad-nirari, probably our king, had freed from state charges (*uzakki*, the same term as in our first edict) an estate. But this was probably at Kalah, and it appears to be given to a person whose name (only partly preserved) and office render unlikely the idea that it could refer to our edicts.

No. 7 is now joined to No. 5, see above.



Besides these inscriptions, not all of which the *Catalogue* ascribes to Adad-nirari, Bezold further gives a number of references on p. 2161a under the name of Ramman-nirari. The only text said by the *Catalogue* to be an inscription of this king, beside K. 2800, is 81-2-4, 185, which is one of the *ziggatu*, bowl or knob, inscriptions, on a so-called vase of clay. Winckler, *OLZ.*, i, 75, shows that this is our Adad-nirari; as mentioned, the *Catalogue* gives No. 1 above, K. 3042, with which we have dealt, and a number of references to *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. Of these I R. 35, No. 1, from Kalah, is transcribed and translated by Abel, *KBI.*, p. 188 f. It describes his conquests and gives his genealogy. So do Nos. 2 and 3; No. 4 is from a brick from Nebi Yunus: see *KB.*, i, pp. 188 ff. None of them afford any information that he built anything at Nineveh. III Raw. i, col. iii, 7, records his name in the eponym list, fixing his date. The reference in K. 8663 occurs in the colophon of a hymn; the scribe calls himself descendant of the Chief Physician of Adad-nirari, king of Assyria. See *Catalogue*, p. 948 f., and Winckler, *OLZ.*, i, 71. The interval of time suggests our king, but that is hardly certain. K. 14182, which the *Catalogue* assigns to an Adad-nirari is a *ziggatu*, but till it is published we cannot be sure which king it refers to. In his *Kurzegefasster Überblick*, § 46, Bezold adds as of this time the two votive hands named by G. Smith, *Ass. Discoveries*, p. 252, cf. p. 74. They were found at Kalah.

Outside the British Museum some inscriptions of this king, now in the Berlin Museum, are published by Messerschmidt [and Schroeder] in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Historischen Inhalts* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1911 [1922]). Most of these are transcribed and translated by Luckenbill<sup>1</sup> and by Bezold.

We could hardly expect that inscriptions of Adad-nirari from Assur would give information as to buildings or endowments in Nineveh. Nos. 35, 36, in *KAH.*, i, merely give name and genealogy."

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Records of Assyria*, i, 265.

In view of the possibility that our first edict comes from Šamši-Adad V we may examine whether any inscriptions of that king throw light on his buildings in Nineveh. The *Catalogue*, p. 2180, under Šamši-Ramman reckons KK. 310, 2800, 3042, and Sm. 318, with which we have already dealt. It adds Rm. 2427, which was published by Peiser in his "Studien zur orientalischen Altertumskunde II", p. 240 f., in the *Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, Peiser, 1898). It is a treaty between Šamši-Adad of Assyria and Marduk-nādir-šum of Babylon. This, of course, does not concern our edicts. The *Catalogue* adds references to *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, I R. 29 ff., which is transliterated and translated, *KBI.*, pp. 174-87.

I R. 35, Nos. 3, 4, we have already dealt with under Adad-nirari. III R., i, col. ii, 41, merely gives his place in the eponym list, and so fixes his date.

In the Aššur texts preserved at Berlin we find KAH I, Nos. 31-3, with name and genealogy only, No. 34 name only.

The text K. 9264 names a Šamši-Adad.

Sm. 2115 is a *ziggatu*. Winckler, *OLZ.*, i, 74, adds that it names Lullume.

A perusal of Tallquist's *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 214, will enable the reader to differentiate the various Šamši-Adads, but unless the inscription gives more than the name, it is difficult to say to which king of the name we should ascribe it.

From an inscription, probably of Sargon's, published III R., 3, No. 12, 56-9-91, 171, see *Catalogue*, p. 1694, we learn that he repaired a temple of Nabû and Marduk which had been already restored by Adad-nirari III (?). For this inscription on a *ziggatu* or *zikatu*, see now King's *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I* (London, Luzac, 1904), p. 59, No. 2, and p. 124 f., where, however, it should be noted that the erroneous ideas ascribed to me were foisted into my article in Cheyne's *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iii, col. 3422 f., without my knowledge, but over my initials. Most of these statements were



taken from an article by Billerbeck and Jeremias, *BAS.*, iii, p. 108 f., but even these writers do not say all of what was added to my article.<sup>1</sup> King's corrections are to be accepted. This restoration may have been the occasion when he [Adad-nirari III] fixed the endowments credited to him in K. 3042 and support the possibility that Adad-nirari III did restore the temple of Nabû and Marduk in Nineveh. For Sargon's rebuilding of this temple, see the inscription No. 11, p. 195, of Winckler's *Sargon*, vol. i. The bricks bearing it came from the eastern edge of the mound of Kouyunjik. Hence we may with some certainty place the temple there.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. King realized and personally acknowledged the error that had been made, but unfortunately he discovered it too late to prevent his perpetuating it in his valuable *Records of the Reign of Tukulti Ninib*. [A. S. J.]

## Tibetan Documents from Chinese Turkestan. III: The Nob Region

By F. W. THOMAS

(Continued from p. 98)

BY the "Nob region" I would for the present purpose indicate generally the stretch of country south of the desert of Chinese Turkestan and lying between "the Śa-cu region" on the east and "the Khotan region" on the west, together with any part of the mountain hinterland to the south. It would thus include, for example, Cer-cen (Calmadana), Charkalik (Nob), and the former Shan-shan kingdom. The documents come mainly from the old fort of Mirān, which was also, as we have seen, in communication with Śa-cu; there is, indeed, ample evidence of active intercourse between the Tibetan authorities from Khotan as far as Śa-cu and Kva-cu and even further into China proper. In general it is clear that by the routes along the desert edge and otherwise, long journeys, covering many hundreds of miles, were habitual among the populations of the scattered oases and widely separated mountain settlements; in respect of distances they thought in large measures. It is in virtue of apparent importance and frequent mention in the documents that Nob, with its three or four towns, or forts, may be used to symbolize the whole region. The citations may be arranged under the names of the districts or places, which hereafter may acquire a more definite location. The dates are, no doubt, for the most part in the eighth century A.D.

### I. TSHAL-BYI

That this name is connected with Nob we have already seen (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 87). Otherwise it has been known only from a mention in one of the Tibetan chronicles relating to Khotan (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 242). At the time of the downfall of Buddhism in Khotan the monks





2. M.I. i, 3 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 18 × 2.5 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing, partly erased).

[1-2] "In Car-chen of Tshal-byi the northern watch-tower has few defenders. [2-B 1] With regard to the old orders and the orders of the newly appointed authorities, it appears that men should not be sent away, as if in frolic and mirth, without a promise from me. [B 2] From . . . trouble has arisen on the frontier, and in the region of Tshal-byi also there are runaways (*hbro-cog*?). The longheads have committed simply every possible mistake."

### Notes

*mthoh-khyab*: see below, p. 559.

1. B 3. *glo-ba-rins*: This phrase has occurred, *supra*, 1927, p. 823. *ma-legs-dgu*: On *dgu* as a sign of plurality see above, 1927, p. 823.

[1] ལྷོ་ཁྱིའི་བཙེན་གཉིས་སྐྱེད་པའི་དབུ་ལྷོ་སྐྱེད་པའི་  
 སྐྱེད་པའི་པའི་ཁྱིའི་བཙེན་གཉིས་སྐྱེད་པའི་དབུ་ལྷོ་སྐྱེད་པའི་ [2] བཙེན་གཉིས་  
 སྐྱེད་པའི་ལྷོ་ཁྱིའི་བཙེན་གཉིས་སྐྱེད་པའི་དབུ་ལྷོ་སྐྱེད་པའི་ བཙེན་གཉིས་ བཙེན་གཉིས་



gyis . kh . . . . . [3] mthoñ . khyab . na  
 bsanand . sor(ñ ?) || bkañ . luñ . las . hbyuñ . ba . las ||  
 Tshal . byi . [dmag . pon . . . . chad . gner . btags . las ||  
 sde . kh-] [4] bsor . bsnan . pa || stams . las . [br]i .  
 ste || sñar . žañ . lon . ched . po . la . gsold . pa . las || Tshal .  
 byi . mthoñ . khyab . du . sde . spo . bar . gnañ . ste . || [5]  
 phyag . rgyas . gthad . nas || snon . god . ma . thebs . pa .  
 tsam . žig || bdag . chag . pha . bran . myi . spad . l[ñ]a .  
 drug . mchis . pa || spu . gñis [6] kyañ || mthoñ . khyab .  
 kyi . skya . pherd . chiñ . ño . thog . pa . žig . na || sde . cha .  
 mthoñ . khyab . du . snon . god . thob . žig . par || Tshal .  
 byi . dmag . pon . dañ || [7] spyān . la . gthad . par . chi .  
 gnañ || žes . mol . [te] || rgyal . bu . Bkum (?) . sras . kyi .  
 bkañs . gnañ . phyag . rgya . [hga]žig || brdzañs . na || gum .  
 ba . las . [8] sos . pa . dañ . hdra . ste || bdag . chag . spad .  
 ma . gum . tshun . chad || žal . che . mthoñ . du . spogs .  
 śiñ . mchis ||

*Inverted.* [9] ❀ || hphrul . gyi . ža . [sña . la] || g-yar .  
 žan . [Mtsiñ . sa . Bor . sgahi] . mchid . gsol .

[1-2] "For a reminder to Guñ Khri-bzer [letter of] inquiry as to *his* health on the part of us, a staff of old employees (*śiñu.lañ.myi* ?) in the watch-tower of Tshal-byi. [2-4] Whereas by order in *our* father's lifetime . . . instruction was given for keeping guard as employees in the watch-tower, the Tshal-byi general . . . summarily (*stams-las*) reduced the staff employed in the guard. [4-5] As previously submitted to the great Uncle-Minister, a letter was sent directing a change of staff in the Tshal-byi watch-tower; only compensation (pay ?) for the employment was not received. [5-8] We being five or six brothers, *sons of a* father in service, and both families being capable persons carrying on the work (*skya-pherd* ?) of the watch-tower, if a letter were sent with orders on the part of the prince . . . , advising that the staff in the watch-tower should receive compensation (pay ?) for their employment and that the Tshal-byi general should be pleased to admit us to his presence





## Note

Concerning the Dru-gu, with whom Tshal-byi is here associated, see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 80 (the Drug-cun), p. 81 (Ha-ža).

5. M.I. xvi, 19 (paper; c. 24.5 × 8.5 cm.; obscure and left lower corner torn away; ll. 5 *recto* in a rather square cursive *dbu-can* writing + ll. 6 *verso*, more rounded).

[1. 4] . . . || Tshal.byi.khri[m] [5] bon.pho[g].pañi.na.  
bran . skyes . ste . sgrol . bar . chad . ces || bde . blon . gyis .  
mchid . stsald . nas || stag . . . .

B. l. 5. . . . | ña.Klu.len. . . .

"The excellent councillor having sent a letter to the effect that, there having been a young servant (*na-bran* ?) who has struck the Tshal-byi judge, protection should be given, the soldier . . . The witness (!) Klu-len . . ."

## Note

1. 3. *khri[m]-bon-pho[g]-pañi*: The reading is somewhat uncertain. As regards *khri-m-bon* = *khri-m-dpon* it may be remarked that *dpon* often appears in the documents in the forms *bon* and *phon*. Judges are sometimes mentioned, and it seems that the district Tshal-byi was provided with one. With *na-bran* "young servant" compare *pha-bran* above, p. 558.

6. M.I. xxi, 5 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 15 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ལྟོགས་པོ་ || Tshal.byi.dmag.pon.dañ || ཞིན་ཨ་གཏོང་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་  
[riñ] [2] la.gthad.phā.

"Sent to the Tshal-byi general and [as] the price of the land-settlement."

## Notes

1. 1. *dmag-pon*: It appears that there was a "general commander" for Tshal-byi; cf. No. 8, below.

*ñiñ-ḡgod*: The phrase occurs below, p. 573.

*rin-la-gthad-pha*: The reading *rin* (= *rin*) is not quite certain; *gthad-pa* = *gtad-pa* "sent". The *la* seems to do double duty, "to" the general and "for" the price: cf. *rin-du*, p. 568, No. 29. But *rin-la* may mean "during".

7. M.I. xli, 0013 (wooden tablet, c.  $8.5 \times 2$  cm.; ll. 2. *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

. . . Tshal.byi.hi.ru.dpon.du.bskos.

"Was appointed Ru-dpon (Horn- or Wing-Commander) of Tshal-byi."

#### Notes

*Ru-dpon*: The title occurred above, 1927, p. 829.

8. M.I. iv, 10 (paper; c.  $10 \times 8$  cm.; ll. 5 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[2] | sgyehu.ka.Htshal.byi (?).

[6] . . . dmag.dpon. . . .

"bagman (?), Htshal-byi, . . . general."

#### Note

*sgyehu-ka*: See below, p. 569.

9. M. Tagh. a, iv, 00128 (paper).

[1. 2] . . . Tshal.byir.mchis.nas . . .

"having gone to Tshal-byi."

From these passages it appears that Cer-cen was included in Tshal-byi, which according to the other evidence would appear to be rather the hinterland to the south. From the mention of the general and the "horn-commander" it is plain that it was the district of a military unit.

II. NAG-SOD, RGOD-TSAÑ-SMAD (Lower Rgod-tsañ), RGOD-TSAÑ-STOD (Upper Rgod-tsañ), KHA-DRO

These are four districts, as is evident from the arrangement of the wooden document, M.I. vii, 0017.



|     |                 |                  |                  |
|-----|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 10. | Nag-śod         | Rgod-tsañ-smad   | Rgod-tsañ-stod   |
|     | gro nas         | gro nas          | gro nas          |
|     | (wheat)(barley) | (wheat) (barley) | (wheat) (barley) |

Kha-dro

gro nas  
(wheat) barley),

clearly a tally intended to record amounts of wheat and barley from the districts. The first three are not infrequently mentioned in connexion with their respective territorial regiments, e.g. in—

(a) 11. M.I. ii, 32.

Nag-śod.kyi.sde.gyab.Lha.ston.

"The *gyab* Lha-ston of the Nag-śod district (*or* regiment)," where *gyab* seems to be a military title occurring elsewhere.

12. M.I. xiv, 76.

| Nag-śod.kyi.sde | skyañ.po.Khrom.rma.

"The *skyañ-po* Khrom-rma of the Nag-śod district (*or* regiment)." *Skyañ-po* recurs below, p. 583.

13. M.I. xiv, 129.

☞ | . | Tshugs.pon.Kha . . . [2] lad.Klu.rton | Byan.  
po.Nag-śod.gi.sde | Thre.Mthoñ.rma.

"Captain Kha . . . lad Klu-rton. Cook of the Nag-śod regiment, Thre Mthoñ-rma."

(Further mentions in M.I. ii, 16; xiv, 67; xvi, 005; xxv, 001. In M.I. viii, 37, we have the *rje-ñiñ* "lord's land" of Nag-śod.)

(b) 14. M.I. viii, 45.

☞ | | Rgod.tshañ.smad.gyi.sa.mkhar.la | dor.gaum | |

"To the land-town of Lower Rgod-tshañ three teams."

(On *dor*, = "team" or "yoke" of oxen (*or* yaks) for ploughing, see *JRAS.* 1927, pp. 817-18. Many of the documents relate to the hiring-out of such teams.)

15. M.I. xiv, 006.

Rgod . tsañ . smad . kyi . sde . Lbeg . rma . Nuñ . žub.

"Of the Lower Rgod-tsañ district (*or* regiment), Lbeg-rma Nuñ-žub."

16. M.I. xxvii, 9.

Rgod . tshañ . smad . kyi . sde | tsa . rñu . Khrom . legs.

"Of the Lower Rgod-tshañ district (*or* regiment), the *tsa-rñu* Khrom-legs."

(*tsa-rñu* (*or ce-rñu*), apparently an official title, recurs in M.I. xiv, 46; xiv, 109*b*, p. 571 below; xxiii, 009.)

17. M.I. lviii, 004.

☞ || Spoñ . Rañ . slog | Rgod . tshañ . smad . kyi . stoñ . pon .  
gyi . žiñ | dor . ch[i]g.

"Land of Spoñ Rañ-slog, thousand-commander of Lower Rgod-tsañ, one yoke."

It appears herefrom that Lower Rgod-tsañ was a Thousand-district, *stoñ-sde*, and had a *stoñ-dpon*. The term *stoñ-sde*, which perhaps denotes a district of 1,000 estates (as Dr. Prāṇa Nath suggests for similar phrases in India), has been noted above, 1927, pp. 75 and 808. The district is mentioned also in M.I. 003, and M. Tagh. *a*, ii, 0097.

(*c*) 18. M.I. iv, 85.

Rgod . tshañ . stod . kyi . sde | stom . kyañ . Lha . [2]  
Hbrug . brtsan |

"Of the Upper Rgod-tshañ district, *stom-kyañ* Lha Hbrug-brtsan."

19. M.I. xiv, 108*d*.

1. 2. Rgod . tsañ . stod . so . pa . myi . beu . gsum .  
mehis . pa.

"Upper Rgod-tsañ soldiers (police), thirteen men, came."

(Another mention of Rgod-tsañ in xiv, 124.)

Connected probably with Rgod-tsañ are Rgod-ldiñ :—

20. M.I. xiv, 135.

Byañ . po . Rgod . ldiñ . gi . sde . . . [2] Pyi . sgra [B 1]  
tshugs . pon . . .

"Cook, Rgod-ldiñ regiment, P(h)yi-sgra . . . captain."



21. M.I. iii, 14.

Rgod . ldiñ . gi . rje . žiñ.

"The lord's land in Rgod-ldiñ."

(The phrase "lord's land", *rje-žiñ*, will recur again below, p. 573: see also above, pp. 562, 564.

and Rtse-rgod ("Peak-Rgod") mentioned below (p. 590).

### III. HDZOM-SMAD (Lower Hdzom) and HDZOM-STOD (Upper Hdzom)

A district Hdzom is several times mentioned in the documents, more often, in fact, than would be the case if it were in another region. The name Hbrug suggests (see 1927, p. 68) that it lay east, towards the Śa-cu quarter.

(a) 22. M.I. ii, 25.

Hdzom . smad . kyi . sde | Ho . nal . Lha . zo.

"Of the Lower Hdzom district (*or* regiment), the Ho-nal Lha-zo."

*Ho-nal* seems to be an official title in M.I. ii, 27; vi, 6; xiv, 58a; xxviii, 11, also.

(Other mentions in ii, 37, 38; viii, 17; xxiii, 009 (*verso*); the last a letter from Hbrug-legs to Councillor Stag-bzañ.)

(b) 23. M.I. ii, 17.

Hdzom . stod . kyi . sde . Lda . tshoñ . hbru (?) . Hbrug . btsan.

"Of the Upper Hdzom district (*or* regiment), Lda-tshoñ-hbru (?) Hbrug-btsan."

(The Hdzom-stod district is mentioned again in vii, 33.)

### IV. CER-CEN

One reference to this well-known place has occurred above (p. 557); another may be cited, since there are no more.

24. M.I. xxviii, 2 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 20.5 × 2.3 cm.; ll. 3 *recto* ÷ 4 *verso* of neat, cursive *dbu-can* writing, in very black ink, partly faded).

[I] ཨ || tse.rje (co.jo ?). Mtsho.gzigs.dañ.Klu, htsho.la | Myes . rton . gsol . ba . | bdag . kyañ . mar . m[ch]i . bar .

[2] bgyis.pha.las : | bdag.chag.rje.blas.kyañ.Cer.  
 cen.du.chad.pa.skad.kyañ.gdah.na.hdir.yañ.boñ.  
 bu [3] yañ.slar.da.chuñ.mehis.khre.nas.kham.  
 ga.kyañ.mar.myi.phyin.na.mehis.na. | slar.dguñ.  
 [B 1] beu.tshun.chad.tsham.gis.bśol.lags.na. |  
 Cer.cen.du.mchi.htshal.ham.m[y]i.htshal. [B 2]  
 ba.drul.ba.la.ñib: mor.rtogs.la.drul: gañ.sña.  
 ba.la.myur.du.bskas.ma.sprin.na.rab.tu.myi.  
 sman [B 3] ste.mchi.htshal | slag.pa.gechig.spus.ma.  
 btsal.na.gtan.myi.sman.te.rin.spus.ci.dbabs.  
 b[dag] (beug ? brlag ?) [B 4] m[tsha]l.dañ.dbul.bar.  
 htshal.

[1] "To the chiefs Mtsho-gzigs and Klu-htsho : petitioner Myes-rton. [1-2] After I also had made the journey down there was a report that Your Excellency yourself were departing to Cer-cen. [2-B 1] Here the ass (asses ?) had fallen a little behind, so that now a morsel of millet and barley had arrived down here. Subsequently there has been a delay of some ten days. [B 1-3] While considering carefully a letter *inquiring* whether I ought or ought not to go to Cer-cen, I very unfortunately did not send the previous letter which I had written at once : so I ought to go. [B 3-4] Since, if a good robe shall not have been procured, matters (or my husband ? *gtan*) will not be well arranged, please . . . price and quality, as may be arranged, and send it."

#### Notes

1. 3. *kham-ga* : Apparently = *kham-ga*ñ.

1. B 3. *bskas* : Is this from *bkañ* ?


#### V. KA-DAG

As is noted by Sir Aurel Stein (*Serindia*, pp. 320 n., 454 n.), Mirzā Haidar, in his *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross, pp. 10, 52, 64, 406), mentions in connexion with Lōb (= Nob) a city named Katak, and tells a story of its having been overwhelmed in a sand-storm. There has been some question concerning the name, which some MSS. give as





26. M.I. xlii, 1 (wooden tablet; c. 21 × 2 cm., somewhat fragmentary; ll. 3 *recto* + 3 *verso* of regular *dbu-can* writing, partly erased—for further use of the tablet?).

[1]  | . | sñon . glo . . . . . | [cag . ra ?] . . . . .  
 žiñ . [m]chis . mchis . pa . las | | rtahī . lo . la | ban . hde .  
 [2] mtshog . gyi<sup>1</sup> . byin . [gi] . . . . . | .  
 [Dru . gu ?] . sba-i . . . . . b[o]ñ . žes . mchi . nas .  
 g[c]es [3] . . . . . [do] . c[i]g . stagi . [leñ .  
 ba . dañ] | bluñ [byuñ ?] . bah . hog . tu . | myi . hdihi .  
 yus . | [B 1] . . . . . [mchi . nas |  
 [i . hd]i . sbyi (myi ?) . skyugs . las | bdag . gis . mjald ||  
 [B 2] de . dpañ . gtan . tshigs . kyañ . gsañ . ba . . . . .  
 las | | lta . . . . . ñede . . . . . yus . mjald . pa .  
 sgañ (?) [B 3] -u . blar . gsol . te . | gra . tus . Ka . dag . du .  
 hgug . pa . lta . žig | bdag . ñan . [pa . ni] | Nob . chu .  
 nuhi . . . . . [tsh]al . kha | hdzin[d] . dañ . yan . lag . ni . ma .  
 inchis |

(Apparently referring to some quarrel or suit about a donkey, wherein a *bande* was concerned.)

[B 3] . . after previously requesting the complainants to . . . . . the seminary assemblage was summoned, it appears, to Ka-dag. Your humble servant himself wishes . . . . of Little Nob. The spokesman [and] his subordinates are not come.

### Notes

1. B 3. *gra-tus*: This apparently means "the assemblage (*tus*) of the seminary (*grwa*)" = "the seminary in a body". It is mentioned again below (p. 584); perhaps it functioned in trials of cases at law.

*kha-hdzind-dañ-yan-lag*: In this connexion *yan-lag* seems to mean "those associated with (= Sanskrit *āṅga* 'member')" the spokesman; below (pp. 574, 593) we have a "guarantor", *khas-len*, in place of the "spokesman" *kha-hdzin*.

27. M.I. xiv, 23 (wood, fragment of a covering tablet, with a cavity for a clay seal; c. 9 × 2.5 cm.; ll. 1 *recto*

<sup>1</sup> *gyi* crossed out ?



(the addressee) + 3 *verso* of ordinary epistolary *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ཨོཾ | | thugs.bde.ham.myi.bde.mch . . . [2] Ka.dag.gi.rtse.rje.dañ.ñiñ.rtsod.pa : rnam . . . [3] myur.du.ni.Ho.nir.mchi.bañi.rho.myi . . .

[1] "Happy or not happy . . . . . [2] the chief lord of Ka-dag and those in dispute concerning the fields. . . . [3] unable to go at once to Ho-ni."

28. M.I. iv, 101 (wooden tablet, fragmentary; c. 7 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 3 *verso* of regular *dbu-can* writing, blurred and barely legible).

[1] ཨོཾ | . | Nob.chen.po.na | blon . . . [2] bstu (?).bstus.pa.dañ.Ka.dag.nas . . .

"In Great Nob Councillor . . . . assembly was assembled and from Ka-dag . . ."

29. M.I. ii, 005 (wooden tablet, fragmentary; c. 17.5 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of small, regular *dbu-can* writing).

[B 2] | Nob.chu.ñur.khre.khal.gñis.drañs | Ka.dag.khre.las.Lha.chuñ.rta.rin.du.kh[r]al.

"To Little Nob two loads of millet were conveyed. From the Ka-dag millet Lha-chuñ levied for the price of a horse."

Ka-dag was mentioned above (in No. 1, p. 556), and it is further named in M.I. 0077, i, 14; i, 17; iv, 19; xiv, 38, 61a; wherein, however, there is no information. In ii, 40 (below, No. 30, p. 569) a courier of Ka-dag is mentioned.

The place was, as we see, a town (*mkhar*) with a watch-tower (*mthoñ-khyab*) and a chief lord (*rtse-rje*). It seems to have been closely associated with Great and Little Nob, and it was, no doubt, in their neighbourhood. There was a territorial regiment belonging to the district.

VI. NOB-CHED-PO (Great Nob), NOB-CHU-ÑU (Little Nob), NOB-ŚOD (Lower Nob), the HO-BHOG (River Nomads?) of Little Nob

Concerning Nob and its "three castles", for which we should probably read "three towns" (*mkhar-sum*), informa-





question there" (*hdi-na* "here" = "there", like *atra* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents) from *gti-ba* "to question". Or perhaps *gthir* comes from *sti* "rest".

l. 3. *Ka-dag*: On this place, see above, pp. 556-7, 565-9.

31. M.I. xiv, 109b (paper; c. 29 × 19 cm.; ll. 12 of large, rather coarse, cursive *dbu-can* writing + l. 1 (inverted) in a smaller, neater hand).

[1] *dañ* | *rtse . rje . Khrom . bžre . Bzañ . koñ . la[spr]iñ . st[e]* | [*lan . hdi*] . *st[o]n . sla . ra . ba . tshes . bchus . Nob . chu . ñur . phyin* [2] *par . rdzoñs . śig . par . mjal . pa . las* | | *hphrin . byañ . . . . . bsgyañ[s] . nas* | *hbrugi . loñi . ston . zla . ra .* [3] *tshes . bchu . bdun . [la] . slar . Nob . chu . ñur . mchis . pa . las* | *khyo(e ?)d . kyi[s] . spri[ñ] . ba . la* | *bdag . chag . glo . ba . myi .* [4] *ches . ste* | *Pag . tsa . ni . Klu . rtse . hi . so . pa . la . gtogs . pas* | *Myo . ni . lba . tsha . kheñs . ñi . su . tsam . gis . Klu . rtser .* [5] *phyin . par . [gtoñ] . zes . mchi . nas* | [*hdi . slar . na .*] *Nob . chu . ñu . [mkhar . bži] . klogs . ma . [s]pu . [mdzad] . m[o]* [6] *mchis . pa . las . thogs . par . gyur . te* | *lan . hdi . hi . [sto]n . [zla . ra . bañi] . tshe[s] . bchu . bdun . la . sul . du* [7] *žugs* | *mkhar . bžihi* : [*bla . sna . rjeñi .*] *hphrin . byañ . nas . ma . g . bsñu . . btags . gi . glo . ba .* | *myi . ches* [8] *zes . mchi . ba . dañ* | *bañ . chen . Lda . ka . Hwa . lwa . rmas . slañs* | *rdzas . ma . skyes . dañ . tshogsu . . mu . khri . gñi* [9] *kyis . thabs . bgy[i]s . ste . ru . ba . ma . btañ . ba . dañ* | *mkhar . bži . Rma . [sgra] . rje . la : yañ . skad . chig . myi . gtañ .* [10] *hdi . skad . spriñ . bañi . rigs* | *kho . na . gñis . g[lt]os . zes . bañ . chen . Hwa . lwas* | *rtse . rje . blon . Legs* [11] *bzañ . dañ . blon . Rma . sgra . dañ .* | *lta . lastsogs . [tsa . rñu .]* *Guñ . tshal . Klus . ma . de . syya . ro . zigs . legs . gyi* [12] *g-yu(a) . śnar . bkañ . [mchid] . bgyis . ste* | *žañ . lon . rnam . kyi . dphañ . rgyas . btab . pañ* [13] *bgyis .*

*Inverted*: *Lda . ka . Wa . lwa . sug . yig . tshad .*

[1] ". . . sent to . . . and the chief lord Khrom-bžer Bzañ-koñ [to the effect that] it should be sent so as to reach Little Nob by the tenth day of the first autumn month of

this year, after the arrival (*bsgyaṅs* ? = *brgyaṅs* 'arrive in haste' ?) . . . of the missive, we on the seventeenth day of the first autumn month of the Dragon year came back to Little Nob. [3-5] We not being satisfied with what you had written, Pag-tsa, who was associated with the Klur-tse soldiers, and Myo with some twenty arrogant fellows (*lba-tsha* ?), said 'Give us leave to go to Klur-tse'. [5-6] Later, as a mistress who was with child (*spu-mdzad-mo*) was come to Little Nob, the Four Towns, they waited. [6-8] On the seventeenth day of the first autumn month of this year they took the road and went saying 'We are discontented with . . . from a missive on the part of the previous chief of the Four Towns.' [8-9] The things<sup>s</sup> required by the courier Lda-ka Hwa-lwa not having been done and quarrelling with (*one another* ?) . . . they did not leave even the tent-coverings and sent not a word to Rma-sgra, the chief of the Four Towns. [10] The courier Hwa-lwa having represented in the presence of the chief lord Councillor Legs-bzañ, Councillor Rma-sgra and the rest, the *tsa-rñu* Guñ-tshal Klus-ma-de and the *sgya-ro* Zigs-legs that 'This ought to be reported. Those two should be looked after', the Uncle-Ministers caused their signatures to be attached."

*Inverted* : "Hand-signature of Lda-ka Wa-lba."

#### Notes

l. 4. *Pag-tsa* : This is perhaps for *Pa-tsab*, which occurs in M.I. viii, 53 ; xiv, 34 ; M. Tagh. 0583, c. iii, 009, p. 583 below, and often in the *Bstan-hgyur* colophons.

*Klu-rtse* : See below, p. 587.

l. 5. *mkhar-bzi* : The Four Towns of Nob.

l. 11. *tsa-rñu* : Probably an official title ; see above, p. 563.

l. 13. *sug-yig-tshad* : This phrase has occurred before, JRAS. 1927, p. 814.

32. M.I. iv, 93b (paper ; c. 28 × 11 cm. ; discoloured ; ll. 10 of black, ordinary epistolary *dbu-can* writing).





the partition or abandoning the plough, thereby violating the division of the tillage, they are to be brought in to the superiors (? *thog-blar-bsdu* ? the yield is to be raised ?). Fines were fixed at rates for the several cases. [6-7] The number of men of the several fields was made into a song and committed to the chief officers of the town boundary. [7-9] If any should be recalcitrant or cause the water to dry up or disregard the officers or desire to alter (*sbyur* ?) what had been fixed, procedure should be according to the old town (fort) law of former times. [9-10] Great Uncle-Councillor Dge-bzan and Councillor Btsan-la-hphan—these, who were at first appointed, having gone back down, the chief Lord Dpe-gzan and . . . continued the work."

*Verso* : "Send by fifteens according to a fixed reckoning (*dam-śib-las* ?)."

#### Notes

1. 2. *ziñ-hgod* : "Settling the land" ; the phrase has been noted above, p. 560. *Rje-ziñ*, pp. 562, 464.

1. 3. *gtan-ziñ* : = "fixed field" or "established agreement" ? The phrase recurs below, No. 33.

11. 2 and 5. *rtsis-mgo* : "Total" ; see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 81, and M.I. viii, 64b.

1. 5. *tho-rgya* : = "boundary mark", occurs in other documents (Ch. 79, xiv, 5, etc.).

1. 7. *mkhar-ris* : "Town-boundary" ; cf. p. 569.

33. M.I. xlv, 2 (wooden tablet, c. 13.5 × 2 cm., fragmentary at left ; 11. 3 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . gyas.te || dby[añ.th]añ.can.dañ.gtan.ziñ.gi.  
rñams [2] . . . log.ziñ.du.bgos.pa.lags | do.cig.ni |  
skran [3] . . -r | chun.pa.dag (dgu ?) . bśugs . pas . . .  
[B 1] . . [mkh]ar . Nob . ched . po . -is (?) . rje . ziñ || gi .  
mgo . . . n . ni . . [B 2] . . | thebs.pa.dañ | Nob.chuñ .  
ñu[hi] . yul . myi . bśugs . pa

[1] . . . "persons having rights and fixed fields . . . .



[2] divided into . . fields. Some two were *summoned* (?)  
 . . . [B 1] the lord's land of Great Nob [B 2] the people  
 settled in Little Nob."

### Notes

This document has points of similarity to the preceding,  
 e.g. in the phrases *db(y)an-than-can* and *gtan-zin*.

1. B 1. *rje-zin* : "Lord's land" ; see pp. 562, 564, above.

34. M.I. xiv, 109a (paper ; c. 29 × 17 cm. ; smudged and  
 discoloured ; ll. 10 of large, rather cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ཨ | . | sbrul . gyi . lohi . dbyar . blon . Mañ . zi[gs] .  
 lastsogs . pas || khrom . gyi . hdun . sa . Gtsos . mo . gliñ  
 [2] du . btab . pañi . lan . la || mñan . gyi . hbañs . st[en] .  
 bor .] Legs . snañ . las || Hor . Bañ . Gsas . byin . gyis [3] yib .  
 ma . thub . pañi . g-yag . sdiñ . gchig . [hgri-sdiñ] . gñis . ste |  
 Ko . hgoñ . rtug . dañ . sgai . dra . ma . mchis . pa . rad [4]  
 gsum . mjal . te || hjal . bañi . dus . ni . lan . hdi . hi . ston .  
 zla . sol . bor . bañi . ston . zla . hbriñ . po . tshes | [5] lha .  
 la | Nob . chuñur . hbul . bar . bgyis | dusu . ma . phul .  
 ham | dpañ . rgya . las . hbyuñ . bañi . tshad . ma . thub . par  
 [6] gyur . na || gyur . te . Ko . hgoñ . rab . drug . ham | rin .  
 bla [gla] . than . du . myi . sbyor . te | hog . tshoñs . kyi .  
 than . du . dus . sum [7] gyi . dpañ . rgya . myi . htshal . bar ||  
 Legs . snañ . dañ | khas . len . po . ñan . Ldoñ . koñ . gñis .  
 kyi . sug . gzi . la [8] gañ . mchis . pañi . skor | nor . phyugs .  
 dañ . nas . bra[s] . chi . la . bab . kyañ . ruñ . ste | bzuñ .  
 na . yañ . yus . myi . yal [9] bar . bgyis . pañi . dpañ . la |  
 rgyal . zigs . Legs . rtsan . dañ . rtsig . Lha . rtsa . skyes . dañ |  
 [10] gyi . [dpa]ñ . rgya . dan | [kh]o[n] . ta . gñis . kyi . sug .  
 rgya . dañ . sug . yig . tshad . kyis . btab . pa

[1-2] "In reply to the despatch of Councillor Mañ-zigs  
 and the rest in the summer of the Snake year, at the mart  
 (town) assembly place, Gtsos-mo-gliñ. [2-5] There having  
 arrived from the government servant (*mñan-gyi-hbañs*)  
 Steñ-bor Legs-snañ three travelling parties, the Hor Bañ  
 and Gsas with a *g-yag-sdiñ* (?) and two *hgri-sdiñ* (?) hidden

and not to be found, and Ko-hgoñ without a *rtug* (?) and a *sgal-dra* (load-net ?), the time for making payment is the fifth day of the middle autumn month, being the intercalary autumn month, of the present year. [5-7] Delivery is arranged to be at Little Nob. If delivery is not made at the time or does not reach the amount arising from the attested signature, or if it does, but Ko-hgoñ, not showing agreement in proportion to the six kinds and the prices, does not furnish an attested signature of the three times (i.e. a bill payable at sight) up to the value of the missing merchandize (?), [7-9] then whatever belongings there may be in the hands of Legs-snañ and his guarantor, Nan Ldoñ-koñ, property, cattle and barley and fruit, wherever found, may be seized without right of complaint: [9-10] in attestation whereof the attestation seals of the 'royal eye' (*rgyal-zigs* = *rāja-cakṣuḥ*) Legs-rtsan and the *rtsig* Lha-rtsa-skyes and . . . and the hand-marks and hand-signatures of those two are attached."

### Notes

The translation is in a few points uncertain or even conjectural. The general sense is that three persons are conveying merchandize from Legs-snañ, to be delivered in Little Nob. In case of failure of delivery in time or in the right quantities or with bills for what is deficient Legs-snañ and his guarantor may have their whole property seized without right to bring a suit. The agreement is signed by a government overseer, a lawyer (?), and the two persons concerned. The gap in line 9, for a missing name, shows that the document is a draft only.

l. 1. *khrom-gyi-hdun-sa*: Concerning these assemblies see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 70.

*Gtsos-mo-gliñ*: The place is not otherwise known.

l. 2. *mñan-gyi-hbañs*: See above, p. 556.

*Hor*: A Turk.

l. 3. *g-yag-sdiñ*, *hgri-sdiñ*: Is *sdiñ* = *rtiñ* "tail" or "end"; *hgri* may be for *hbri* "female yak".



*rad* : "Caravan" (?), has been already noted (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 820). Elsewhere we have the expression *rad-gos* "travelling-clothes".

l. 6. *hog-tshoñs* : "Missing merchandize" or "merchandize sold below" ?

l. 9. *rtsig* : Possibly this means "a lawyer" ; the same *rtsig* Lha-rtsha-skyes is mentioned in another legal agreement (M.I. xiv, 24).

l. 10. *sug-yig-tshad* : See *JRAS.* 1927, p. 814.

35. M.I. xlv, 7 (paper ; c. 31.5 × 9 cm. ; ll. 9 of neat, commonplace *dbu-can* script ; red impressions of six or more seals).

[1] ༄ || *phag . gi . lo . la* || *žañ . lon . chen . po . blon .*  
*Dpal . bzañ . gi . khrom . Nob . chu . ñur . btab . pañi . [lan .*  
*la] || Rgod . tsañ . stod . kyì . sde . | sñon . skya . boñi . tshe ||*  
*Hu . tañ . Gsas . chuñ . žes . bgyi [2] tha . mar . žugs . nas |*  
*mtshan . Byañ . cub . bkra . śis . las || Gños . Ho . ses . bran .*  
*Pho . b[ts]o[n] . . rgya . rgyud . las . myi . rma . ba || sug .*  
*yig . las . rgya . Phu . tsba . ces . bgyi . ba . dguñ . [3] lo .*  
*lña . beu . tsam . lon . ba || sñon . dmag . byuñs . geig . gi .*  
*bar . du . yañ . || ban . de . rje . gol . gyi . . . . Ho . ses*  
*bgyiste || Ho . se . la . gnas . śiñ . hkhöl . ba || lo . lan .*  
*hdi . la [4] Ho . ses . gthan . du . mjal . te || rin . dmar .*  
*srañ . brgyad . kyañ . hphral . du || ban . de . la . tshañ . bar .*  
*stsald || Phu . tsab . hdi . gthan . du . Ho . se . dbañ . ba .*  
*la || žal . mechu . tha . sñad . hdogs . [5] pa . žig . byuñste |*  
*brgyah . la . Phu . tsab . ños . śor . par . gyur . na || žal .*  
*mehu . ci . byuñ . ba . yañ | ban . de . mehi[d . gyi]s .*  
*htshal . bar . bgyis . pañi . steñ . du . bran . hdi . tsam . pod . pa .*  
*geig . kyañ [6] hphral . du . gthan . tshigs . hdi . su . hchañ .*  
*ba . la || ban . des . hphral . du . hbul . bar . bgyis || ban .*  
*de . ma . mchis . na . khas . len || dam . goñ . nas [7] hbyuñ .*  
*bañi . rnams . mehid . kyis . htshal . bar . bgyis . pañi . dpañ .*  
*la || blon . Stag . sgra | rtse . rje . blon . Stag . Stag . rtsan ||*  
*blon . Dpal . bzañ . . [Dge] . rje | blon . Dge [8] bžer .*  
*Lha . hbrug . brtsan || žiñ . pon . Stag . bzañ . Lha . spe .*

Ldoñ . phreñ . Mdo . goñ | lastsogs . pañi . dpañ . rgya .  
 dañ | — d . dañ . khas . len [9] gyi . sug . rgyas . btab .  
 pā ||

*Smudges of Seals. Verso* : Phu . tsab . kyi . dpañ . rgya .

[1] "In the . . . year, in reply to the despatch of the great Uncle-Councillor, Councillor Dpal-bzañ, at the mart of Little Nob. [1-3] From a person of the Rgod-tsañ upper district, who previously, when a layman, was called Hu-tañ Gsas-chuñ, but after entering the community was named Byañ-cub-bkra-śis (Bodhimāṅgala), Gños Ho-se [had hired] a servant stated to be Pho-btson, a man of . . . Chinese family, but in his letters named the Chinaman Phu-tsab, aged about fifty years. [3] Ever since the arrival of an army in old days, the *bande* having been made by Ho-se . . . of the lord's land (?), he had been in service with Ho-se. [3-4] In the present year Ho-se, having come to an agreement, the price being eight red *srañ*, sent it forthwith to the *bande* in full. [4-5] Phu-tsab, while according to this agreement under the authority of Ho-se, became involved in a dispute at law and, being defeated (?), ran away to *this* side. [5-6] After the *bande* had caused a demand by letter to be made as to what the dispute was, it has been arranged that the *bande* should at once give an equally capable servant to whoever is in possession of this agreement. [6-7] In case the *bande* does not come, it has been arranged that his guarantor shall send by letter all that results from the above decision; [7-9] in evidence whereof the attestation marks of Councillor Stag-sgra, the head and lord Councillor Stag Stag-rtsan, Councillor Dpal-bzañ-po Dge-rje, Councillor Dge-bzer Lha Hbrug-brtsan, the farmers Stag-bzañ, Lha-spe, Ldoñ-phreñ, Mdo-goñ, and others and the written signatures (hand-marks) of [the *bande*] and the guarantor are attached."

*Verso* : "Attestation mark of Phu-tsab."

#### Notes

The case seems to be that a certain *bande*, Byañ-cub-bkra-śis, hired out his slave Phu-tsab, a Chinaman, to a



person Gños Ho-se in Ho-se (?), who paid a sum in composition for the slave's services. The slave became involved in legal trouble and fled away to his old master, who after inquiring into the matter engages to compensate Gños Ho-se either by a substitute or otherwise. The signature of Phu-tsab on the *verso* proves that he was with his old owner, the *bande*.

1. 1. *Rgod-tsañ-stod-kyi-sde* : Concerning this district see above, pp. 561-4.

*skya-bo* : An ordinary man or layman.

1. 2. *thar-mar-ñugs-nas* : The reading *mar* is partly conjectural ; the sense must be that of " having become a monk ".

*Ho-se* : A Chinese place-name, " West of the river," used as the name of the person.

*Pho-btson* : The name has occurred before, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 828.

1. 3. *rje-gol* : This must be some agricultural designation, since in another document (vol. liii, fol. 37) we have the phrase *rje-gol-skya-bcu* " *rje-gol* ten crops ".

*Phu-tsba* : Compendious for *Phu-tsab*.

1. 4. *ñal-mchu* : Perhaps only apparently = " face-lip ". In the sense clearly of a dispute it occurs in a very analogous document from Tun-huang, appended *infra*, pp. 592-4.

*tha-sñad* = Sanskrit *vyavahāra* " affair ".

1. 5. *brgya-la* : Apparently = *brgyal-la*, but in the sense of being the loser, recurs similarly in the above-mentioned document (*infra*, p. 594).

*steñ-du* : " After " ; see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 79.

*pod-pa* : = *phod-pa* " capable ".

1. 6. — *khas-len* : The gap is, no doubt, for the insertion of the name, as in European legal drafts.

*dam-goñ-nas-hbyuñ-baḥi-rnams* : " The things ensuing from the above decision " recurs in the mentioned document (*infra*, p. 594).

36. M.I. xliv, 0013 (paper fragment, torn and showing gaps ; c. 22 × 9 cm. ; ll. 4 of cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] | [b]dag , mkh(r)ar . goñ . nas . . . . . [2] . . .

[phya]g . rgya . p[h]o[g . ste] | žiñ . hgod . kyī . riñ . lugs .  
 dañ . mkhar . bži . bla . dañ | Nob . che . . . [3] . . . Ho-ses .  
 gsol . bañ | bda[g] . [ca]g . Nob . chuñu . pañi . sdum . pa .  
 sar . | Nob . ched . po . . . .

"Sent, seal attached, from the upper (eastern?) town,  
 petition of Ho-se to the messenger of the farm-settlement and  
 the . . . four chief towns (or heads of the four towns and  
 . . . Great Nob. . . . Petition of Ho-se. I at my family  
 residence in Little Nob . . . Great Nob."

### Notes

1. 2. žiñ-hgod: See above, pp. 560, 573.

1. 3. sdum-pa-sar: sdum-pa has occurred above, p. 566.  
 On sar see JRAS. 1927, p. 558.

37. M.I. xxx, 8 (paper, nearly complete; c. 28 × 75 cm.;  
 ll. 9 recto ÷ 6 verso (five in a different hand) of neat dbu-can  
 writing, rather closely packed and in parts illegible).

[1] [ṣ | . | —] sgre . gañ . sgra . la || Khrom . koñ .  
 gyī . mchid . gsol . bañ || mchid . kyis . rmas . na . thugs .  
 bdeñ . žes . [g-yar] . tu . thos [2] te . glo . ba . dgañ . žiñ .  
 mchis . na || bar . du . thugs . bdeñam . myi . bdeñ . sñun .  
 gsol . žiñ . mchis . na . bkañ . steald . par . gsol || [ph]o .  
 brañ . na . sña . slar [3] pho . ña . dañ . [hḍrul] . ba . mchis .  
 pa[hī] . bkañ . mchid . [dañ ?] . yul . phyogs . thañ (?) ||  
 žo . co . Zla . bžer . gyī . ža . sñar . ched . myi . nad . phyugs .  
 nad . lo (?) [4] ma . mchis . . . . . | mdad(?) . dañ .  
 bañ (?) . soñi . [rkye]ñ . ru . yañ . lag . smad . man . chad . la |  
 drug . rkyā . gehig . la . dñul . srañ . drug . las . [ma] . bab .  
 dgun [5] tshun . chad . [spun] . dmag . myi . hṭhu | žes .  
 mchi | Skal . hḱhar . gyī . yī . geñ . pho . brañ . na . tshal .  
 ža . bgyid . pa . ma . mchis || Khrom . [bžer ?] . gyī . bkañ .  
 mchid . ni [6] blon . Kri (Khri ?) . rma . las . chi . gtsan .  
 pa . tsham . du . bañs || mchid . yi . ge . hḍi . sprīñ . ba .  
 tsham . na . Mdo . blon . sa . nas . | hphar . ma . sum . rol .  
 dgu . tshod . chig . mchis . pañ [7] la | Nañ . goñ . nas .  
 myi . bol . dag . chig . mchis . pa . hḍi . ba (?) | smad . nas . [rjes .



su . gro . kyañ ?] . źes . ni . mchi | gdañ . gsol . du . nuñ .  
 hchad . myi . gdañ | blon . Mañ [8] zigs . la . gtad . ni .  
 dños . kyis . gsal . pa . lags . te . gnañ | śi . sos . kyi . [gla] .  
 dgra . chud . ma . htshal . bar . gyis . śig . par . hdrul . ba .  
 las . bkañ . nan . ma [9] mdzad . par . gyis . la || hdi .  
 dag . tu . yañ . stsañ . lo . dgra . nos . pas | [bas . ma] .  
 skyes . kyañ . ston . śha . hthon . tu . Nob . [śod] . phyogsu .  
 gtañ . bar [B 1] htshal . na . | Rmañ . cuñ . gyi . sug .  
 las . kyañ . Nob . śod . phyi . ma <sup>1</sup> . yan . man . tu . mchis .  
 pa . ltar . bgyis . śiñ . mchis ||

(The remaining text (inverted) is a letter, in a different hand, from Rmañ-la-skyes and Stag-slebs to Jo-bo Zla-bźer.)

[1-2] "To . . sgre-gañ-sgra : letter-petition of Khrom-koñ. I was glad to have heard above that, as a letter stated, *you* were happy. Begging to inquire whether in the interval *you have been* happy or not happy, I beg *you* to send *your* commands. [2-5] Report of messengers and missives received in the residence, first and last, and of the district [news]. With the magistrate Zla-bźer there is tidings [*ched* ?] that disease of men and disease of cattle have not ceased (?). . . . In the property of monuments (?) and tombs, down to minor establishments, out of some six crops not more than six *srañ* of silver has been levied. Before winter an army of brethren cannot assemble. [5-6] Letter of [from ?] Skal-hkhar : In the residence there is nothing to eat. As for a letter of Khrom-bźer, what has . . . . from Councillor Khri-rma, need only be mentioned. [6-8] At the moment of sending this letter there have come from the residence of the Councillor of Mdo three despatches to the extent of nine sides. He states that from Nañ-goñ plenty of men have come : from Smad it is the same. There is nothing to report to *your* divan. Thanks for making now clear what has been sent to Councillor Mañ-zigs. [8-B 1] As regards stringent orders not having been sent by letter that at the price of

<sup>1</sup> *phyi . ma* is crossed out.





pañi . g-yar . sñar . | yus . bdag . Pañ . tshab . Rbeg [3]  
 chuñ . dañ . ldoñ . phrañ . Spra . hu . koñ . gis | riñ . lus .  
 kyis | Rlañ . spun . po . spun . dañ . sñon [4] po . spun .  
 dañ . phyir (phyis) . spu . Klu . hñus . dañ . dañ . Hbe . Myes .  
 mthoñ . dañ . Rlañ . phran . Hphan . legs [5] la . stsogs .  
 pañ | glar . bkug . nas | yus . bdag . Rbe . chuñ . la .  
 stsogs . pañ . mchid . nas | [6] bdag . cag . Nob . chu . ñu .  
 nas | Hor . gyi . mjug . stog . ltañ . sogs . brgyad . puñ .  
 cha . gcig | [7] btus . ste . Nob . ched . por . mchis . pa .  
 dañ . rtse . rje . las . śiñ . thun . [m]yi . hgañ . gyar . po .  
 bgyis . pa [8] las | śi . thun . gyi . myi . ni . ma . mchis .  
 slad . rol . khañ . rul . śeg . žig . žes . mchi . nas | bdag .  
 [9] gñis . kyis . kyi . khañ . ru[1] . gcig . bśegs . pa . las |  
 khoñ . ta . goñ . na . [sm]o[s] . pa . myi . lña . log . nas [10]  
 bdag . cag . gñis . [kh]ye . [tsho]gs | gbug (gbrug ? gñug ?) .  
 dub . gi . khar . bsdegas . nas | [thabs] . gum . tsam . bgyis  
 [11] pañ | bdag . ñan . [pa] . da . lta . ñan . ñon . khar .  
 ba . bgo . la . chags . ste . mchid . yu[s] . [rtso]d . . . hñi .  
 [lt . .] [12] — Spra . hu . koñ . ni . da . du . spo . na .  
 mchis . ñel | bdag . gñis . la . stoñ . sde . gñis . my[i] . rje .  
 -o — s [13] dañ . bdag . cag . bka . luñ . stsal . te | dka<sup>1</sup> .  
 blas . la . mchi . bañ | bkañ . luñ . sun . phyuñ[s] [14]  
 bdag . [c]ag . sma . phag | khrims . gañ . tañ . hbyor . pa .  
 bla . ched . po . man . chad . gsol . žiñ . brtsad [15] htshal .  
 na . ña . khrims . bžin . bskron . te . dum (?) . ba . gdab . par .  
 gsol . žes . mchi . nas<sup>2</sup> | khoñ . ta . rna[ms] [16] . . .<sup>3</sup>  
 || kyi . gñahñi . myiñ . rus . la | Hgreñ . ro . Klu . brtan |  
 Khu . Stag . chuñ . dañ | [17] So . nam . legs | Rum  
 (Tum ?) . Mtsho . brtsan | Hbriñ . hbrug . Spe | Dru . gu .  
 Lha . legs . rnams [18] kyi . gña . rgya . dañ . riñ . lugs .  
 dañ . dpañ . chen . dañ . khon . tañ . rnams . kyi . sug . rgyañ .  
 btab . pañ . [19] gra . dus . ni . dbyar . sla . hbrin . poñi .  
 ño . la . mchid .<sup>4</sup> . śagsu . htshal . par . bgyis | |

Five seals illegible.

<sup>1</sup> h erased.

<sup>2</sup> pañi . mchid . nas is here crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> nas below the line.

<sup>4</sup> ku here crossed out.

[1-2] "On the new-moon day of the first spring month of the Snake year, in the presence of the chief lord, Councillor Ju-cug, and the Uncle-Councillor *Skyan-po* Dbye-rma and the rest. [2-5] The complainants, *Pañ-tsab* Rbeg-chuñ and Ldoñ-phrañ *Spra-hu-koñ*, having by messenger engaged on hire the *Rlañ* eldest (?) brother and elder brother and younger brother *Klu-hdus* and *Hbe* Myes-mthoñ and *Rlañ-phrañ* *Hphan-legs* and others, the complainants *Rbe[g]-chuñ* and the rest write: [5-7] We, having from Little Nob assembled a company of eight porters . . . . . of the Turks, came to Great Nob. [7-10] Having from the chief lord procured the hire of some stick-gatherers and the stick-gatherers not having come, we were told to break down a ruined house outside. When we two had broken down a ruined house, the five above-mentioned persons, at a time when the children were tired . . . . . came upon us and ill-treated us almost to the point of death. [11-12] With the sordid . . . . . clinging to our garments (?) we humble persons make complaint by letter as follows: [12-14] *Spra-hu-koñ* during his removal here fell ill. The two *Stoñ-sdes* not . . . . . to us and sending us to the *Bkañ-luñ*, we went to the distinguished *Dkañ* (*sic*). The *Bkañ-luñ* was biassed and abused us. [14-15] 'Law you can have, if you like. In case you desire to complain by petition up to the great Lama (? *bla*), pray take care to summon (?) witnesses according to law. [15-18] As to the names and families of their witnesses, they are *Hgreñ-ro* *Klu-brtan*, *Klu* Stag-chuñ and So-nam-legs, *Rum* Mtsho-brtsan, *Hbriñ-hbrug* *Spe*, *Dru-gu* Lha-legs, whose attestation marks and the hand-signatures of the messenger, the courier and of those persons are attached. [19] The seminary assembly has been called by letter for the beginning of the middle summer month."

### Notes

1. 1. *Skyan-po*: See p. 562.
1. 2. *Pañ-tsab*: See above, p. 571.



l. 3. *Rlañ* : This is, no doubt, a local name, and the *Rlañ-phran* below is "the little Rlañ". In M.I. iv, 105, is named a Rlañ Klu-stod, and in M. Tagh., c. iv, 0035, we have mention of a Rlañ district or regiment (*sde*). The three brothers seem all to have been named Klu-hdus, whence the manner in which they are particularized.

l. 6. *Hor-gyi-mjug-stog* : Is *mjug-stog* for *hjug-ldog*, which seems to have the sense of "obstacles" (= "protection against ?") ? But *mjug* occurs elsewhere (= "rear" ?).

l. 8. *slad-rol* : "Outside," as in M.I. xxviii, 0023, *skun-kar-gyi-slad-rol* "outside the fort". The ruined house was perhaps to be torn down for firewood.

ll. 12-13. *stoñ-sde* . . . *bkah-luñ* : "Thousand District" and "Command" seem to be used for the respective officials.

l. 14. *gaiñ-t(h)añ* : "As much as you like" ?

l. 15. *dum-ba* : = *dun-pa* ?

l. 17. *Hgreñ-ro* : See above, pp. 86-7.

l. 18. *riñ-lugs* : = *riñ-lus* of l. 3 ; cf. *JRAS.* 1927, p. 66.

l. 19. *gra-dus* : "Seminary assembly," no doubt for the trial. See p. 567.

39. M.I. i, 27 (paper fragment, right hand ; c. 17 × 16.5 cm. ; ll. 4 of rather clear, faint *dbu-can* writing).

[1] . . . *žañ . lon . chen . po . žañ . Btsan . sum . sgras* |  
 [2] *Nob . cuñuhi . rtse . rje . rnams . la . sprñ . ño* || [3]  
*dpen . pañi . žo . ša . cher . hbul . ba . dañ* || *kham . rgyud .*  
*mar* [4] . . . *dgahr* || *Nob . cuñuhi . mñan . slañs . dañ .*  
*tšhas* . . .

[1-2] "Sent by the great Uncle-Minister Uncle Btsan-sum-sgra to the chief lords of Little Nob. [3] The liberal present of an useful contribution and . . . [4] . . . glad. The government demands of Little Nob and . . ."

### Notes

l. 3. *dpen-pañi-žo-ša* : On this phrase see *JRAS.* 1927 p. 75 n. *žo-ša-cher-bul* recurs in M.I. x, 3.

40. M.I. iv, 138 (wooden tablet, partly broken away at left; c. 15.5 × 2.5 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 2 *verso* of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

[1] 𑎃 | | Nob . cu . nu . hi . rtse . bla . dañ . rtse . sman . la | | yos . bu . lohi [2] sp[y]id . sla . ra . ba . la | | sku . blaḥi . bres | skid (snid ? sdud ?) . bžin . bzañs [B 1] . . . gsol . te | lag (leg ? dag ?) . dgra . dañ | sogs . mein . la [B 2] sman . bris . paḥi . gñer . ḥsus (hyus ?) | |

[1] "To the head Lama (?) and head physician of Little Nob: In the first spring month of the Hare year. Begging . . . . . request the attention of writing a prescription for *lag-dgra* (?) and *sogs-mein* (retention of urine ? *gsog-gcin*)."

*Note*

It seems as if there were in Little Nob an official "head physician".

41. M.I. xiii, 12 (paper, smudged and discoloured; c. 30 × 8 cm.; ll. 6 *recto* + 1 *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] 𑎃 | . | jo . co . Btshan . ta . dañ | Klu . sgra . la | | yul . mthoñ . gi . mehid . gsol . ba | | slar . yañ . sñan . sñuñs . gsol . pa . [2] [l]ags | Nob . ched . poḥi . Rtse . rgod . kyi . lo . tañ . phul . baḥi . bul | Lha . -hi . l . nod . ein . mehisna | bul . stsald . par . gsol | [3] bdag . cag . gi . lo . tañ . ci . lus . pa . dañ | boñ . bu(?) . rgyag | li . bal . pha . re . gañ . žig | ḥdi . rnam . sul . du . ḥbul . bar | | [4] blon . Lha . bzañ . la . yañ . gsol . te | spu . bal . ci . ma . phul . ba | ḥdi . bžin . lhag . tshad . ma . mehis | [5] su . la . žin . mehis . na | | bdag . gi . sug . rgya . yañ | | dños . gyis . gsold . pa . lags . na | de . las . thugs . [6] mdzad . du . gsol .

*Verso*: 𑎃 | . | Nob . ched . poḥi . byi . ba . lohi . lo . tañ |

[1-2] "To the magistrates Btshan-ta and Klu-sgra: letter petition of the land-overseer. Then he inquires as to your health. [2] In case the receipt for the delivery of the year-levy from Rtse-rgod in Great Nob has come to *your*



lordship's hands, despatch of the receipt is requested. [3-4] What remained of our year-levy, ass, yak, bell-metal, wool (or Khotanese and Nepalese, *Li-Bal-pha*), whatever there was in each case, these in residue I am requesting Councillor Lha-bzañ to supply. [4-5] Of hair and wool there is thus with no one any not delivered remainder. [5] My own signature also I beg now to submit. Attention is requested accordingly."

*Verso*: "Year-levy of Great Nob for the Mouse year."

### Notes

1. 2. *Rtse-rgod*: "Summit Rgod" is probably a part of Rgod concerning which see above, p. 561-4. It is curious that *rtse-rgod* may mean also "mirth and laughter", as *supra*, p. 566.

1. 3. *li-bal-pha-re-gaṅ-ñig*: I have taken *re-gaṅ-ñig* as = "whatever there was in each case". But the whole phrase is rather puzzling; compare M.I. xiv, 59, *bal-pho-re-gaṅ-ñig*, and xxi, 1, *phyiñ-rgyu-bal-pho-re-gaṅ*.

Summarizing, we may mention in regard to Little Nob that we hear of its "chief lord" (*rtse-rje*, M.I. vii, 27, 76; xiv, 0027; xxvi, 13; xxxii, 13), of its *mgo-rnon* (M.I. vii, 27; x, 3), of its "foreign councillor" (*dgra-blon*, M.I. xxvii, 7), of its "regional chiefs" (*ños-pon*, M.I. xxvii, 7), and its "chief Lama" and "chief physician" (M.I. iv, 138). It is called a "town" (*mkhar*, M.I. xlv, 005) and a "mart" (*khrom*, M.I. xlv, 7). We hear of the "Three Towns" and also of the "Four Towns". Great Nob is a "town" (*mkhar*, M.I. xlv, 2), and it has a "chief lord" (*rtse-rje*, M.I. x, 2, 3, 9; vii, 27) and "lord's land" (*rje-ñiñ*, M.I. xlv, 2). Sometimes we hear of the "chief lord of Great and Little Nob" (M.I. vii, 27).

### VI. NOB-ŚOD (Lower Nob), KLU-RTSE, G-YUN-DRUN-RTSE

42. M.I. i, 24 (paper fragment; c. 11 × 17 cm.; much torn and badly smudged; ll. 17 (?) *recto* + 8 (?) *verso* of cursive *dbu-can* writing, barely legible).

- [A 5] gñer . gyi . khum̐su . myi . ruñste  
 [A 9] khrom . Der (?) . ḥa . ra . tshun . cad . skad . sbyi . . .  
 [A 13] Mdo . sgral . steñ . du  
 [A 14] Klu . rtseñi . ḥphar . phyogs . dañ  
 [B 3] Nob . śod . na . [phyu]  
 [B 6] Nob . chu . ñu . yañ .

- [A 5] "Not proper to perform"  
 [A 9] "As far as the mart Der-ḥa-ra a rumour"  
 [A 13] "Up to Mdo-sgral."  
 [A 14] "beyond Klu-rtse"  
 [B 3] "in Lower Nob"  
 [B 6] "Little Nob also."

### Note

Concerning Der-ḥa-ra and Mdo-sgral we have no information. Klu-rtse is mentioned p. 571 above and in—

43. M.I. xxviii, 0021.

☞ || Klu . rtse . chu . myig . gyi . tshugs . po[n] [2]  
 Rtsañ . Spe . sme.

"Rtsañ Spe-sme, captain of the Spring of Klu-rtse."

44. M.I. xxviii, 0010.

. . . [2] . . . Klu . rtser . yañ . spriñ . ste |  
 "To Klu-rtse also a message has been sent."

45. M.I. iv, 132 (paper fragment; c. 31 × 7 cm.; l. 1 of large, ordinary cursive *dhū-can* writing).

[1] ☞ | . | r[ta . ḥi . lo] . la || s[k]un . [mkh]ar . Nob .  
 chu . ñu . G-yuñ . druñ . rtser | skyin (rkyen ?) . gyi |  
 [s]un . dpag . spu . tshugs | dkar.

"In the Horse year at G-yuñ-druñ-rtse in Little Nob fort. . . ."

### Note

It looks as if G-yuñ-druñ-rtse were merely a height or tower in the fort itself.





## Notes

The latter part of the document is for the present untranslatable, several of the expressions, e.g. *dog-sa* ("narrow place" ? ?), *phyug-ma*, *sha-ltogs*, *gnam-lor-bor*, being obscure.

44, B 1. *ye-myig*: On this phrase see *JRAS.* 1927, p. 844.

43, 2. *thabs-ma-nañs-par-zind-ciñ*: This might be read *thabsam*<sup>o</sup>: could we translate "if caught where you must either fight or fly"?

## VIII. STAGU

In M.I. iv, 18, we have a wooden "card" of a certain Stagu G-yu-sgra, i.e. G-yu-sgra of Stagu, and a person of Pug-tshe Stagu, i.e. perhaps Pug-rtse in Stagu, is mentioned in another wooden tablet (M.I. xxvii, 4). The place is, no doubt, the *Stagu-khrom* "mart (market-town) Stagu" mentioned in M. Tagh., a, iv, 00128 (l. 5).

## IX. RTSE-HTHON

The *sde*, district (or regiment) of Rtse-hthon, is mentioned in M.I. xvi, 22; and a person Go-hji Spe-rtson is named on his wooden card as belonging thereto (xv, 0012: *Rtse hthon . gi | Go . hji . Spe . rton |*

47. M.I. viii, 58 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 9 × 2 cm.; ll. 2 *recto* + 9 *verso* of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] 𑖦 | . | Hphan . la . brtsan . rmod [2] pah | Rtse . hton . gi . žiñ . dor [B] bye (phyed) . dañ . gñis.

"Plougher Hphan-la-brtsan: Rtse-hthon land, one and a half yoke."

## Note

The hire of a *dor*, "yoke of oxen (or yaks)," for ploughing is the subject of many of the wooden documents.

48. M.I. xvi, 003 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 12 × 2.5 cm.; ll. 3 of ordinary cursive *dbu-can* writing).





zad . ma . bsti [4] na . | chab . ñam . chuñ . ba . dañ .  
 chab . htshal : du : | glo . ba . chuñ . nas . | chuñ . zad .  
 thogste | mchis . [pa] . lags naḥ || cuñ . zad . hphyis . par .  
 gyur . pa [5] bkaḥ . chad . kyis . myi . gcad . par . thugs .  
 pags . chir . mdzad |

[1-2] "To the Home Ministers, Councillor Stag-bzañ and Councillor Mdo-bzer. Letter petition of Śaṅ Rdzoñ: That the two Home Ministers may be perpetually happy and in state exalted is my prayer. The kindness of having given attention also is very great. [3-4] I have arrived at Byeḥu-liñ: the escort also, which fell behind, is coming; what with sickness and poor oxen and asses, taking not even a little rest, with water very short and little hope of obtaining water, it has been a little hampered in its coming. [4-5] We are thus a little late. Be so considerate as not to order punishment."

### Notes

Byeḥu-liñ has been noted, upon Professor A. H. Francke's information, by Sir Aurel Stein (*Serindia*, pp. 470 and 480). It is mentioned, as he reports, in M.I. xxvii, 19 (*verso*, recording an assembly, *hdun-sa*, there). Conceivably it is the Yü-ling of the Chinese, placed by Dr. Hermann in the neighbourhood of Dālai-kurghān (*Die alten Seidenstrassen*, p. 99, cf. *Serindia*, p. 296).

## XII. GTSOS-MO-GLIN

See pp. 574-5 above.

## XIII. DOR-TE

51. M.I. lviii, 003 (wooden tablet; c. 17 × 2 cm.; fl. 2 *recto* + 1 *verso* of rather small, cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ʒes . ʒal . mthoñ . nas . sñau . du . gsol . ʒiñ . mchis | |  
 Dor . te . paḥi . rtsaṅ (stsau) . nas . [2] kyañ . khal .  
 grañs . [dañ . sbyar] . naḥ | mchis . pa . hdra . naḥ |  
 da (?) . duñ . du . yañ . tshugs . tshod [B 1] [bʒes . nas .  
 śas . ʒig . ste . ʒib . du(?) . bka . sprin . ba . gsol . ʒin . mchis]



" Beg to report in your hearing when seeing your face. As regards the number of loads from the grain of the Dor-te people also, it seems to have come. If there is anything further that you are expecting, I beg you to send precise orders."

### Notes

In M.I. 0034 we have mention of a soldier or police agent (*so*) of Dor-te (*Dor-te-hi-so*).

## XIV. ŚOD

This may be identical, or connected, with Nob-śod.

52. M.I. xxviii, 0024 (wooden tablet, complete; c. 21 × 1.7 cm.; l. 1 of ordinary *dbu-can* writing).

ཨ། | : | ma . thag . tu . Śod . tu . mchis . na . de . las . cha .  
myur . du . spriñ . bar . gsol |

" As soon as you arrive in Śod, please send news from there forthwith."

The nomads of Śod (*Śod-hbrog*) are mentioned in M.I. i, 41, and the Ho-hbrog (River nomads?) in M.I. xiv, 108 d.

## XVI

*Hbri-char-smad* (Lower *Hbri-char*) seems to be a place-name in M.I. xxviii, 7.

## APPENDIX

53. *Verso* of Ch. fragm. 82 (c. 28 × 19 cm.; ll. 12 of clear, ordinary, cursive *dbu-can* writing).

[1] ཨ། | : | byi . ba . lohi . dbyar . sla . ra . bañi . ño . la |  
Tshas . stobs . gyi . sde | [2] ཨ། | : | byi . baloñi . dbyar .  
sla . ra . bañi . ño . la | | Sñiñ . tsoms . gyi . sde | -e . *Lha* .  
skyes . gyi . gro[ñ] . [3] nas . khal . gsum . žig | Rgod .  
sar . gyi . sde | Sag . Dge . legs . gis . sña . g-yar . du .  
ñtshalde [4] slar . hbulbañi . dus . ni . lan . hdi . hi . ston .  
sla . hbriñ . po . ma . gum . tshun . tshad . bre . byed . bzañ[s ?]u

[5] bgyisde | *dus . geig*<sup>1</sup> . bre . phul . myi . gcod . par .  
*dus . geig . du . lha . skyes . gyi . sgor . hbul . bar* [6] bgyis |  
*su*<sup>2</sup> . *dus . der . ma . phul . lam . gya . gyu . žig . htshal . na* |  
*gñicig*<sup>3</sup> . *la . gñis . su . . .* [7] bagyur . te | *dños . agyur .*  
*dañ . beas . par . kho . nañi . sgor . phyi . phy(a)ig . dañ . nañ .*  
*rjes . sug . spyad . rgyab . hgo[s]* [8] *ci . la . bab . kyañ .*  
*ruñste* | *riñ . lug . su . phrog . na . yañ . žal . cu . tshig .*  
*kyañ . myi . mchis . bgyi[s]* [9] *brgya . la . Dge . legs .*  
*bye . ha*<sup>4</sup> . *gži . la . ma . mchissam* | *rje . blas . bkur . te .*  
*guñ . chad . du . gyur* [10] *na . mjal . gña . kha . len . kho .*  
*nañi . pho . ba . . . . . ni*<sup>5</sup> . *dam . goñ . nas . byuñ . bžin . du*  
[11] *mchid . gyis . htshal . žiñ . hbul . brañ*<sup>6</sup> . *bgyis . pañi .*  
*dpañ* ——— [12] ——— *lastsogs pañi . dpañ . rgyadañ . sug .*  
*yig . tshad . gyishtabpa .*

[1] "At the beginning of the first summer month of the Mouse year: district of Tshas-stobs. [2-3] At the beginning of the first summer month of the Mouse year: district of Sñiñ-tsoms. From the village (or house) of Lha-skyes some three loads of barley having previously been required above (*g-yar-du* ? or "on loan") by Sag Dge-legs of district Rgod-sar, as regards the time of rendering it back, it is the middle autumn month of the present year. [4-6] Until death (or until this is effected ? *gum* = *khums*), half a *bre* is agreed (? *bzansu* ? as interest): the delivery of the *bre* is to take place without interruption at one time at the house of Lha-skyes. [6-9] If it is not there delivered, or if trickery is attempted, the amount becomes doubled. Together with the capital (?), whenever at his house a last demand and request for restoration endorsed by the Home Minister shall have been delivered (?), it may be recovered according to the old usage without a word of protest. [9-11] In case

<sup>1</sup> These two syllables crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> *su* crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> *ñi* crossed out.

<sup>4</sup> These two syllables crossed out.

<sup>5</sup> *ni* crossed out.

<sup>6</sup> Compendious for *bar*.



of failure, if Dge-legs is not in [possession of] the land or if through consideration on the part of His Excellency a division is made, then the witnesses to the agreement and the guarantor his elder . . . upon a demand by letter in accordance with the outcome of the above indenture are required to deliver: [11-12] in attestation whereof the attestation marks and written signatures of . . . and the others are attached."

### Notes

The agreement is a draft, as appears from the fact that in l. 1 a different document was commenced, and also from the gaps left in ll. 11-12 for insertion of the names of witnesses, etc. Concerning the phrases *zal-cu*, *dam-goñ-nas-byuñ*, *brgya-la*, we may refer to the notes on the similar document discussed above, p. 578. This instrument comes from the Tun-huang library (it is written on the back of a MS.) and relates to the Śa-cu region.

1. 1. *Tshas-stobs*: This district has not hitherto been found.

11. 2-3. *Sñiñ-tsoms* and *Rgod-sar*: On these districts see the references in *JRAS.* 1928, p. 97.

1. 3. *Sag*: On this clan-name see *ibid.*, p. 93.

1. 4. *bñāṅsu*: Reading and sense uncertain.

1. 5. *myi-gcad-par*: This seems clearly to mean "without interruption"; one would have preferred "if the delivery of the *bre* is not carried out".

11. 6-7. *gcig-la-gñisu* . . . *bsgyur*: Cf. *JRAS.* 1927, p. 813.

1. 7. *phyi-phyi(a)g* . . . *rgyab-ḥgos*: The rendering is somewhat uncertain.

1. 9. *bkur-te-guñ-chad-du*: The reading is uncertain.

### LIST OF PLACES AND PEOPLES MENTIONED ABOVE

Byeñu-liñ, p. 591.

Ce(a)r-cen, pp. 556, 564-5, 567.

Charkalik, p. 555.

Der-ḥa-ra, p. 587.

Dor-te, pp. 591-2.

Dru-gu, pp. 559, 560, 583.

- Gtsos-mo-gliñ, pp. 574-5, 591.  
 Gyuñ-druñ-rtse, pp. 586-7.
- Hbri-char-smad, p. 592.  
 Hbrug (Hbriñ-), p. 583.  
 Hdzom-smad, p. 564.  
 „ -stod, p. 564.  
 Hgreñ-ro, pp. 583-4.  
 Ho-hbrog, p. 592.  
 Ho-ni, p. 568.  
 Hor, pp. 574-5, 584.  
 Ho-se, pp. 577-8.
- Ka-dag, pp. 556-7, 565-9, 570.  
 Kha-dro, pp. 561-2.  
 Khotan, p. 555.  
 Klu-rtse, pp. 571, 586-7.  
 Kotak-Sheri, p. 566.
- Mdo-sgral, p. 587.  
 [ „ ]-smad, pp. 580-1.  
 Mirān, p. 555.
- Nag-śod, pp. 561-2.  
 Nañ-goñ, pp. 580-1.  
 Nob, pp. 555 sqq., 569.  
 Nob, Great, pp. 568, 574, 579,  
 583, 585-6.
- Nob, Little, pp. 556, 566-87.  
 „ -śod, pp. 581, 586-7.-
- Pug-rtse, p. 589.
- Rgod-ldiñ, pp. 563-4.  
 „ -sar, pp. 593-4.  
 „ -tsañ-smad, pp. 561-3.  
 „ „ -stod, pp. 561, 563,  
 577-8.
- Rlañ, p. 584.  
 Rtse-hthon, pp. 589, 590.  
 „ -rgod, pp. 585-6, 590.
- Śa-cu, p. 555.  
 Skal-hkhar, pp. 580-1.  
 Snañ-rtse, pp. 588-9.  
 „ -sdañ, pp. 588-9.  
 Sñiñ-tsoms, pp. 593-4.  
 Śod, p. 592.  
 Stagu, p. 589.
- Tañ-gśor, p. 588.  
 Tshal-byi, pp. 555-61.,  
 Tshas-stobs, pp. 593-4.
- Yü-ling, p. 591.






# The Pig in Ancient Egypt: A Commentary on Two Passages of Herodotus

By WARREN R. DAWSON, F.R.S.E.

## I. THE PIG IN AGRICULTURE

"But when the river has come of its own accord and irrigated their fields, and having irrigated them has subsided, then each man sows his own land and turns swine into it; and when the seed has been trodden in by the swine, he afterwards waits for harvest-time: then, having trod out the corn with his swine, he gathers it in."<sup>1</sup>












THE tomb-scenes of Egypt of all periods are particularly rich in pictures of various phases of agricultural life: so complete is our material that it is possible to reconstruct every episode of the farmer's year. The newly sown seed was turned into the ground by various methods, sometimes by means of the hoe and human labour, sometimes by means of the plough drawn by oxen, and sometimes, again, it was trodden in by animals. From Herodotus' statement, it might appear that the only method of treading-in corn was by means of swine, but actually this method is very rarely met with. So far as I know, there is no instance of this procedure earlier than the eighteenth dynasty. In two Theban tombs (Nos. 24 and 146), each of which belonged to a different person bearing the name Nebamun, amongst the agricultural scenes, pigs are seen following the sower to tread in the grain.<sup>2</sup> Both these tombs date from the reign of Tuthmosis III.

At a far earlier period, however, the pig was known to the Egyptian farmer. In the tomb of Methen (early fourth dynasty) the sign  follows as determinative of the

<sup>1</sup> *Herodotus*, ii, 14 (Carey's translation).

<sup>2</sup> Northampton-Spiegelberg-Newberry, *Theban Necropolis*, p. 14, text-fig. 15 (from Tomb 24), and pl. xiii (from Tomb 146). The plate is coloured and is reproduced from a charming water-colour copy of the original by Howard Carter.



word   , the usual term for herds of small cattle, and here it is accompanied by the ass  .<sup>1</sup> From this it is evident that the pig was domesticated and kept on farms at the beginning of the Pyramid Age. The pig figures in the names of two estates, one     in a fifth dynasty tomb at Dashur,<sup>2</sup> the other     in the tomb of Nefermaät (fourth or fifth dynasty) at Meidum.<sup>3</sup> Both these words have reference to repelling the pig, i.e. the wild-boar, and date from a time when this predatory animal was a menace to the farmers. From the Middle Kingdom no pictures of the pig as a domestic animal seem to have been discovered, but literary references to the animal occur. The allusion in the Story of the Eloquent Peasant shows that at this period herds of pigs were kept, for an inventory of property mentions "his corn, his barley, his asses, his swine, his small cattle".<sup>4</sup> Similarly the lament of the sage Ipuwer that famine has caused such scarcity of food that it is "taken away from the mouths of swine" implies that pigs were kept in Egypt at the end of the Old or the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>5</sup> The pig reappears once more in the tomb-scenes of the early eighteenth dynasty. In two tombs at El-Kab, those of Renni and of Paheri, herds of pigs are represented amongst the farming-stock.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these examples, and to those from the Theban tombs already mentioned, Wilkinson figures three groups of pigs from Theban tombs: one of which shows sows with their young, a second young pigs, and a third a herd of boars with

<sup>1</sup> Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, ii, 3, and Maspero, *Études Égyptiennes*, ii, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> Maspero, *Mém. Mission Arch.*, i, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xxi. The form of the animal here is clearly that of the wild-boar.

<sup>4</sup> *Peasant*, B ii, 138. Cf. Gardiner, *Journal of Eg. Archaeology*, ix, pp. 22, 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Leiden Papyrus*, I, 344, Recto, 6, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Tylor and Griffith, *Tomb of Renni*, pl. ii, idem. *Tomb of Paheri*, pl. iii, lowest register, left.

conspicuous tusks being driven by a herdsman.<sup>1</sup> That considerable herds of pigs were kept on some of the farms is suggested by an inscription in the tomb of Renni, in which an inventory of his flocks shows that swine outnumbered the other live-stock :

"Oxen, 122 ; Sheep, 100 ; Goats, 1200 ; Swine, 1500." <sup>2</sup>

In the Cairo Hymn to Amun, the word *mnmn* "flocks" has five determinatives : ox, goat, calf, pig, and ram.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that at the end of the eighteenth dynasty or the beginning of the nineteenth, the pig was still a recognized part of the farmer's live-stock.

The above are all the examples of the pig in agriculture that I am able to quote, and having in mind the vast number of agricultural scenes of all periods which exist, it is evident that the pig was relatively rare on Egyptian farms, and that Herodotus' statement is too wide a generalization. It is significant that the pig is not mentioned in the Great Harris Papyrus.

## II. THE PIG IN MEDICINE, MAGIC, AND MYTHOLOGY

"The Egyptians consider the pig to be an impure beast, and therefore if a man in passing by a pig should touch him only with his garments, he forthwith goes to the river and plunges in : and in the next place, swineherds, although native Egyptians, are the only men who are not allowed to enter any of their temples : neither will any man give his daughter in marriage to one of them, nor take a wife from among them ; but the swineherds intermarry amongst themselves. The Egyptians, therefore, do not think it right to sacrifice swine to any other deities : but to the moon and Bacchus do they sacrifice them, at the same time,

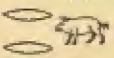
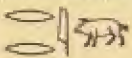
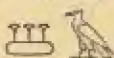
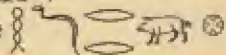
<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, iii, 34. The third picture is also given by Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 64, but neither author states from which tomb it was copied. Maspero merely says "from a Theban tomb of the XVIIIth Dynasty".







<sup>2</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv, 75.

<sup>3</sup> *Boulaq Papyrus*, xvii, 6, 4.



that is, at the same full moon, and then they eat of the flesh. A tradition is related by the Egyptians in relation to this matter, giving an account why they abhor swine on all other festivals, and sacrifice them in that; but it is more becoming for me, though I know it, not to mention it. The sacrifice of pigs to the moon is performed in the following manner: When the sacrificer has slain the victim, he puts together the tip of the tail, with the spleen and the caul, and then covers them with fat found about the belly of the animal; and next he consumes them with fire: the rest of the flesh they eat during the full moon in which they offer the sacrifices; but in no other day would any one even taste it. The poor amongst them, through want of means, form pigs of dough, and having baked them, offer them in sacrifice. 48. On the eve of the festival of Bacchus, everyone slays a pig before his door, and then restores it to the swineherd that sold it, that he may carry it away."<sup>1</sup>

There are two words for "pig" in the Egyptian texts,  or  *rri*, and  *ꜥꜣi*. The first, which is written out in the place-name  above mentioned, is probably the wild-boar, and the second the name of the domesticated pig, or swine in general. Both these words occur in the medical texts, but *ꜥꜣi* is far the more frequent of the two. In the following instances of the medicinal uses of the pig, the texts always have *ꜥꜣi* except where otherwise noted.<sup>2</sup>

Brain ( | ). In a prescription for getting rid of worms, B. 2/5 (19). For a vaginal complaint,  |   |  , E. 95/18 (814).











<sup>1</sup> *Herodotus*, ii, 47, 48 (Carey's translation).



<sup>2</sup> In the following quotations the letters B, E, H, and L refer to the Berlin, Ebers, Hearst, and London medical papyri respectively. The numbers in brackets are those of Wreszinski's edition.







the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*,<sup>1</sup> but the single copy of the spell that has come down to us is so obscure as to be well-nigh untranslatable. It is useless to endeavour to understand the purport of the passage until another and more correct duplicate text is discovered. Our principal source of information as to the part played by the pig in mythology is the 112th "chapter" or spell of the *Book of the Dead*. This spell is one of a series the object of which is to enable the dead to know the "powers" () of various mythological localities. It contains a dialogue between Rē and Horus, when Seth, in the form of a black boar () seizes and devours one of the eyes of Horus. Thereupon Rē declared swine ()   to be an abomination to Horus, and oxen, small cattle, and swine are sacrificed. This is a variant of an ancient myth, according to which the Eye of Horus was torn to pieces by Seth, and restored by Thoth, who made the eye whole, whereby it became the    , or sound eye. It is curious to note in passing that the parts of the  were used graphically to express fractions.<sup>2</sup>

In the Judgment Scene of the *Book of Gates* (sixth division) a condensed and graphic representation of this same myth is to be found. Before the seated figure of Osiris is a boat, in which is a pig being driven by a baboon. This scene is usually labelled  —  "the eater of the arm", the arm here being a variant of the eye. The boat represents the barque of Rē, and the baboon takes the place of Thoth, the god to whom that animal was sacred.<sup>3</sup> So far as I am aware, there are six copies of this scene extant; these are: (i) The tomb of Haremhab<sup>4</sup>; (ii) the sarcophagus of

<sup>1</sup> Lacau, *Textes Religieux*, No. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Peet, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, p. 25.

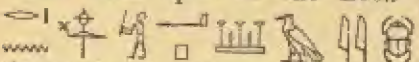
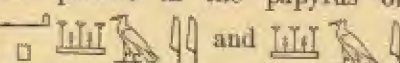
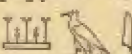
<sup>3</sup> For some unknown reason the cynocephalus of Thoth is almost always spoken of as an ape by Egyptologists.

<sup>4</sup> Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi, etc.*, pls. liii-lv.



Sethos I<sup>1</sup>; (iii) the tomb of Ramesses III<sup>2</sup>; (iv) the tomb of Ramesses VI<sup>3</sup>; (v) the sarcophagus of Teos in the Louvre<sup>4</sup>; and (vi) a sarcophagus in the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> In these pictures the pig is usually represented with a bristling back, and is evidently intended for a wild-boar, although no tusks are indicated. In No. iii, the animal (although tusked) is a sow, if Lefebure's drawing is to be trusted. In No. vi, the artist has represented the boat, but has omitted to insert in it the figures of the baboon and the pig. A second baboon, also armed with a stick, is shown either above the boat (i-iii), in front of it (iv), or in the forepart of the boat itself (v). In every case the pig is being driven in the direction *away* from Osiris. As already indicated, we have in these pictures a kind of heraldic representation of the myth.

A similar symbolism is expressed in two papyri of late date in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. In one of these, Thoth, armed with knives, attacks a pig, and further on in the same papyrus, Horus is seen spearing seven swine. In the other, Horus spears a pig in the presence of seven goddesses.<sup>6</sup>

The 36th spell of the *Book of the Dead* is entitled  "a spell for repelling the 'ēpshay'. The last word is determined with a beetle, and according to the vignettes of various papyri, it is a monstrous insect of some kind. It would appear from the picture in the papyrus of Nakht that the words  and  must have been confused, for in that manuscript there is a picture of the deceased

<sup>1</sup> Bonomi-Sharpe, *The Alabaster Sarcophagus*, pl. v.

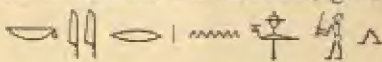
<sup>2</sup> Lefebure, *Les Hypogées Royaux*, part iii, pl. lxiv.

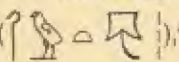
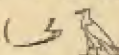
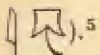
<sup>3</sup> Rosellini, *Mon. Culto*, pl. lxvi; Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. cclxxvii, and *Notices*, ii, pp. 495-6.

<sup>4</sup> Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, ix-x.

<sup>5</sup> Unpublished. It is "sarcophagus of Qem-hap. XXXth Dyn. No. 1504."

<sup>6</sup> *Bibl. Nat. Papyri*, Nos. 177 and 178. Unpublished: I quote from photographs of them. I have mentioned these papyri in connexion with the significance of the number seven in *Ægyptus*, vol. viii, p. 104.


spearing a pig.<sup>1</sup> Later on, this confusion passed into the text, for the Cairo papyrus of Ga-sushen, for instance, gives the title of the spell as  "another spell for repelling swine".<sup>2</sup>

At the conclusion of the long passage of the *Book of the Dead*, known as "chapter" 125, there is a rubric which gives directions for the tracing of a picture upon a new brick, made from clay taken from a field "in which no swine have trodden".<sup>3</sup> Some manuscripts have "no swine, or other cattle" ()<sup>4</sup> and others "no lion" ( ).<sup>5</sup>

Most of the above quotations show the pig as a harmful and unclean animal, or otherwise represent it in an unfavourable light. Side by side with this aspect of the pig, we find the sow as an animal sacred to Isis. As such it is often represented as an amulet, pierced for suspension, and was worn as a talisman just as "lucky pigs" are worn to-day. Specimens of these pig-amulets are to be found in most museums, but they are not older, according to Petrie, than the twenty-sixth dynasty.<sup>6</sup> Maspero states that some of the specimens in the Cairo Museum have on their bases an inscription which he translates: "qu'Isis donne le bonheur au propriétaire de cette truie,"<sup>7</sup> but in describing these same specimens, Reisner makes no mention of any inscription.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> British Museum Papyrus, No. 10,471.

<sup>2</sup> Naville, *Papyrus Funéraires de la XXe. Dynastie*, ii, *Le Papyrus de Katseshni au Musée du Caire*, pl. xxxii, line 16; so also the *Greenfield Papyrus* (B.M. 10,554), xvii, 8. In pl. xxii, line 14, the same spell occurs

with the original reading 

<sup>3</sup> So the papyri *Brit. Mus.* No. 9905; *Louvre* No. 3074, etc.

<sup>4</sup> So the *Papyrus of Nu* and many others.

<sup>5</sup> So the *Papyrus of Lougia*; *Brit. Mus.* 10,009; *Louvre* 3007, etc.



<sup>6</sup> Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 47, and pl. xxxii.









<sup>7</sup> Maspero, *Guide du Musée du Boulag*, 1884, p. 274.







<sup>8</sup> Reisner, *Amulets* (*Cat. Gen. Musée du Caire*), pp. 162-4, and pl. xi.



A pig-amulet of very early date (anterior to the fourth dynasty) was found by Petrie at Abydos.<sup>1</sup>

In the astronomical tables in the temple of Edfu, the seventh and eighth months of the year (the second and third of the season  , Prōet) are represented each by a pig on a standard, and these pigs are labelled respectively *rkḥ wr* and *rkḥ nds* "the Great Heat" and "the Little Heat".<sup>2</sup> In the corresponding lists on the ceiling of the Ramesseum, each of these months is represented by a jackal on a standard.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear why the pig should be associated with the hot months of the year in the Edfu table, as elsewhere Rokeh, the personification of Heat, is a jackal, as just noted, or a mummiform divinity with the fire-hieroglyph for a head.<sup>4</sup>





There seems to have been some confusion between the pig (  or   m., and   f.) and  , the hippopotamus; both, however, were Typhonian animals.<sup>5</sup>

In the Metternichstele (l. 79), for instance, the goddess  is determined by the sign , the usual symbol of Thueris, a form of Hathor.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the word   or  






<sup>1</sup> Petrie, *Abydos*, ii, pl. vi.

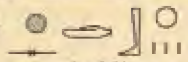


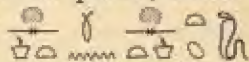

<sup>2</sup> Brugsch, *Monumens de l'Égypte* (1857), pls. ix, x.

<sup>3</sup> Brugsch, *op. cit.*, pls. v, vi.

<sup>4</sup> The latter form is frequently found in papyri and coffins of the twenty-first dynasty. Examples: *Pap. Shrine No. 11* (= Blackman, *Journ. Egyptian Arch.*, vol. v, pl. iv, No. 7); *Pap. of Queen Hentîwê* (= Mariette, *Papyrus du Musée de Boulaq*, t. iii, pl. xix); *Pap. Louvre 3287* (twice), etc. The association of the pig in late times with the Feast of Rokeh may perhaps account for the entry on fragment 14 of the Tanis Geographical Papyrus (*Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, pl. x), in which the pig and the crocodile are mentioned under the date     | IIII, i.e. the month of the "Little Heat".

<sup>5</sup> In this connexion see Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, pp. 28-30.

<sup>6</sup> The constellation *rrt* is often represented as a hippopotamus from the nineteenth dynasty onward. In the *Hood Papyrus* (B.M. 10,262, p. 1, line 5) the constellation is called     = \* | .

is sometimes determined by the pig-sign. The rebus-writing of  *hsdb* "lapis-lazuli" by the group  a man holding a pig by the tail,<sup>1</sup> shows that the word *db* "hippopotamus" was applied in late times to the pig, just as in the converse case *rrt* was used for hippopotamus, as we have just noted. It may be mentioned that the group  occurs on the circular zodiac of Denderah, where a geographical signification, the "Blue Nile", is intended.<sup>2</sup> In two late temple inscriptions which speak of blue cloth, the colour is expressed by the word *hsdb*, written in one according to the normal orthography of the period, and in the other by means of the rebus: (i)  "the blue cloth of the Blue Goddess" (Hathor)<sup>3</sup>; (ii)  "blue, likewise, of indigo (?) brayed in river-water."<sup>4</sup>

Having now assembled some of the Egyptian evidence relating to the pig, we may consider the statements of Herodotus quoted at the head of this section.

The opening statement that the Egyptians considered the pig as an impure beast is echoed by other classical writers,<sup>5</sup> but the statement is too sweeping a generalization as it stands in view of the evidence assembled above. There is at present no native evidence whatever to support the statement regarding the segregation of swineherds, nor, indeed, is it at all likely that any herdsmen were exclusively relegated to the care of swine, for there is no specific word in the language to express a swineherd as such. The fact that herds of swine were kept on the Egyptian farms in

<sup>1</sup> First explained by Goodwin, *Zeitschr. für äg. Sprache*, Bd. vi, p. 17, who showed that the word as thus graphically written means "stop-pig".

<sup>2</sup> Champollion, *Monuments*, pl. cccxlix, bis; Daressy, *Bull. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Arch. Orient.*, t. xii (1916), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Dümichen, *Tempelinschriften*, II, xix, 9 (Denderah).

<sup>4</sup> Röchmonteix, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, I, 388 (Edfu).

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, viii: Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrh.* iii, 223) says that an Egyptian priest would rather die than eat pork.



itself presupposes that the animals were reared for food or sacrifice. It is quite evident that they were not kept merely for the brief and seasonal labour of treading in seed, for which other animals, known to have been used as food, were commonly employed. If pigs had been universally regarded with such horror as the classical writers suppose, a horror so intense that mere contact with swine rendered a man unclean, we should scarcely expect to find so large a herd as is recorded in the tomb of Renni at El-Kab. Renni was actually a priest, and it is in the highest degree improbable that he would have owned large numbers of an animal that was regarded as impure, and it is still less likely that even so, the fact would have been recorded in his tomb.<sup>1</sup> The fact that Renni and others reared pigs in large numbers almost postulates that they were used for food and perhaps for sacrifice also.

Herodotus' statement that pigs were sacrificed to the moon and to Bacchus clearly has its origin in the legend preserved in the *Book of the Dead* (cxii), of which mention has already been made,<sup>2</sup> and the same motive underlies the symbolism of the pig chastised by a baboon in a boat in the scene in the sixth division of the *Book of Gates*.

It is evident that in the case of the pig, as with so much else in Egypt, customs varied in different localities and at different periods. Their survival in historic times is an echo of an origin in the local principalities that were later united as a single kingdom. The same state of affairs must have existed in the case of the pig as Herodotus himself describes concerning other animals. Thus he says of the crocodile, "with some of the Egyptians crocodiles are sacred: but with others not, for they treat them as enemies."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paheri also had priestly as well as civil titles, and the Nebamun of Tomb 146 at Thebes was attached to the temple of Amūn.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the earlier studies of this section of the *Book of the Dead*, see the recent articles by Sethe, *Zeitschr. für äg. Sprache*, Bd. lviii, pp. 1-24, and Naville, *Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*, t. i, pp. 245-9.

<sup>3</sup> Book ii, cap. 69.

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

## THE NIZAMIYA MADRASA AND BAGHDAD TOPOGRAPHY

It is interesting to compare the attempt made by Mr. Levy in the April number of the *Journal* to locate the site in Baghdád of the Nizámiya madrasa with that made by Professor Massignon in his *Mission en Mésopotamie* (tome ii, 93-4). They both start from a passage in Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a's *ṭabaqāt al-aʿlbbá'* (ed. Müller, i, 260, 262); but each arrives at a conclusion quite different from the other's, and each supports



his interpretation with outside evidence. Unhappily the two theories are irreconcilable, because in each case the outside evidence of the one is incompatible with the conclusion of the other; indeed, it seems impossible to reconcile all the evidence that exists. The question is what to reject.

Professor Massignon places the *madrasa* inland from the modern *jādda* north of the Mirjān mosque (at A on plan). He supports his interpretation of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's data by citing a local tradition, which claims a ruined buttress (*contrefort*) in the *darb as-silsila* as a relic of the building



(see also the sketch-map—Planche VI—in his *Al-Hallaj*). This tradition is confirmed, though he does not mention the fact, by a passage in the *mir'ât az-zamân* of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (MS. Paris, Arabe, 1506, fol. 131, used, apparently, by Salmon, *Introduction Topographique*, 6, 65). It is there stated that al-Khaṭīb “died in an apartment he inhabited in the *darb as-silsila* near the Nizāmiya”, and again that “Abū Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī carried his *tābūt* from the Nizāmiya *madrasa* to the bridge—(Salmon appears to claim that this latter passage shows the *darb as-silsila* as leading from the Nizāmiya to the bridge). Adh-Dhahabī (*ta'rikh*, B.M. Or. 50, fol. 89), also, remarks that al-Khaṭīb's funeral started “from an apartment near the Nizāmiya in the Nahr al-Mu'allā (quarter)”, citing a certain Abū'l-Faḍl Ibn Khayrūn (?) as his source. Professor Massignou's conjecture would thus seem to be well founded, if it were not for another passage in the *mir'ât az-zamân* (B.M. 4619, fol. 253), which states that the *madrasa* was “on the Tigris, by the Nahr al-Mu'allā”, and with which the tradition is hardly reconcilable.<sup>1</sup>

It is this last passage that Mr. Levy uses to support his interpretation of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a. As a result he places the *madrasa* on the river bank, just above the present north bridge-head (at B on plan), in line with the later Mustanṣiriya *madrasa* (M on plan). For this guess he has the support of Ibn Baṭūṭa, who states that both *madrāsas* stood in the *sūq ath-thaldithā'*, the Mustanṣiriya at one end and the Nizāmiya in the middle (ed. Defrémery, ii, 108); whereas Professor Massignou has virtually to reject Ibn Baṭūṭa's evidence. But the modern tradition of the site in the *darb as-silsila* has of course to be disregarded if Mr. Levy's suggestion is to be accepted.

It is, therefore, a question of disregarding this tradition, or of taking Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī to mean that the *madrasa* stood not actually on the river bank, but merely in a part of the

<sup>1</sup> As-Subkī, *ṣabaqūt ash-shāfi'iya*, iii, 90, also refers to the *madrasa* as standing on the Tigris bank.

city near the river, and of supposing, in order to admit the statement of Ibn Baṭūṭa, that the *sūq ath-thalāthā'* was a winding thoroughfare leading inland from the Mustanṣiriya.

Mr. Levy's location of the Nizāmiya would thus seem to have less against it than Professor Massignou's. But there is still a difficulty in the way of accepting it. Mr. Le Strange (*Baghdad*, 266) states that the Mustanṣiriya was inside the Caliphs' *ḥarīm*: in which case the *ḥarīm* wall must be placed up-stream of it, i.e. at least as high as the present north bridge-head, and so actually next to the point B. This proximity would certainly tally with Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's description; but the authorities cited by Mr. Le Strange do not in fact seem to bear him out in placing the Mustanṣiriya inside the *ḥarīm*; and as the *sūq ath-thalāthā'* certainly did not enter the *ḥarīm* at any point, we should have for one thing, if we were to believe him, to reject Ibn Baṭūṭa's statement that the Mustanṣiriya stood in the *sūq*. To-day the *mashra'a*, or opening on the river, next most southerly to that of the present north bridge, is one, called *sharī'at al-maṣbagha*<sup>1</sup> (see Massignou, *op. cit.*, 86, 88, No. 17), situated almost in a line, drawn at right-angles to the river, with the Mirjān mosque, to which it is joined by a covered market (now partially demolished—C-C' on plan). And it is on the south side of this market that I would suggest locating the end "lap" of the crescent-shaped *ḥarīm* wall, with the most northerly gate of the *ḥarīm*, the Bāb al-Gharaba, somewhere along it (say opposite the end of the present *sūq al-haraj*—the ancient *sūq ath-thalāthā'* (?)—at point D on plan). The *ḥarīm* wall cannot have taken off much farther down-stream, because the Qurayya quarter (still so called—*ra's al-grayya*), just below the above-mentioned line, was certainly within the *ḥarīm* (see Yāqūt, *mu'jam*, iv, 84, and Massignou, *op. cit.*, 94).

<sup>1</sup> Surely Mr. Levy is mistaken in stating that the *mashra'at al-maṣbagha* leads to the bridge. The street leading to the bridge is called *sharī'at al-jisr*, according to Professor Massignou (*loc. cit.*, No. 16), and both he and recent maps show the *maṣbagha* as next down-stream.



But if this is in fact the site of the *ḥarīm* wall, it is decidedly too far from the point B on the plan (the proposed site of the Nizāmiya) to agree easily with the description of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a describes the Amīn ad-Dawla's house as having its back near the Nizāmiya (Mr. Levy does not mention this small point), whereas its entrance was in the *sūq al-ʿitr* and near that gate of the *sūq* neighbouring on (*mujāwir*, not necessarily "en face", as Professor Massignou translates) the Bāb al-Gharaba. Unless the words "near" (*yalī*) and "neighbouring" (*mujāwir*) are used quite loosely, therefore, the house must have occupied the greater part of the distance between the *madrasa* and the *ḥarīm* end of the *sūq*. The house was, it is true, evidently very spacious, since the Amīn ad-Dawla was able to lodge in it a royal patient and all his retinue, and was in the habit of providing beds for sick lawyers from the *madrasa* (see *ṭabaqāt*, p. 260). Yet it cannot surely have been as large as this—even the distance E-E' on plan, for instance, is about 600 feet. However, if the words are not to be taken as having a very precise application, the requirements of the data can be met, more or less, if we suppose that the *sūq al-ʿitr* ran parallel to the river (say from F to F' on plan—the line of a modern street, still in part a market), and that the house stood somewhere near either the point G or the point H.<sup>1</sup>

There remains the question of the *darb as-silsila*. The passages quoted above from Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī and adh-Dhahabī, though they would confirm the tradition cited by Professor Massignou, can be equally well reconciled, I think, with Mr. Levy's scheme; and as a matter of fact suggest another interesting possibility in connexion with it. Al-Khaṭīb (Salmon, op. cit., text, 59, trans. 144-5) relates that the Buvayhid emir the 'Aḍud ad-Dawla, wishing to bring

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's words "in the *mashy'a* running down to the Tigris bank" seem to refer rather to the Bāb al-Gharaba than to the Amīn's house.

water to new gardens in the *dār al-mamlaka*, in the upper part of al-Mukharrim, from the Nahr al-Khālīṣ, made a brick-lined conduit along the *darb as-silsila*. Now the modern *darb as-silsila*, as shown by Professor Massignon in his map (op. cit., pl. i-ii, indicated by the "Minārat al maqṭū'ah"), may be only a portion of the ancient street, which, if it continued in the direction of the river (say along the course J-J-J on plan), would pass quite near the site B (especially if we include in the site all the "island" emplacement up to the point K on plan, as I think we may). Its conduit, also, would in this case lead to the site of the modern barracks (L on plan). This scheme, therefore, would fit in well with Professor Massignon's identification of the *dār al-mamlaka* site with that of the barracks-*sarāy*-citadel (op. cit., 85, 97).

Mr. Levy and Professor Massignon differ, again, on another small point. Mr. Levy remarks that the *sūq al-'itr* may be taken to have formed part of the *sūq ar-rayḥānīyīn* which ran outside a length of the *ḥarīm* wall; whereas Professor Massignon (op. cit., 93) cautions us to distinguish between the two, since *'itr* means a distilled perfume, as opposed to *rayḥān*, a sweet-smelling herb or flower. Professor Massignon goes on to state that the *sūq al-'itr* was always further south (by which he appears to intend, nearer the river) than the *sūq ar-rayḥānīyīn*, without, however, giving any reason for the statement. And if, as seems probable, the old *sūq ar-rayḥānīyīn* is represented in the Baghdad of to-day by the *sūq al-'aṭṭār* (for *'aṭṭārīn*—see Massignon, op. cit., p. 30), a separation of the two would be necessary to accord with the "lay-out" of streets that I have proposed.

Finally, from the details now known about the *darb as-silsila*—namely, (i) that it lay near the Nizāmīya, and (ii) that its canal brought water to the *dār al-mamlaka* "*bi-a'lā*", that is, "in the upper part of" al-Mukharrim (Salmon, op. cit., text, 56, trans., 141)—it is clear, I think, whether Mr. Levy or Professor Massignon be right about the position of the *madrassa*, that Mr. Le Strange's location of it, below the



palaces of the Caliphs (*Baghdad*, 298, 326, 355), is inadmissible. Moreover, Yáqút, on whose word he bases his assumption, does not really say that the *madrassa* was near the Báḅ al-Azaj, but only, under the heading "Tutush", that there were a Tutushí estate and a Tutushí *madrassa* near the Nizámíya, and a Tutushí hospital near the Báḅ al-Azaj, all founded by the same man (*mu'jam*, i, 826).

HAROLD BOWEN.

FURTHER NOTE ON B.M. MS. OR. 8193

On pp. 129 and 130 of the January *Journal* I published the text of certain Arabic proverbs with Persian prose translations and Persian verses amplifying the themes. By an odd coincidence I am able to identify the work from which they come. This is the *Ṣad Kalima* of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, with the metrical paraphrase of Rashīd-i Waṭwāṭ. This work was recently edited with a translation by A. H. Harley (Fazle Akbar, B.A., 21 Wellesley Square, Calcutta, 1927).

The following list shows the differences between the two texts. U. indicates the reading of the "Uighur" MS. in the British Museum, H. Harley's text. (v.) indicates a variation between the texts; (m.) a mistake of transliteration by myself. Harley's text does not contain the Persian prose translation.

LXXXVIII. U. *bā arḍ-u jahān* H. *ba-har dū jahān* (m.)  
U. *a'rāḍ* H. *aghraḍ* (m. or v. ?).

U. *pas dar wartha-yi* H. *bāz dar warta-yi* (m. ?).

LXXXIX. *amlagtum* is confirmed.

U. *māl chahra* H. *māl-u jāh-rā* (m. and v.).

U. *kasān ba-istighnā* H. *ba-nāz-u istighnā* (v.).

U. *sarranj-i* H. *zi-ranj-i* (m.).

XC. U. *kathurat akhsānuhu* H. *kathafa aghsādhu* (v.).

U. *na na andash* (?) *ba dastī kardan*

H. *na nihandash ba rastī gardan* (m. and v.).

The reading *dastī* of U. is clear; if *rastī* is the correct reading, it would seem to indicate that the scribe of U. was

working from an original in *Nashki* or *Nasta'liq* script, and mistook a 𐤔 for a 𐤕.

XCII. U. *kaṁāl-u kḫirad* H. *kaṁāl kḫirad* (v.).

XCIII. U. *jarra* H. 's 𐤗𐤓𐤕 appears to be an error for 𐤗𐤓𐤕.

U. *bīm* H. *zūd* with variant *bīm*.

XCIV. U. 'alaykum H. *ilaykum* (v.).

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

#### THE BABYLONIAN DIALOGUE OF PESSIMISM: THE FOLLY OF HUNTING

Ebeling and Langdon have published the interesting text known now as "The Babylonian Dialogue of Pessimism" (see Ebeling, "Quellen zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion," ii, pp. 50-70, in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 23 (1919), and Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom* (1923), pp. 67-81).

The third paragraph (§ C) is difficult (see Ebeling, p. 57, ll. 3 and 9, and Langdon, p. 71, l. 19, and p. 72, l. 25). On p. 63, Ebeling says: "in die Steppe fahren"; see also p. 65 ("Der Abschnitt beschäftigt sich, so viel darf man wohl sagen, mit der Jagd auf Menschen und Tiere"). Langdon, in describing the contents of this paragraph, says (p. 69): "Vain is the excitement of a nomad's life."

I should like to offer an explanation of this paragraph which differs somewhat from that suggested by Ebeling and Langdon. I shall give the text (with the numbers of the lines as given by Langdon) and the translation, and then a few explanatory notes.

#### § C

17. *ardu mi-tan-gur-an-ni an-nu-u be-li an-nu-u*

18. *ši-šir di-kan-ni-ma i<sup>nu</sup>narkabta ši-in-dam-ma ana  
gēri lu-un-šur*

19. *mu-šur be-li mu-šur ša ameli mut-tap-raš-ši-di ma-li  
kar-as-su*



20. *kalbu da-iā-lu ešimta i-ḫi-ip-pi*  
 21. [*ḫa-ḫu-r*]u mut-tap-raš-ši-di i-ḫa-an-nun ḫin-na-[šu]  
 22. . . . ak-kan-nu mur-tap-pi-du i-me-? . . .  
 23. e ardu a-na-ku a-na ḡēri-ma ul a-[maš-šar]  
 24. la ta-maš-šar be-lí la [ta-maš]-šar  
 25. ša ameli mut-tap-raš-ši-di te-en-šu [iš]-ta-ni-šu  
 26. ša kalbi da-iā-lu i-šab-bi-ru [šin]-ni-šu  
 27. ša ḫa-ḫu-ru mut-tap-raš-ši-di i-na [hur-ri] dūri bit-su  
 28. ú ša ak-kan-nu mur-tap-pi-du na-mu-ú šu (?)ba-su

17. "O, slave, hearken unto me." "Yes, my lord, yes."

18. "Hasten, summon me the chariot and prepare it.  
 To the plain I will drive."

19. "Drive, my lord, drive. Of the hunting man (1), full is  
 his stomach. (2)

20. The chasing dog will break the bones.

21. The fleeing *hahur*-bird will nest (in) its nest. (3)

22. . . . The fleet wild ass will . . ."

23. "No, O slave, unto the plain will I not drive."

24. "Drive not, my lord, drive not. (4)

25. Of the hunting man, madness will seize him.

26. Of the chasing dog, they will break his teeth.

27. Of the fleeing *hahur*-bird, in the hollow of the wall is  
 its house.

28. And of the fleet wild ass, the wilderness is his dwelling  
 place."

#### NOTES

(1) *muttapraššidi*, lit. "fleeing". He who hunts flees, gallops, runs, in order to shoot, to catch the beast or bird.

(2) *karassu*, "his stomach, his belly" (as in § E., l. 41; see Langdon, p. 74).

(3) *ikannun ḫinnašu*, "will nest its nest", i.e. will be in its nest.

(4) *tēnšu ištanišu*, lit. "his reason (mind) will be changed" = he will lose his reason = madness will seize him; see Delitzsch, H.W.B., s.v. *tēmu*.

## MEANING OF THE PARAGRAPH

In this paragraph, I suggest, *the folly of hunting* is described. In accordance with the plan of the dialogue, first the advantages of hunting are given and then its disadvantages, and, as in the other paragraphs, the disadvantages outweigh the advantages.

In l. 19 it is said (by the slave) that the hunter is in a happy position because he fills his stomach with the game which he shoots.

In l. 20 it is vividly described how the chasing dog breaks the bones (of the killed beasts or birds).

In l. 21 it is said that the *hahur*-bird will be in its nest and will therefore be easily caught. The bird will almost wait to be caught. The task of the hunter will be so easy and pleasant.

It MAY be that *muttapraššidi* refers to the hunter. It MAY be that the *hahur*-bird is referred to as "the hunter's *hahur*". The *DI* at the end of the word would then be explained. On the other hand, it is possible that the *hahur*-bird is designated as "the fleeing bird". Both hunter and hunted flee or run; cf. *akkannu murtappidu* in l. 22 (and in l. 28).

In l. 22 it was also said, no doubt, that the fleet wild ass would be easily found. Lines 19-23, therefore, describe the benefit and the attractions of hunting.

Lines 25-8, on the other hand, describe the dangers and disappointments of hunting.

In l. 25 it is said that the hunter may lose his reason, and be seized with madness as a result of the exertions and perils of hunting.

In l. 26 it is said that, instead of the dog breaking the bones of other animals, the teeth of the dog will be broken (by the other animals).

In l. 27 it is said that the *hahur*-bird will be in the hollow of the wall, and it will not be possible to catch it.

In l. 28 it is said that the wild ass will be in the wilderness, and will escape being caught by the hunter.



Thus the hunt will be in vain, and the hunter will incur great personal danger.

I submit that this interpretation gives the paragraph excellent sense.

The vividness and brevity of the description of the hunt and of its advantages and its disadvantages are remarkable. A modern hunt, with its attractions and its perils, could bear a similar description.

SAMUEL DAICHES.

#### THE DEATHS OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND PHILIP ARRHIDÆUS

Alexander the Great died in 323 B.C. The date of the month and day, 30th Daisios, in the Macedonian calendar, is well attested, but the reckoning which equates it to 13th June (Julian) is derived from the Romance, through the equation with the Egyptian 4th Pharmuthi; that reckoning is generally accepted, and is supported most strongly by the equation of Daisios with Thargelion by Plutarch.<sup>1</sup> Philip Arrhidæus was murdered in 317 B.C. after a reign of 6 years 4 months<sup>2</sup>; that event is therefore placed in October.

According to the Babylonian chronicle, Alexander's last year was 324-3; the last year of Philip Arrhidæus was 317-16, his eighth, the latest attested date in that year being Du'uzu.<sup>3</sup> Whether the Babylonians were aware of Philip's death shortly after it occurred, or continued to date by him for some months after it, is not a question relevant to the point here con-

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of all the Greek evidence see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, iv<sup>2</sup>, ii, pp. 26 ff. Beloch accepts the Romance; the writer of it may have been well informed owing to the monument mentioned by John Chrysostom, x, 625, as Mr. Tarn has kindly pointed out to me. I am indebted to Mr. Tarn for other Greek references, and for the reference to Beloch.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus, xix, ii. Mr. Tarn thinks the passage may be an extract from Hieronymus of Cardia. For discrepant accounts, of no value, see Beloch, *ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Babylonian Historical Texts*, chap. v.

sidered. If the length of Philip's reign be correctly stated by Diodorus, then Philip cannot possibly have been alive at the end of the fourth month of the eighth Babylonian year, since some part of a month at least is required for the first year, 324-3.

That Alexander's death fell before the Nisan of 323 may also be deduced from the confusion of reckoning in Babylonia. While the chronicler and another literary scribe reckoned Philip Arrhidæus' first year as 324-3, others placed the first year in 323-2. The reason for this is now fairly clear<sup>1</sup>; while some continued to reckon in the old Babylonian way by the first full year, i.e. 323-2, others adopted the Macedonian method of reckoning what had previously been called the accession year as the first year. There is no reason to assume that there was any difference of opinion as to the actual point of time when Philip began to reign; the facts must have been perfectly known in Babylon. The reckoning of 323-2 as the first year on the Babylonian system means that Alexander died before 1st Nisan 323-2.

Kugler<sup>2</sup> has supplied a list of the Julian dates of the Babylonian 1st Nisan of this period, based upon astronomical data and using all the available calendrical information. The dates which here concern us are:—

1st Nisan, 323-2 (Bab.) = April 14th, 323 (Jul.).

1st Nisan 317-16 (Bab.) = April 7th (or 8th), 317 (Jul.).

If this reckoning be accurate, Alexander died (for the Babylonians) before 14th April. Assume that he died before the first week in April, about the middle of the Babylonian intercalary Adar, of 324-3 B.C., and that Philip's accession took place about 1st April, then Philip's death in 317 B.C. must have fallen at the end of July, or in the first week of August; this would be equivalent to the Babylonian Du'uzu and sufficient explanation of the mention of that month in the chronicle.

<sup>1</sup> On this subject see *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxii, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst*, ii Buch, ii Teil, 2 Heft., pp. 435 ff.



The Babylonian evidence then is that Alexander died not later than the first week of April; he cannot have died much before that, because Philip's death must be dated as late as possible in 317 B.C. There is a discrepancy between this and the 13th June date of over two months.<sup>1</sup> If there can be no doubt that the Greek evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the June date (a point on which I am unable to judge), then there is a direct conflict of Babylonian and Greek historical evidence.

There are certain points in the Greek evidence which may be said definitely to favour the Babylonian dating. In 317 B.C., after hearing of the deaths of Philip and Eurydice, Cassander marched from Tegea in the Peloponnesus to Thermopylæ, where he was opposed by the Ætolians, crossed by ship to Thessaly and marched to Macedonia, raised a revolution against Æacides and shut Aristonous up in Amphipolis before finally blockading Olympias in Pydna. If Philip died in the middle of October, this programme was executed between October and December—an obviously unlikely assumption. If Philip died at the end of July or early in August, there is no need to assume a practical impossibility, for we know that Cassander had to avoid a winter campaign against Pydna,<sup>2</sup> yet his driving of Aristonous behind the walls of Amphipolis implies a short campaign. Again, consider the facts about Alexander's accession. He reigned 12 years 8 months. If he died on 13th June, 323, his accession must be dated to October, 336. Between his accession and the spring of 335 there befell<sup>3</sup> the suppression of the internal troubles in Macedonia, the campaign against the Thessalians,

<sup>1</sup> Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*<sup>2</sup>, ii Band, who dates Alexander's death "Frühsommer des Jahres 323", and Philip Arrhidæus' "Herbst 317" says of the Babylonian Chronicle, "Es ergibt sich hier also kein Widerspruch mit dem griechischen Datum." That cannot be correct, unless Babylonian Nisan 1st fell later than 13th June in 323: that conflicts with Kugler.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus, xix, 49, i.

<sup>3</sup> I rely throughout on Mr. Tarn's account in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. vi.

the congress at Corinth, the visit to Delphi, and the preparation for the campaign against the Triballi. October-March is not sufficient time for these events if the general avoidance of campaigning in the winter months be considered. But if Alexander died at the end of March or beginning of April, 323, then his accession took place at the end of July or beginning of August; the campaign against the Thessalians may have fallen in September, the return from Delphi before December.

One more consideration may be here adduced. Alexander, when first attacked by the fever, was pressing on the preparations for Nearchus' expedition along the Arabian coast. Arrian states that Alexander intended to start on the expedition on Daisios 22nd. The preparations continued during the early days of the fever. The intention seems to be obvious, to take advantage of the Euphrates flood, which occurs at the end of March or in April. Alexander must then have fallen sick some weeks before the Euphrates' flood of 323, about March then at latest. Is the account of his death consonant with a sickness of 3 months, March-June? And why did Alexander and Nearchus, men of experience, delay the proposed commencement of that expedition to 5th June (reckoning the 30th Daisios = 13th June)? It sounds impossible.

To sum up. If the Greek evidence demands the dating of Alexander's death to 13th June there is a direct conflict with the facts derived from Babylonian sources. It may be that the equation of Daisios with May-June is certain, beyond any doubt. Even if that be so, the Babylonian evidence is of exceptional authority; of the two systems of dating one at least must have arisen (if not both) in the year of Alexander's death. It is idle, continuously and erroneously, to repeat that there is no contradiction between the Babylonian sources, (if Kugler's reckoning is correct) and the reckoning 30th Daisios = 13th June.

SIDNEY SMITH.

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## DATING BY ASHURBANIPAL AND KANDALANU

The question of the identity of Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu, constantly discussed,<sup>1</sup> must be reconsidered in the light of the most recent evidence. There is now cumulative proof that the years of Kandalanu and of Ashurbanipal in Babylonia were differently reckoned. Kandalanu, the *Κινηλάδωνος* of the Canon of Ptolemy, ruled 22 years. The first (full) year of Shamash-shum-ukin, his predecessor, the *Σαασδουχίνος* <sup>2</sup> of Ptolemy, was 667-666 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> the last 648-7, when Babylon was captured. Kandalanu's accession fell in 648-7, the twenty-second year was 626-5. A date in the twenty-second year was communicated by Professor Pinches to Oppert and to Canon Johns<sup>4</sup>; the number of the tablet (if it is in the British Museum collection) has not been stated, and is not known to me. It reads "Arahsamna, day 2nd, year 22nd, after Kandalanu". We may conclude that Kandalanu was dead or deposed before Arahsamna 22nd, but was alive in Nisan of that year. Nabopolassar's first (full) year was 625-4, not 626-5, as is stated in *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 324.

The important relevant evidence for dating by Ashurbanipal is the occurrence of a year 23 at Erech (on a tablet found at Hursagkalamma), a year 26 at Nippur, and a year 30 at Babylon. These dates all belong to one and the same system. It has been recently suggested<sup>5</sup> that the dating in

<sup>1</sup> Streck, *Assurbanipal*, I, p. clviii, gives a summary of previous literature; Schnabel in *OLZ.*, 1925, col. 348, *ZA. (NF.)*, ii, pp. 82 and 316; Lewy in *ZA. (NF.)*, ii, 36, iii, 134; Essad Nassouhi in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, ii, 97 ff.; Langdon in *JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 321 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On this rendering of the Babylonian name see now Furlani, *Sulla Pronuncia del Nome Šamaš-sum-ukin*, ser. VI, vol. iii, fasc. 3-4, pp. 227 ff. of *Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*.

<sup>3</sup> S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *ZDMG.*, 62, p. 630, and *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 324.

<sup>5</sup> *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 321. In this question of Ashurbanipal dating it is interesting to note that the mention of the 8th and 9th year, Essad Nassouhi, *Textes divers*, No. xiv, must refer to 661-0 and 660-59, during Shamash-shum-ukin's reign. This emphasizes the suzerainty exercised by Ashurbanipal in Shamash-shum-ukin's time, see *CAH.*, iii, p. 120; the appointment of Kandalanu was a continuation of the policy initiated by Esarhaddon.

the twenty-third year at Erech is from an era of Ashurbanipal as king of Assyria and Babylonia, commencing from the capture of Babylon, and that this twenty-third year was 626-5. If this supposed era were dated in the usual way, Ashurbanipal's twenty-third year would be 625-4 B.C., for his first full year as king of Babylon would fall in 647-6, as did Kandalanu's. But if Ashurbanipal's twenty-third year was 626-5, then his first year must have been 648-7, a year earlier than Kandalanu's. This is a *reductio ad absurdum*, and the equation with Kandalanu's dating immediately becomes impossible. But the 30th year at Babylon, and also the 26th at Nippur, prove that the dating by Ashurbanipal in Babylonia is based on his years as king of Assyria. The first (full) year of Ashurbanipal was 668-7; the 23rd year is 646-5, the 26th is 643-2, the 30th is 639-8. These three dates all fall within the reign of Kandalanu.

Those who favour the identification of Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu can explain the difference in name; it is more difficult to explain the difference in the systems of dating. The fact would be accounted for if Kandalanu was a vassal king installed in Babylon to fulfil the priestly duties, while Ashurbanipal retained the executive rule. The Canon of Ptolemy gave the Babylonian priestly tradition and neglected the fact of Assyrian suzerainty for the years 705-3; it may equally have done so for the period of Kandalanu's reign. An argument in favour of the equation of Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu has been derived from a comparison of Eusebius and the Canon. Eusebius gives Sammuges (Shamash-shum-ukin) 21 years and Sardanapallus, brother of Sammuges, 21 years. The figure for Sammuges is definitely erroneous, the form of the name Sammuges must be due to some considerable corruption in transcribing, and the name Sardanapallus was the centre of a Greek legend. Berosus, the authority behind Eusebius (through Polyhistor), may have had a statement that Ashurbanipal, Shamash-shum-ukin's brother, was recognized for — years after the capture of Babylon. If 21



was the correct figure given by Berosus,<sup>1</sup> then Ashurbanipal's recognition in Babylonia extended from 647-6 to 627-6, if the ordinary Babylonian calculation is maintained; but the text of Eusebius as we now have it lacks authority. In any case, the Eusebius text cannot be considered a sound ground for the identification of Kandalanu with Ashurbanipal, for it can be adequately explained on the basis of Assyrian suzerainty.

The Nabopolassar Chronicle is clear evidence that Nabopolassar was master of Babylonia before the beginning of his tenth year, as Schnabel has rightly maintained. It is not conceivable that a king not in control of the south country could have undertaken the campaigns against the northern power. The dating of a tablet at Erech in the 7th year of Sin-shar-ishkun is then good evidence that Sin-shar-ishkun's 7th year cannot be later than 617-16. The endeavour to explain this 7th year at Warka as due to a rebellion in Babylonia in the year 613-12 must be dismissed. Lewy has misinterpreted the Nabonidus stele, col. ii. The relevant passage reads *u alani ša paṭ (maṭ) Akkadi nakrūma la illiku riṣutzu ušalpitma mīesiṣun manama la izib ušahrib mahaziṣun*, "and he (Nabopolassar) destroyed the temples<sup>2</sup> of the towns on the border of Akkad which were at enmity with the King of Akkad, and did not march to his support; and he left none. He laid their holy cities waste." The expression *paṭ Akkadi* cannot mean "in the territory of Akkad"; this expression *paṭ* which led to certain errors in the location of Muṣur and Meluḫḫa was correctly explained by Sir Wallis

<sup>1</sup> This would explain the 21 of Sammuges by an easy scribal error. But if Ashurbanipal died at latest in his forty-first year, as is argued below, the figures are worthless.

<sup>2</sup> Landsberger and Bauer in *ZA. (NF.)*, iii, p. 89, translating *la mēsu* "unheilige Handlungen", rely apparently on *paṣu = mēsu*; but that equivalence may be an argument for *paṣu* = "temple". That *mēsu* in the present passage means "temple", "shrine", or something concrete is certain.

Budge in 1902.<sup>1</sup> The passage says nothing about towns within Babylonian borders; it may well refer to the subjection of Suhu. The statement of the *Chronicle* is incompatible with the assumption of a rebellion in Babylonia in 613-12. "In the 13th year, in Iyyar, the men of Suhu revolted from the King of Akkad, and made war. The King of Akkad levied his troops and went to Suhu. In Siwan on the 4th he did battle against Rahilu, the city in the middle of the Euphrates, and took the city at that time. . . . He camped against 'Anah . . . The King of Assyria and his army marched down and the King of Akkad and his army retreated". Had a rebellion broken out at Erech the Assyrians would certainly have pursued Nabopolassar into Babylonia. The assumption that Sin-shar-ishkun would have left the people of Erech unassisted when he had so promptly supported the men of Suhu is not worth discussion.

Sin-shar-ishkun's 7th year cannot be later than 617-16. As there is a dating by the 5th year of Nabopolassar at Erech, it may be not later than 622-1, as Schnabel has also stated. Ashur-ētil-ilani, who preceded Sin-shar-ishkun, ruled at least four years; his first (full) year cannot therefore be later than 627-6, it may be not later than 632-1. That means that Ashurbanipal must have died at latest in 628-7 (his 41st year); he may have died before 633-2 (his 36th year). But Kandalanu was alive in Nisan 626-5. The argument against an identification of the two as one personality is clear. If to these arguments there be added the evidence of the synchronous king-list from Ashur, where Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu appear as distinct, without any hint that the two names represent one person, the question so long discussed should be considered finally settled. The cumulative arguments against the identification of Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu are: (1) the difference in name (not in itself

<sup>1</sup> Budge, *History of Egypt*, vol. vi, p. xiv. If any doubt were possible, compare now (mat) Arzū ša paši naḫal (mat) Mušur and (mat) Arzū ša itē naḫal (mat) Mušri, Hommel, *Grundriss*, pp. 1032, 1038, Weissbach in *Zd.* (N.F.), iv, p. 110, and Essad Nassouhi, *Textes divers*, No. xii, l. 7.



of importance) is accompanied by a difference in regnal years ; (2) the suzerainty of and dating by Ashurbanipal during Kandalanu's reign is sufficiently explained by the similar position in the time of Shamash-shum-ukin, without assuming entirely different circumstances before and after 648 B.C. ; (3) the historical improbability that any southern Babylonian town dated by an Assyrian king after the year 616-15, in the light of the Nabopolassar chronicle.

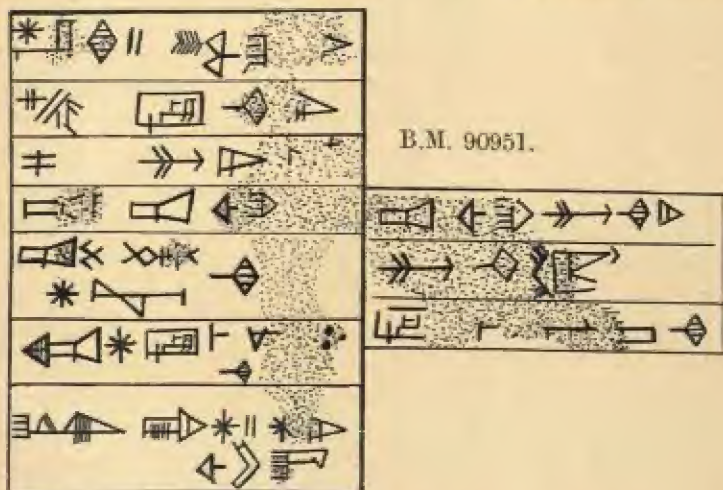
SIDNEY SMITH.

#### ANOTHER A-ANNI-PADDA INSCRIPTION

The few lines of writing, a copy of which is given herewith, are engraved upon a plain round copper peg (34·3 cms. long and 3·6 cms. across the top) which tapers to a sharp point. That the material is copper rather than bronze is assumed because of the date which the inscription suggests (it will suffice to refer to *al-'Ubaïd*, pp. 36 ff.) ; for the rest there are two other features of interest in the object itself, namely, its weight (1692 gr.), and the clear indication that it was for long driven into the ground or a damp wall, to the depth of 11·5 cms. for up to this distance from the point the surface is roughened and swollen by corrosion. The inscription is in two columns, of seven and three "cases" respectively ; the first column begins directly under the top of the peg, the second ends some 3 cms. above the corroded space. As will be seen the inscription itself has suffered much from damage to the surface, but the appearance of these flaws is quite different from that of the corroded point.

This curious object has long been exhibited in the Babylonian collections of the British Museum, in which it has the number 90951, and it is by the kind permission of the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities that I now publish it. Some years ago I had attempted to copy the inscription but, being unable to make anything of it, had laid the copy by. Recently coming across this paper I was greatly surprised to see the name A-anni-padda, which,

since the copy was made, has acquired so much significance from the excavations at al-'Ubaid, for it now appears that A-anni-padda was the name of the second king in the First Dynasty of Ur. What reason there is to connect this object with the king of Ur may be considered in a moment. But it is necessary first to explain that the copper peg has, unhappily, no modern history; it belongs to the old collections of the Museum, and there is no record of when or how it was acquired, much less of its place of origin, though it is at least certain that it was not among Mr. Taylor's finds at Ur. In view of this, and also of the obscurity of its inscription, a doubt



as to its authenticity might arise, but could not, I think, be seriously entertained. For it was presumably acquired at a time when no forger could have produced archaic cuneiform signs such as are engraved upon this peg; further, the corrosion of the point, due to its standing long in the ground or a damp wall, would certainly not have been caused deliberately, and the damage to the surface which has obscured the inscription has every appearance of being due to natural decay. It is scarcely necessary to add that the signs are correctly shaped, and that the name of A-anni-padda was



unknown until five years ago, to convince the most sceptical that the idea of forgery must be dismissed.

The text may be transcribed as follows:—

Col. I. (1) *a-en-ki a še (?) pi (?) šu ni* (2) *nam-men-na-ni*  
 (3) *pa mu-ni-?* (4) *ab* (or, *unu*) *ab ši (?) ga* (or, *bur*)  
 (5) *ab kur muš a.inanna na* (6) *abzu a-men-me-nu- . . . na*  
 (7) *lugal-bi a.a-an-ni-pad-da.*

Col. II. (1) *ab ši (?) ga* (or, *bur*) *mu-na-ni* (2) *mu-na-nad*  
 (3) *men-?-?- ur (?) -na.*

As to the meaning of this I am little wiser now than when the copy was first made. A preliminary difficulty is to decide where the inscription begins; Col. I is written continuously round the head of the peg, without any space, break, or special division to mark off the first line of the column from the last. The choice has been made because a god's name is the regular beginning of dedications, but, so far as appearance goes, it is quite arbitrary. A number of comments might be made upon special points in the inscription, but since they would lead to no conclusive result, I shall observe only that the signs read *ši* and *ga* or *bur* in Col. I (4) and Col. II (1) are very doubtful, that *na* at the end of Col. I (5) looks like a phonetic complement, which would be strange, and that in Col. II (2) one might expect, instead of *NAD*, the compound *HU+NAD*, i.e. *sa*, "to call," which might be taken with the *mu-na-ni* of the preceding line, "he called its name (?)."

That the A-anni-padda whose name occurs here is the king of Ur is at least a reasonable supposition, although he does not actually claim the title. Yet the author of this inscription was a royal person; he calls himself "his king" (*lugal-bi*), i.e. the king chosen or favoured by the god, and no other king A-anni-padda is known. Reference to the few extant inscriptions of this king of Ur (in *al-'Ubaid*, pls. xxxv, xxxvi, and xl) will show that the style of writing is similar enough to favour the identification.

C. J. GADD.

## HARṢA AND CHRISTIANITY

Dr. Mookerjee has stated in a footnote on page 145 of his recently published monograph on Harṣa that the Emperor Śīlāditya had "some touch with Christianity too". He makes this assertion on the strength of a remark of Dr. Edkins, quoted in the *Athenaeum*, 3rd July, 1880, p. 8. I have traced the passage to its source, and I therefore venture to say that it has been entirely misunderstood by the learned Professor. It informs us that the same Emperor who welcomed the pilgrim Hiuen Tsang on his return from India laden with Sanskrit manuscripts "received with equal favour the Syrian Christians Alopen and his companions, who had arrived in A.D. 639". It is thus evident that we have here a distinct reference to the Emperor of China, and not to Harṣa. I may add that the same mistake occurs in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xii, p. 232, note 19, but I hope the error will not be repeated after this short note.

RAMA SHANKAR TRIPATHE.

## ERAKAPATRA NĀGARĀJA

A well-known Bharhut relief (Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. xiv, right), representing a Nāga king worshipping at an altar beneath a *śirīṣa* tree, bears the inscription *Erāpato Nāgarāja Bhagavato vandate* "The Nāga king Erāpata worships the Blessed One (Buddha)". This Erāpata, *alias* Erakapatta, Ailapatra, Erāpatha, Elāpatra, etc., according to Vogel, *Indian Serpent-lore*, "can be nothing but another Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Airāvata." Messrs. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 71, show that this is certainly not the case. But the same authors, referring to the *Dhammapada Commentary* (which they do not seem to have consulted), remark that *eraka-patta* is there said to mean the leaf of an *eraka* tree, and "is not this fantastic?" As a matter of fact, this is precisely what *erakapatta* does mean, and the Commentator is perfectly justified. The *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, xiv, 3, now easily accessible in Burlingame's *Buddhist Legends*, H.O.S., 30, pp. 56 ff., gives the story of Erakapatta in full,



and completely explains the relief. Getty (*Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 153) gives another reference, *Journ. and Text of the Buddhist Text Soc. of India*, vol. ii, pt. 1, 1894, p. 3, which I have not consulted. In the time of the Buddha Kassapa, Erakapatta was a young monk. Travelling in a boat on the Ganges, and passing a grove of *eraka* trees, he caught hold of a leaf, and as the boat was moving quickly, the leaf was broken off. It seemed a trifle, but on his death-bed the sin greatly distressed him, and because of it he was reborn a Nāgarāja, by name Erakapatta. He had a daughter; every day, coming to the surface of the Ganges, he placed her on his hoods, and caused her to dance and sing (illustrated in the upper part of the relief). She propounds certain questions in her song; when these are properly answered, Erakapatta will know that another Buddha has arisen in the world. They are at last answered by Uttara, a young Brahman who has been instructed *ad hoc* by the Buddha, and becomes a Buddhist monk (he is seen in the water, on the upper right-hand side of the relief). Erakapatta then asks, "Where is the Buddha?", and learning that he is seated under a *siriśa* tree, proceeds thither, and kneels in worship, at the same time recovering a human form; this appears on the left-hand side of the relief, and illustrates the words of the inscription. An intermediate scene on the lower right shows Erakapatta with his wife and daughter. Of the seven *siriśa* trees mentioned in the text, only five are represented.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

#### THE NAM LANGUAGE

In a note published above (1926, pp. 505-6) I gave from Central Asian MSS. of the Stein collection some short extracts representing two new and unknown languages. One of the two seemed to be a dialect akin to Lepcha, and the text may have been written (in Tibetan character) by a man from Nepal. The other had a more questionable appearance.

[*Note.*—There are in the published extract certain misprints, which, while hardly enhancing the bizarre aspect of the language, would perhaps not facilitate its interpretation.]

In regard to the second language I ventured a suggestion that the word *rtah*, or *hrtah*, with which several sentences commence, might correspond to the Tibetan *rtā* "horse", in which case the text might relate to horse-doctoring, as do several Tibetan fragments from the same region. The hazardous character of the suggestion could not be disguised : for the writing *hrtah* might indicate no more than a syllable *ta*, which clearly might be a mere conjunction or particle. There were, however, some further indications. One or more sentences end in the word *phan*, which in Tibetan means "useful" and appears similarly in the medical MSS. Moreover, the syllable *re* is of frequent occurrence in a manner suggesting the *re* or *red* which in several Tibeto-Burman dialects has the meaning "be" and in Tibetan itself occurs in the phrase *na-re*, "so it was (said)" = Sanskrit *iti hāsa*, and otherwise: it is no doubt also the syllable occurring in such names as *Hphan-to-re* (*supra*, 1927, p. 66). More generally, it is clear that the verb ends its sentence, and it there shows the suffixes *-o*, *-to*, *-s*, and *an* (*ham*) which the Tibetan for various purposes uses in that position. The entire rhythm of the language is clearly of the Tibeto-Burman kind.

A re-examination of the Tibetan fragments and of the Sanskrit works on horses has not led to anything more definite; nor is it any longer to be expected that light may come from a treatise on the subject ascribed to the famous king Sroñ-btsan-sgam-po and said to be current in Tibet. But my notes recorded an additional MS. mentioning horses, and this MS., along with two others which it brought to mind, is likely to furnish a solution of the linguistic problem and help in the interpretation of the text.

The three MSS. are not of a medical nature: they contain some not uninteresting folk-lore relating to animals and other beings, not all natural. The purpose of the present note, however, is merely to show that they are translations from another language to which they give a name. The following passages will suffice:—



(1) (MS. A) Skyi . rgyal . Bod . kyī . skad . du . na . |  
Yab . sten . rgan . gyī . ñer (ñur) . ba | rgyal . Nam . pañi .  
skad . du . na | Yab . ñal . ldeñi . thol . prom .

"In the language of the Skyi (error for Spu<sup>1</sup>) kingdom, Tibet: *Yab-sten-rgan-gyi-ñer(ñur)-ba* (probably meaning—according to the indications of the narrative—'one who arranged for his old father's monument.' In the language of the Nam kingdom, *Yab-ñal-ldeñi-thol-prom*."

(2) (MS. B) pha . yab . ki . mtshan . na . rgyal . Nam . hi .  
skad . du . na . Yab . ltoñ . teñi . mye . kru . Spu . rgyal .  
Bod . gyī . skad . du . na . Gloñ . myig . loñ . han . Bya . gloñ .  
gi . lgo . dañ . rje .

"As to his father's name, in the language of the Nam kingdom it was *Yab-ltoñ-teñi-mye-kru*; in the language of the Spu kingdom, Tibet, it was *Gloñ-myig-loñ* or *Bya-gloñ-gi-lgo-dañ-rje* ('Gloñ Eye-blind' or 'Bird Gloñ' . . . )."

(3) (MS. B) rgyal . Nam . pañi . skadu . na . Cho . pyi .  
cog . zu . Spu . rgyal . Bod . gi . skad . du . na . Spañ . hgi .  
boñ . bu . stag . cuñ .

"In the language of the Nam-pa kingdom *Cho-pyi-cog-zu*; in the language of the Spu kingdom, Tibet, *Spañ-hgi-boñ-bu-stag-cuñ* ('Ass of the plains, Little Tiger')."

It appears, therefore, that in the case of certain names—I have not cited all—the MSS. give correspondences in another language, which they call the language of Nam or of the Nam people (*Nam-pa*). Considering the early date of the MSS., we cannot ascribe to these citations the semi-fictitious character which in later times attaches to some Tibetan mentionings of languages with which the writers had ceased to be familiar. It is, therefore, clear that the references have a natural appositeness, which can be due to nothing but an actual translation of the texts from Nam originals. That this is really the case is evident from the fact that the original Nam names are sometimes retained untranslated: thus the *Yab-ñal-ldeñi-thol-prom* of extract (1) above recurs without explanation later in the same MS.; and similarly *Yab-ltoñ-*

<sup>1</sup> The Skyi country being mentioned in the immediate context.

*tehi-mye-kru* in MS. B. Clearly, therefore, the prior name was that of the Nam language. Moreover, in such phrases as—

Nam . ti . go . cog . ni . skon . dril . bu . g-yag . sñiñ . ni .  
boñ . bu . stag . cuñ . hgi . mgul . du . btags.

“We Nam-tig people (*Nam-ti-go-cog*) attached a yak-heart bell to the neck of the ass ‘Little Tiger’.”  
the original authorship stands confessed.

Concerning the existence of a Nam kingdom and its probable identity with the Nam or Nan-hu (Tun-huang region) of Sir A. Stein’s *Serindia* (ii, 617 sqq.), I may refer to the article on “The Language of Ancient Khotan”, published in *Asia Major*, vol. ii, p. 261. Of its language the few vocables which we have now elicited, together with any proper names to be found elsewhere, might constitute all our information were it not for two facts, to which I will now refer.

The first of these two facts is that to the Nam language belong the extract mentioned earlier in this note and the rather extensive MS. from which it is taken. When that text is adequately interpreted we shall have a quite considerable vocabulary and a more or less adequate grammar of a new Tibeto-Burman language of a date practically as early as the Tibetan itself. The lexicographical differences from the Tibetan are, as is usual in the case of monosyllabic languages, of a wholesale character, and the possibility of a complete interpretation, near or remote, depends upon certain contingencies. But the general character of the text and the language is clear.

The second fact is that a further specimen of the same language exists in a document obtained by the German expeditions to Turfan and edited by Professor A. H. Francke in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy for 1927 (*Phil. Hist. Klasse*, pp. 124 sqq.). If Professor Francke, who recognized the Tibeto-Burman character of the specimen, was not aware of its similarity to the language of the extract previously published by me, the readers of the extract will, I think, not reproach him! The pedantic (and also somewhat



capricious) orthography, as well as some other peculiarities of the extract, make its connexions less apparent than they might otherwise have been. But, in fact, the grammatical structure and much of the vocabulary of Professor Francke's text are plainly identical with the corresponding features of the Nam text.

The Nam language can hardly have been confined to the little district of Nan-hu. Possibly its name is related to that of the Nam-shan mountains, the mountains of the South. But its connexions and its other features may be reserved for a more adequate discussion than would be possible in this note.

F. W. THOMAS.

#### ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

The fifth session of the All India Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore from the 19th to the 23rd of November, 1928.

The objects of the Conference are : To consider the various activities of Oriental scholars in and outside India. To facilitate co-operation in Oriental studies and research. To afford opportunities to scholars to give expression to their views, and to promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental scholars.

The conference is held every second year and practically sums up the work done by Oriental scholars in various branches of Oriental art and literature.

The Conference will be divided into a number of sections : (1) Vedic, (2) Classical, (3) Philosophy, (4) Philology, (5) Fine Arts, (6) Arabic, Persian, and Zend, (7) History and Archæology, (8) Urdu, (9) Hindi, (10) Panjabi, (11) Anthropology.

All Orientalists are invited to become members of the Conference. The subscription is five rupees, payable to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., University Hall, Lahore. The Hon. Local Secretary is Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., Ph.D., at the same address.

## Excavations at Ur, 1927-8

*Abstract of a Lecture by MR. C. LEONARD WOOLLEY, delivered  
15th May, 1928*

Mr. C. Leonard Woolley proceeded to describe, with the help of numerous lantern slides, the results of the sixth season's work of the joint expedition sent out to Ur by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. At the end of last season's excavations a cemetery had been discovered lying in the confines of the sacred area much older than any buildings within that area yet identified; and the first thing done was to complete the digging out of a grave whose excavation had remained unfinished at the end of the previous season and which on the very last day of work had produced the gold dagger which had been the best "find" of that year. The grave in question was a large one and the things in it were scattered about without any recognizable order. No actual body was discovered, but a harvest of fine objects in the way of gold beads and shell carvings was yielded, including a series of small shell plaques which had formed part of a royal gaming board: these plaques were engraved with figures of animals and the whole was set in a border of red stone and lapis lazuli. The admirable quality of the workmanship reflected the high level of civilization at the date of the grave (3500 or 3400 B.C.).

After this the workmen were set on to virgin soil, commencing to dig from the top downwards. Graves were found at the very outset, some near the surface, some deeper down, and some at a depth of 40 feet. Near the surface were graves of a late period, about 2700 or 2600 B.C.; slightly lower were graves of the first dynasty of Ur, about 3100 or 3000, and below these again others, the earliest going back about 400 years behind the first dynasty of Ur, as proved by their contents, relative depth, and other conditions. The upper graves showed a custom prevalent both in the Sargonic period (2700 or 2600 B.C.) and in the earlier first dynasty.



In them there is commonly found lying in the soil near the body a boat roughly modelled in a mixture of bitumen and earth, modelled by the fingers in situ, and round the boat clay vases which originally contained food for the dead. This custom, which does not appear at any later date, but which has its origin in very early antiquity, is of interest as implying that the passage to the next world was, according to early Sumerian belief, by water, bringing us at once into touch with early Egyptian beliefs and forming one more link between Egypt and Mesopotamia in the beginnings of their history.

Mr. Woolley then dealt at length with a few graves of a different character and of a much earlier date, viz., the royal graves discovered this year at Ur. He showed a section of one part of the cemetery indicating graves at different depths, graves of the Sargonic period, graves of the first dynasty, and some of a definitely earlier date, as proved by their character and contents compared with first dynasty types. In the normal graves rectangular shafts go down into the soil to varying depths, and at the bottom of the shaft is placed the dead body, either wrapped in a piece of matting or enclosed in a coffin, which may be of basket work or wood, the simple earth shaft being only slightly bigger than the coffin itself, perhaps 5 ft.  $\times$  4 ft., and altogether a very humble arrangement for interment. One rather larger than the rest was that of the Prince Mes-Kalam-Dug, which had been dug down at a later period into the original shaft of a great royal chamber. In the case of the royal graves the shaft is vastly greater and at the bottom of it lay one or more chambers solidly built in stone with stone vaulted roofs entered by an arched doorway—a great distinction from the ordinary shaft burial. Another startling difference is that they were distinguished by an entirely different custom, the main interment in each case having been accompanied by human sacrifice on a very large scale, clearly showing them to be royal graves as compared with the commoners' graves elsewhere in the cemetery. Grave No. 789, that of a king, contained the bodies of sixty

men victims. Immediately above it was tomb 800, probably that of his queen. As a whole series of graves of the first dynasty was found to have been dug down into the shaft of the latter, it is certain that this royal grave is earlier than the first of the intrusive burials; it is unthinkable that a king having been buried with such pomp and splendour, his tomb should be lightly regarded within any short period. A long time must have elapsed before any ordinary person would venture to dig down into the shaft and violate it by the burial of a commoner. On that ground alone we are led to date the royal graves far back in the fourth millenium B.C.

In the small shaft burial grave of Mes-Kalam-Dug about 120 objects of note in stone, metal, and terracotta were found in the narrow space between the coffin and the wall of the shaft; vases and bowls in copper and silver, one in gold, daggers, many spears with copper blades and one with a gilt shaft; arrows mostly with heads of copper, but one quiverful with flint heads, and vases of alabaster and of clay. Inside the coffin itself was found the finest discovery yet made at Ur. The coffin had left only a black stain on the soil; the body was almost entirely decayed, but with it were a golden dagger and a golden lamp and bowls inscribed with the name of the prince, which might be translated as "the good lord of the land". Against the body was a tumbled mass of bracelets, earrings and beads, armlets in gold and lapis lazuli and carnelian, and resting on the arms and skull the golden wig-like helmet which the prince had presumably worn in war. The whole thing was a blaze of colour, the preservation of the gold was perfect. The helmet was life-size, of beaten gold, the locks beaten up in repoussé and the detail of the hair finely chased upon it. This was the finest object found in the course of the year's work.

The queen's chamber, that of Queen Shubad, was of an entirely different character. At the end of the shaft was a stone-built chamber vaulted with brick. In a recess was a paving of white stone slabs, possibly the slaughter place of



the human victims whose bodies were spread over the whole of the remaining area. Five bodies of men were found at the door, presumably the guard. There was the queen's chariot or sledge drawn by two asses whose bones were beside it, with their great collars of decorated copper, and the bodies of the grooms lay at the animals' heads. Bodies of women were laid out in two rows, and at the far end of the chamber was a harp inlaid with shell and lapis lazuli. The women wore elaborate headdresses of gold ribbon and their heads were bound round with wreaths of carnelian and lapis lazuli beads, from which hung gold mulberry or lime leaves. The queen's wardrobe chest was found with its keeper beside it, and an enormous number of objects, vessels of silver and copper, stone and gold, including one perfect cup of lapis lazuli and an oval bowl ground out of obsidian, also the queen's gaming board, a heap of silver drinking pots, and a small group of vessels of gold. In the queen's chamber was another mass of objects, again vessels of copper, clay, silver and gold, many of which had been ranged on shelves against the walls. At one end of the chamber on a wooden bier lay the body of the queen herself with two attendants crouched by the bier side, one at the head and one at the foot. The upper part of the body was entirely concealed by a mass of beads in carnelian, lapis lazuli, gold, and agate; the beads had formed a short cloak which hung from the queen's shoulders to her waist, apparently open over the right arm and there held together by long gold pins with lapis lazuli heads; on the arm or on the joint of the cloak there were amulets of gold and lapis lazuli in the shape of fish and of gazelles. On her head she wore a very elaborate composite headdress of gold, broad gold ribbons wound round and round what was evidently a large and elaborate wig. Above that wreath after wreath of beads and golden pendants, the top wreath adorned with large gold flowers with petals inlaid with white shell and lapis lazuli, and on the top of the head a great golden comb decorated with rosettes.

Below the queen's grave was that of the king, whose name is not certain. The chamber had been plundered, but was a still more surprising illustration of the primitive custom of human sacrifice at the death of a king. At the entrance were the bodies of six soldiers still wearing their copper helmets and carrying their spears. At the foot of the incline to the chamber were two carts or wagons of wood each drawn by three oxen, which had evidently been backed down the slope and the oxen killed there in position with the grooms at their heads. Against the wall of the chamber were nine ladies of the court wearing elaborate golden headdresses. Other soldiers were in a row with copper daggers at their belts, and more women were lying against the tomb side. The original doorway into the tomb chamber was unbroken; the robbers had made their way down through the vaulted brick roof. The doorway was arched in brick, constructed upon the true *voussoir* principle. This carries the history of the arch as a feature of architecture back to a date hitherto unsuspected, and certainly proves the Sumerian origin of that particular feature which modern architecture has through the Romans and Greeks inherited from the Near East. The actual chamber was rectangular, but by means of pendentives the square is brought to a curve and the end of the chamber is roofed with a somewhat primitive form of half dome—a second constructional principle now found to go back to the fourth millenium B.C. Although the chamber had been plundered, it produced a few objects of great value. The most important was a beautiful silver model of a boat, quite different in character from the bitumen boats in the graves of commoners: the type is similar to that found at the present time in the marshes of Mesopotamia—a long shallow craft with five seats, with leaf-bladed oars, and amidships an arch to support a mat awning. The six oxen harnessed to two carts at the bottom of the shaft are the earliest instances we have of domesticated cattle; that they were really domesticated is proved by the silver collar and silver ring in the nose.



Of the carts themselves not much survived, just a black stain on the soil left by the decayed wheels and axles, but they were important documents for the antiquity of wheeled vehicles. Another remarkable object was the statue of a bull in wood with a head of gold and lapis lazuli and with shell plaques reaching from the animal's chin to its feet. These plaques are of intense interest because of the extraordinary scenes they represent, and will probably cause a great deal of discussion and be the subject of chapters and perhaps volumes of mythology.

In the last grave of all, the deepest and earliest, it was interesting to see that the roof was constructed not on the true arch principle, but by corbelling out the stones. This grave had been hopelessly plundered and stray beads and bits of shell carving were scattered about promiscuously, only a few objects of real value being found. These included one simple little gold cup and two models of ostrich shells, one in silver and one in gold, decorated in somewhat barbaric fashion with incrustations in lapis lazuli and mother of pearl. In one corner of the grave on the last day's work a first-class discovery was made—just as on the last day of the previous season's work the gold dagger had been found. In the very corner of the grave lay the flattened remains of a human skull, and by it a mass of mosaic which eventually proved to be a highly decorated box-like standard, composed of two pieces of wood fastened together back to back and inlaid with mosaic work in red stone, lapis lazuli and shell, set in bitumen. In various panels are seen the royal family sitting at feast, servants bringing up the materials for the banquet; the Sumerian army with chariots; heavy troops and skirmisher troops; and, again, prisoners being brought into the presence of the king—most astonishing pictures, technically very good, and historically of enormous importance.

In conclusion Mr. Woolley pointed out that although the objects shown went back to so very early a date, the civilization at that date must have been of very much older standing,

for it needed centuries of work and experience before objects such as these could be produced. However much we may quibble about the exact date of a tomb, there can be no doubt that the developed civilization of Sumer does go back to a very early period indeed and that it antedated by several centuries at least the civilization of the first dynasty of Egypt. This fact taken in conjunction with the evidence we have for the connection between the two countries must assign to Sumer priority over Egypt in the order of the march of culture. Sumer indeed is shown to have been at the base of nearly all the other civilizations of the Near East; and therefore a claim can be set up for the Sumerians to have had an influence over our own history which certainly could not have been credited before the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania sent out this mission.

SIR F. KENYON: I am sure you will agree that the work which has led to these results and which is still unfinished must be carried on. Mr. Woolley has shown us where he ended his last season's work. Next year may produce results even as striking as those which we have seen to-day, and I remind you of this, that these excavations which are carried out by the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania can only be carried out with assistance from outside. In America I think all the funds come from subscriptions given for that particular purpose. In this country a large part of the funds have been found by the Trustees of the British Museum. The rest has been found by contributions from benefactors of the Museum and persons interested in it, and among them I should especially mention one name—that is the legacy which we have received for this purpose from Miss Gertrude Bell. I think one's only regret connected with these discoveries we have been hearing about to-day is that Miss Bell should not have lived to see them. I ask you to remember this, and if you can influence anyone who will help with the work for next season I shall certainly on behalf



of the Trustees of the Museum be glad to receive any contributions that can be sent. We need quite a considerable sum and any donations will be used to the utmost profit.

MR. SIDNEY SMITH: I may perhaps be allowed to point out that much that Mr. Woolley has told us is very surprising, and, so far as I can see, everything that he has told us he will be able to prove. Had we been told a year ago that such an object as the last slide shown was as early as he is prepared to prove it to be, we should have been politely incredulous. If this civilization covers the period that Mr. Woolley thinks he must allow, then we have certainly an object coming from somewhere near the middle of the fourth millenium in that extraordinary shell and lapis lazuli inlay.

And remember every one of these objects must have been imported into the country. There is no gold in Southern Babylonia; there are no asses in Southern Babylonia, no metal of any kind, no wood, no lapis lazuli. One affirms that the lapis lazuli was brought from the Hindu Kooch; another would tell you that the wild asses must have come from Central Turkestan; others would say the metal came from Asia Minor. Whatever the truth is, these people had connections over large areas of the world; their import trade must have been carried not only by caravan but in boats. That sistrum we were shown, how could that come into Mesopotamia? We can date it approximately, because on the Egyptian side it is becoming increasingly evident that the Egyptian connections with Babylonia date to the end of the pre-dynastic period and to the first dynasty. We had trade certainly with Egypt and possibly with India clearly at any rate down the Persian Gulf, and also caravan trade that may have extended to Asia Minor and perhaps to Central Turkestan. Mr. Woolley has revealed to us treasures which equal in importance the treasures which were brought home by Sir Arthur Layard and those found at Susa by Mr. De Morgan. It may be he has excelled them. At any rate, you have been attending this afternoon at a sensational performance.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

HOKUSAI. Par YONE NOGUCHI. Avec deux gravures sur bois et seize héliotypes. 47 pp. UTAMARO. Par YONE NOGUCHI. Avec une gravure sur bois et seize héliotypes. 26 pp. Traduit de l'anglais par Mlle M.-F. MAITRE, agrégée de l'Université. Paris et Bruxelles : les Éditions G. Van Oest, 1928.

Professor Yone Noguchi is, I believe, an admirer and a disciple of the late Lafcadio Hearn, and I regret in the circumstances that I have not access to the English originals of these two monographs. This, however, is not by way of depreciation of the translations, which are admirably limpid in style and very pleasant to read.

So much has been written during the last half-century on the subject of Hokusai and Utamaro that it would not be just to look for anything very novel or unexpected in Professor Noguchi's brief review of the lives and characteristics of these two great masters of the school of Ukiyoe ; it is fairer to regard these monographs as simply the expression of his feelings of respect and admiration for their genius. Certainly European admirers of Hokusai and Utamaro will not cavil at his superlatives. Why should they, since it was the West which first drew the attention of the world to the superb quality of their work ? For although in Japan to-day the colour-prints of Hokusai and Utamaro probably command a considerably higher price than they do in Europe, this is a recent development, and while the artists lived it was for the common folk that they painted and among the common folk that they found their admirers. By the great world they were looked down upon.

In dealing with Hokusai, of whom in a few brief words he conjures up a striking portrait, the author seems much more at his ease than when dealing with Utamaro. Utamaro apparently lacked those magnetic traits which make his great



contemporary, with all his eccentricities, so human and lovable a personality, and although, as Mr. Arthur Morrison, the great authority on Japanese Art, says, Utamaro has few rivals, East or West, "as a painter of the human figure in an exquisitely synthetic convention," it is practically to the narrow world of the hetairæ of the Nightless City and their patrons that he limits himself. Hokusai on the other hand draws on every phase of life in Japan, particularly on that of the common folk, and he treats his subjects with a humour and a pathos which carry their appeal beyond all the limits of time, space, and fleeting fashions. As Professor Noguchi very justly says, he is "un catalogue et un grand livre recapitulant les expériences humaines vers la fin du Shogunât des Tokugawa". There can be no two opinions on Hokusai. He is one of the world's great masters, yet withal personally very humble in his greatness. In the epilogue to the 100 *Views of Mount Fuji*—I quote from Mlle Maitre's translation—he writes: "j'ai pris l'habitude de dessiner les formes des choses depuis l'âge de six ans et, à 50 ans, j'avais publié bon nombre de livres de peintures, mais tout ce que j'ai produit avant l'âge de 70 ans ne vaut pas la peine d'en parler . . ." and, again as he lies dying he cries: "Comme je voudrais vivre dix ans de plus ! Sinon dix ans, j'implore Dieu de me donner seulement cinq ans de grâce. Alors je serais devenu un vrai artiste !"

These two little monographs are well printed in fine clear type on good paper ; but the illustrations in that on Hokusai seem on the whole more successful than those in the monograph on Utamaro. "Fuji from the Mannen Bridge," "Fuji from the Ryōgoku Bridge," and the two-page "Windy Day" are particularly good ; one could have wished that Professor Noguchi had been able also to include another from the Fuji series,—"The Fisherman at Kajikazawa."

HAROLD PARLETT.

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AN HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF JAPANESE. By G. B. SANSOM, C.M.G. pp. x + 344. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1928. Price 21s.

There is a legend that St. Francis Xavier, the earliest of European missionaries to Japan, said of the language of the country in a moment of irritation that it was the invention of a conciliabulum of demons to harass the souls of the faithful, and many a despairing student must since have echoed his sentiments in language even stronger. It is doubtful if there is anywhere another tongue so bristling with difficulties, so circuitous, so lacking in lucidity of expression. Yet a number of Europeans study it. They are few, it must be admitted, and most content themselves with a superficial knowledge sufficient for everyday needs; but a small minority go deeper into its intricacies, and it is for them and for the philologists interested, as the author says, in the affiliations of Japanese that this book is meant. Mr. Sansom has drawn on the best sources of information for his work—the great pre-Restoration grammarians, Mabuchi and Motoori, the Japanese Grammar of Professor Koyu Yamada, the texts of the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi*, the *Manyōshū*, the *Shoku Nihongi*, the *Engishiki*, various *Monogatari*, and lastly those brilliant pioneers of European scholarship, Chamberlain, Satow, and Aston—and he has very obviously devoted to his task much time and immense industry and patience. Of the results of his labours the least we can say is that he has produced a book full of fine scholarship, lucid in so far as so complicated a subject can be made lucid, and worthy in every respect to rank with the work of his three distinguished English predecessors.

Japanese grammarians divide the parts of speech into three, *Na* (uninflected principal words), *Kotoba* (inflected principal words), and *Teniwoha* (inflected and uninflected subordinate words), a classification followed by Aston in his *Grammar of the Written Language*; but Mr. Sansom has for reasons of convenience, and rightly, adopted a compromise, following the Japanese classification where that seemed advantageous,



and resorting to that of European grammars when necessity forced him.

The first chapter of the book deals with the introduction of writing from China and describes at length the difficulties which confronted the earliest Japanese students of Chinese in the adaptation of the ideographs, or logographs, to native purposes and how the ultimate result was a combination of two methods, the semantic and the phonetic, which are still in use to-day. Logographs, employed phonetically to represent particles and terminations, were originally written in full, a peculiarly cumbrous device; but sheer necessity forced their gradual abbreviation, and early in the ninth century they crystallized into two syllabaries, the *Katakana* and the *Hiragana*. From the discussion of this subject the author next proceeds to deal with the noun and pronoun. The former is, as he points out, a true universal—uninflected and thus incapable by itself of expressing number, gender, or case. Over a third of the book is devoted to the consideration of the two most important parts of speech in Japanese, the adjective and the verb (*hataraki kotoba*, work words). They are the only inflected parts of speech and have so many features in common that they are classed by many Japanese grammarians as one. Inflection, it may be pointed out, has nothing to do with voice, mood, tense, person, gender, number, or case; its principal function, according to Aston, is "to give to the same root the force of a different part of speech according to the inflection used". Mr. Sansom divides the conjugation of the Japanese verb into two parts, the Simple and the Compound. The former has five forms—the predicative, the attributive, the conjunctive, the imperfect or "Negative Base", and the perfect—and variations of tense, mood, voice, etc., are expressed by the addition of certain suffixes to these forms. There is not space in this brief review to follow in detail the author's very thorough and careful elucidation of the functions of these two parts of speech; but it is interesting to note that in Japanese a verb can on

occasion be used as a substantive or as an adjective and that an adjective is subject to conjugation like a verb. In distinguishing the four regular types of the simple Conjugation of the verbs Japanese grammarians have recourse to a conventional table of the syllabary, classifying them accordingly as *ichidan* (unigrade), *nidan* (bigrade), etc., but in the grammars used by Europeans they are given numbers in the ordinary way, a method which has the advantage of simplicity. The Particles (*teniwoha*), which are essential to the formation of any proposition containing more than the simplest elements, the author regards as the most characteristic group of words in Japanese, and he divides them into two classes—particles affecting only component parts of a sentence and particles affecting a sentence as a whole. It is a very convenient arrangement even if, as he says, it cannot be supported on logical grounds. In the first are included what he calls the Case Particles (*no*, *tsu*, *ga*, *wo*, *ni*, *to*, *he*, *gori*, and *made*) ; the second comprises the Adverbial Particles. But in order to deal more satisfactorily with certain specialized functions of some of those appearing in these two classes, Mr. Sansom adds a third, that of the Conjunctive Particles. This is as interesting a chapter as any in the book. Brief sections are devoted to the Adverb—the existence of which is not always recognized by Japanese grammarians—to the Formation of Words, to Grammatical Functions, and to Syntax, and the book closes with a useful appendix containing a tabulated statement of the chief points of difference in form between words of the spoken and written language of to-day and those of the Heian period, when the divergence between written and colloquial first became apparent.

As was only to be expected in a work coming from the Clarendon Press, the book is well and clearly printed and singularly free from misprints. But it is a pity the index is not fuller. We congratulate the author on the very able manner in which he has handled a most difficult subject and hope that he will now write a short Grammar of the modern



Spoken Language to take the place of some of those turgid tomes with which the unfortunate ordinary student is forced at present to wrestle. It is very gratifying to note that His Majesty's Consular Service in Japan can still on occasion produce a scholar worthy of its early reputation.

HAROLD PARLETT.

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GUIDE-POSTS TO CHINESE PAINTING. By LOUISE WALLACE HACKNEY. Edited by Dr. PAUL PELLIOU. 10 × 7½, 233 pp. + 21 pl. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1927.

When the name of Paul Pelliot appears as connected with any work on a Chinese subject, those interested in the literature and art of China anticipate a treat from a master. This book professes to have been edited by him, but he has already published a disclaimer, stating that he has had nothing to do either with the authorship or with the editing of the book. A perusal of the work does not reveal any sign of the Pelliot touch.

The aim of the book is to help those who are interested in Chinese paintings to a keener appreciation of them. That aim is worthy of commendation and the work will be of use to anyone who has not read any other book on the subject of Chinese painting, but it adds little or nothing to the information that has already been published in previous works dealing with that subject. The illustrations given are well produced but hardly justify the advertisement of the work as "lavishly illustrated". There can be no doubt that Chinese paintings are attracting increased attention, and the author very rightly has sounded a note of warning regarding the danger of judging "the painting by the famous name attached to it" rather than by "its intrinsic beauty". There is undoubtedly a tendency on the part of many to profess to admire only what is represented to be ancient, who seem to forget that

"a thing of beauty is a joy for ever", regardless of age, and that many so-called ancient masterpieces are made to appear old in order to deceive those who "criticize by the ear and judge by the sound".

J. H. S. L.

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THE DERIVATION OF SOME KAKIEMON DESIGNS ON PORCELAIN.

By KENNETH DINGWALL. 11 × 8½, 28 pp. + 6 plates.

London: For restricted circulation by E. Benn. 1926.

This is a paper which was read before the Oriental Ceramic Society in 1924, but the length of it precluded publication in the *Transactions*. Japanese porcelain is notoriously less known to us than Chinese; in fact, few of the finest pieces are to be found outside Japan, and that is one reason for our neglect. Therefore this contribution to the subject is specially welcome.

Colonel Dingwall explains that the production of "Kakie-mon" wares flourished during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The chief designs which he discusses are the tiger, phoenix, banded-hedge, and the longevity triad of bamboo, plum, and pine. Doubtless he is right in tracing Chinese derivations *via* Corean channels for all of them, except the banded-hedge. I venture to question, however, the plausibility of his theory that the frequent presence of the tiger motive on these wares was occasioned by the Coreans' terror at a time when their country was overrun by tigers. Apart from its use with symbolic or episodic significance, this motive has always been a favourite in the Far East because it lends itself to pictorial treatment and because the tiger is regarded as the King of Beasts.

W. P. Y.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE ORIENTAL CERAMIC SOCIETY. Four vols.: 1923-4, 1924-5, 1925-6, and 1926-7; each  $11 \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ , 32 pp. + 8 plates. London: For private circulation. Published for the Society by E. Benn.

These maintain the high standard set by the first two volumes, and manifest the prosperous progress of the Society. In point of numbers its likeness to that famous Sung coterie of the Western Garden has lessened; for lately the membership has grown beyond the original limit of fifteen. The periodic symposia, continued without a break, are here recorded. In the first volume under review, Mr. Bernard Rackham gives a retrospect of the scanty pre-Ming wares in Western collections prior to the year 1900. Mr. O. C. Raphael follows with an account of fragments found at Fustat, a ruined suburb of Cairo. He is of opinion that potteries flourished there for several centuries, and continued after the city was deserted in the thirteenth century, and that the Fustat potters of all ages copied Persian, Syrian, and Chinese models. Chemical analyses and microscopical examinations of ceramic fragments and of local materials by Mr. D. Northall-Laurie provide results which support Mr. Raphael's surmises. A paper on the chemistry of Temmoka glazes reports investigations of Mr. A. L. Hetherington carried out under the guidance of Sir Herbert Jackson. Among many technical data of moment, it shows what diverse results may come from the use of ferric oxide.

Another illuminating article is that by Sir Herbert Jackson in the second volume under review. It deals with the iridescence on early Chinese glazes. The writer's conclusions are much the same as those reached concerning patina on bronzes as an index to age, since he finds iridescence a guide only within wide limits. Not only the constitution of the material but the factors of environment, such as temperature and moisture, must be taken into account while estimating the significance of disintegration of glazes, and these factors can seldom be traced. The volume closes with Mr. Hobson's paper "On Some Potteries in Kiangsu and Anhwei".

The next volume contains a report by Mr. Hobson of a find which provides an argument against Dr. Rücker-Embsen's doubts concerning the antiquity of what we accept as Han green-glazed pottery. The find is a bell-shaped piece of glazed pottery obtained from a vaulted tomb recently opened near Ch'êng-tu. The information comes from Mr. Torrance, who gives his opinion that the tomb is of the Former Han period. A fragment, examined by Sir Herbert Jackson, proves to be covered with a fully disintegrated lead glaze. Later information dispels all doubt as to the antiquity of Chinese glazes. Glazed pottery has been found in dated Chinese tombs of the Han period excavated by Japanese archaeologists in Corea.

In the last volume Professor Collie brings forward four pieces of lead-glazed porcelain as evidence of the disputed use of lead glazes under the Sung. His theory of Sung attribution is based on crystalline changes in the glaze and alleged provenance from a certain Sung tomb, where his specimens are said to have been found associated with typical Sung ware. He does not state the origin of the latter data. My experience is that such accounts from native sources are entirely unreliable. Sir Herbert Jackson's opinion is that the state of crystallization points to an early T'ang date. The last-mentioned authority himself contributes a valuable article on *ying ch'ing* fragments examined by the microscope and by other means.

Mr. Hobson describes some fragments of Yüan or late Sung blue-and-white ware excavated at Aidhab, a Red Sea port destroyed in 1426. A celadon fragment bears an inscription in the Bashpa script which was invented in the thirteenth century to represent Chinese words in Tibetan characters, and was adopted by the Chinese Court in the early years of the Yüan dynasty.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

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THE TIBETAN BOOK OF THE DEAD, or the After-Death Experiences on the *Bardo* Plane, according to Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering. By W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ, M.A., D.Litt., B.Sc. 9 in. by 6 in., pp. xlv + 248, 6 plates and 5 wood-cuts. Oxford University Press, 1927.

This interesting book will probably arouse strongly conflicting emotions in its readers, unless they are in complete sympathy with the author's outlook, a curious combination of scientific accuracy and romanticism.

The main part of the book is an excellent and scholarly translation into English by a very distinguished Tibetan scholar recently deceased of a text of Tibetan *Mahāyāna* Buddhism entitled *Bardo Thödol*. This text is customarily recited a number of times in the presence of a deceased person during the first forty-nine days after his death, and is intended to guide him through the difficulties and dangers which he will encounter during that period when he is in the *Bardo* state, i.e. a sort of intermediate existence before his next incarnation.

Dr. Evans-Wentz's introduction expounds the religious beliefs of the sect who use this work in a clear and sympathetic manner and is most interesting.

So far the book can be accorded unstinted praise. But many, perhaps most, readers will withhold their sympathy from much of the other matter contained in the introduction and particularly in the notes to the introduction and text.

The first point of controversy which arises is the date and authorship of the text itself. It is common ground that all the MSS. are comparatively modern. The natural conclusion would, therefore, be that the work itself is comparatively modern. This is, *prima facie*, borne out by internal evidence. The account of the phenomena of the *Bardo* state has the appearance of being a statement of beliefs which are fundamentally of a very low order, derived from the teachings

of the magician and mystery-monger. Technically speaking, the foundation is Tantric Buddhism of a debased type. Beliefs of this kind are no doubt of great antiquity, but they belong to the pre-Aryan stratum and were received into the pure Buddhist faith only comparatively recently. The statement of these beliefs appears to have been worked over by more enlightened persons, who have realized that the account of the next world which they give is unworthy of a spiritual religion, but instead of discarding it *in toto* have endeavoured to interpret it allegorically.

This is not an unusual phenomenon in cases where persons of an elevated and spiritual disposition are compelled by their birth and environment to accept as inspired scriptures documents containing beliefs which they recognize to be of a degraded type.

This is not, however, the attitude taken up by Dr. Evans-Wentz. He is not prepared to admit a debased substratum, and is, therefore, driven to the contention that the work goes back to the earliest period of Tibetan Buddhism, was compiled in its present form by persons of high spirituality who spoke deliberately in allegory (for the curious and anti-social reason that they did not wish too many people to understand it!), and was either handed down orally for many hundred years before being committed to writing, or deliberately concealed by the original author and rediscovered and published by him in a later incarnation at a much later date.

Such an idea must necessarily be pure theory; this is admitted, but it is contended that it is a better theory than the other. The matter, therefore, becomes one for individual choice, but it cannot be denied that probability is on the side of the sceptics.

The other principal point of controversy is the possible relationship between (a) the beliefs regarding the next world stated in this text and the beliefs regarding the next world held in other countries, notably pre-Christian Egypt, and (b) their literary expression here and in other countries,



especially mediaeval Europe. Dr. Evans-Wentz clearly believes that there has been interchange on a wide scale.

That beliefs do migrate no reasonable person will deny. Indeed the appearance in this work of the specifically Semitic sacred number, 49, has every appearance of being a case in point. But most scholars will prefer to start from the point that speculation regarding the next world has been a human practice from time immemorial, and that theories regarding it are *prima facie* a native growth until the contrary can be proved. Time will no doubt prove that certain migrations have taken place and the foundation of the proof must be the publication of as much evidence regarding such beliefs as possible. Dr. Evans-Wentz's contribution to this publication is a valuable one.

One aspect of Dr. Evans-Wentz's comments will probably cause considerable resentment. To his romantic temperament the "esoteric" presents an irresistible attraction and he is, therefore, so unwise as to express, irrelevantly for the purpose of his book, the view that "institutional", i.e. orthodox, Christianity is inferior to "esoteric" Christianity, i.e. the heretical and pagan doctrines of the various Gnostic sects.

One small point, he is sadly mistaken in supposing that the *mantra*, "*Om maṇi padmī hum*", which he reproduces opposite p. 167, is in Lantsa characters of the seventh century A.D. The alphabet employed is much later.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

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THE VERSHIK DIALECT OF THE KANJUTI LANGUAGE.<sup>1</sup> BY  
I. ZARUBIN.

Research in the language known to us in the two forms of Burushaski and Werchikwâr has been so rare and limited that the appearance of any addition to our knowledge of it is an event of some importance.

<sup>1</sup> *Vershikskoe Narechie Kandzhutskovo Yizûka. Ocherk po Dialektographie Hindukusha. Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov pri Aziatskom Muzei Akademii Nauk.* Vol. ii, part 2. Leningrad, 1927.

I. Zarubin's present contribution, however, deserves notice for its intrinsic and not merely for its accidental merits, while its main demerit to many, the fact that it is written in Russian, is a further reason for calling attention to it.

Russian literature, like Russian caviare, is a luxury many Western scholars cannot indulge in as freely as they would like to do, and work recorded in Russian is apt to suffer undeserved neglect.

Zarubin's article is the most important original work that has been done on either dialect since the days of the pioneers, J. Biddulph (1880) and G. Leitner (1889), and it is the first comprehensive study of Werchikwâr.

His material is very far from being complete, as he constantly reminds us, but it is extensive and he has spared no labour in digesting and arranging it.

The value of the work is enhanced by the candour of the author, who makes no attempt to gloze over deficiencies, or to assume or imply what he does not know.

All deficiencies admitted, he has been able to illustrate the most important of the grammatical features of Werchikwâr, to give a large number of forms and to furnish a considerable vocabulary. The latter consists of some 600 entries, including, of course, a number of foreign words in ordinary use, and cross references.

The author has recorded a couple of short texts and has supplied a commentary on the Werchikwâr version of the Parable of the Prodigal Son contained in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (vol. viii, part 2).

In his bibliographical notes he has been able to supply references to some Russian records, not, I believe, previously known.

Neither Burushaski nor Werchikwâr is a written language, and, in consequence, we have no historical knowledge of their development, and hence no means of solving many problems of existing morphology and usage.

In these circumstances the existence of two considerably



differentiated dialects, Burushaski and Werchikwâr, is of special value. Sporadic phenomena in one can sometimes be explained by the regular usage of the other, and comparison of their vocabularies may yield interesting and sometimes illuminating facts.

Up to the present, however, little has been possible owing to the deficiency of published Werchikwâr material, which is practically confined to the text of the Prodigal Son in the *L.S.I.* already referred to. To say that this is not perfect implies no reflection on the editor.

My own studies were principally directed to Burushaski, but the little I did on Werchikwâr enables me to form a high opinion of Zarubin's accuracy and to congratulate myself on the fact that my observations, so far as they went, agree very closely with his.

A few examples of what may be derived from the comparison of Burushaski and Werchikwâr may here not be amiss.

In Werchikwâr we have a well-established scheme of inflexion of the preterite of the verb in the form :—

|         |                 |       |                            |
|---------|-----------------|-------|----------------------------|
| Sing. 1 | <i>êta</i>      | I did |                            |
| 2       | <i>êta</i>      |       |                            |
| 3 m.,   | <i>êti</i>      |       | Plur. 1, 2, 3, <i>êtan</i> |
| f.,     | <i>êtu, êto</i> |       |                            |

In Burushaski we have the following scheme, which is also found in Werchikwâr :—

|         |              |  |                              |
|---------|--------------|--|------------------------------|
| Sing. 1 | <i>êtam</i>  |  |                              |
| 2       | <i>êtuma</i> |  |                              |
| 3, m.   | <i>êtîmi</i> |  | Plur. 1, 2, 3, <i>êtuman</i> |
| f.      | <i>êtumo</i> |  |                              |

But in Burushaski we have regularly in dependent clauses the 3rd sing. masc. form *êti*, and I have once or twice recorded 1st and 2nd person forms of the pattern *êta*, 3rd sing. fem. forms equivalent to *êtu* and plur. forms of all persons of the pattern *êtan*.

Now the first and second forms at least are so rare that one

could only regard them with doubt and suspicion if we had not definite evidence of their existence in Werchikwâr.

There are, in fact, two complete schemes of inflexion, one without and one with an *-m-*, of which Burushaski now favours the latter. These *m* forms Zarubin considers, probably correctly, to be in origin participial.

Again, it is interesting to find the word *bulto*, meaning "day", used independently in Werchikwâr. In Burushaski, as far as I know, it occurs only in compounds:—

B. *kulto* to-day (*k-* proximate demonstrative prefix).

B. W. *hikulto* one day.

B. *hipulto* } day after to-morrow

W. *heputtû* } (given by Zarubin as "to-morrow").

To which I may add:—

B. W. *yârbulto*, day before yesterday.

Zarubin gives *ulto* as an alternative form to *bulto* on the strength of *hikulto*; but there and in *kulto* I think the *b* has merely been dropped after *k* for simplification. In *hipulto* the simplification has been effected by dropping the *k*. The result is a different form of the same elements with a specialized meaning.

I have once recorded in Burushaski a past participle, *nux'a* "having said", annotated as an obsolete form, and in Werchikwâr *nuxat*, with the same meaning.

Zarubin has recorded various parts in the negative only of the verb to which these obviously belong:—

past base, *axatan-*

present base, *axati(y)-*

He gives it as the negative corresponding to the ordinary *sen-*, *sî-* "to say". In Burushaski the negative is obtained by prefixing the negative particle *ô-*.

*ôsênas*, not to say.

Burushaski *tsê* (conditional particle) is represented in Werchikwâr by *tsek*, which may be compared with Nagiri Burushaski *tsik*, and perhaps with Şhina *sik*.



Werchikwār forms are sometimes more complete, at least longer, than Burushaski ones :—

W. *asúmen*, plur. *asumiya* }  
 B. *as'i*                      *as'imuts* } star.

W. *yast* }  
 B. *yas* } his sister.

W. *amutúg* }  
 B. *mūto*, *mū* } now.

W. *akūin* (*gunts*), to-day, cf. B. *kuīn*, *kuīnmo dèn*, this year.

The word is apparently only a form of the proximate demonstrative, "this," differently applied in the two dialects. I have also recorded this *k-* in B. with a prefixed *a-*.

We also find instances of the reverse, where Burushaski forms are fuller than the Werchikwār ones :—

W. *búšu*, B. *bušōšo*, calf.

W. *gīlinum*, B. *gīliginūm*, thin.

Very common ideas are sometimes represented by totally different words :—

big, elder                      W. *nii*                      B. *uyūm*

all                              W. *kul*, *čik*              B. *uyōn*

(both used in

Khōwār)

small, younger              W. *əčuyun*              B. *jut*

I went                      W. *gała*                      B. *niyam*

I shall come              W. *tsuram*              B. *jūcam*

But the roots *nē* (*nī*) and *žo* (*ju*) are both known in W.

Another subject which it would be interesting to investigate is the borrowing by the two dialects from their neighbours : Werchikwār from Khōwār, and Burushaski from Šhīna.

Borrowing has also to some extent been reciprocal, and Šhīna certainly shares words with Burushaski which are not of Dard origin.

Zarubin gives a detailed account of the sounds of Werchikwār, and I gather that he regards the special *l* which it possesses as one of its most distinctive phonetic features.

This *l* he represents by *l̥*, and states that it is pronounced like "the Russian hard *l*". He further states that it exists only in Werchikwār, and is lacking in the surrounding languages.

This statement I think requires modification. I have myself remarked this *l* in Werchikwār, e.g.

*dulum*, it was.

But there is also in Khowār (Chitrāli) a peculiar *l*, which I think is identical with, or closely allied to it.

This special *l* in Khowār is recognized by Khowar speakers, and an *l̥* with "a sound between *l* and *r*" is mentioned by O'Brien though he does not appear to differentiate it in his vocabulary. It is not noticed in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. To me it frequently suggested something approaching *ʂl* or *ʂ*.

This sound I have not observed in Burushaski, nor anything resembling it.

Personally I should say that the sound referred to by Zarubin is not common to the B.W. group, but is shared by W. and Khowār. The question of its source remains a problem. If it is cerebral, which I doubt, Dr. Grahame Bailey has recorded a cerebral *ʃ* in Drāsi Ṣhīṇa.

In Burushaski the most distinctive sound is one which I have now come to believe is a cerebral *y*.

*bayum*, mare.

The existence of cerebrals Zarubin considers of minor importance in view of their occurrence over "an extended linguistic territory".

More important in Werchikwār is the tendency to "syllabic assimilation of vowels" (translation doubtful), which approximates it to Turki and also to the Dravidian languages (Telegu).

The most distinctive feature of all, however, in the domain of phonetics is, in his opinion, the alteration of voiced sounds to surds between vowels. As far as is known, a similar change is recorded only in certain Yuzhno-Daghestani languages



(Report A. N. Genko in the Yapheticheski Institut, 12th June, 1925).

It is to be remembered, however, that this change only operates in certain situations, of which he has mentioned two in his § 12, viz. when a voiced stop is preceded by a negative *a-*, and when the pronoun prefix *gu-* occurs as an infix. To these should be added two more cases in which a medial voiced sound is changed to a surd stop.

The consonantal causative prefix *\*-as-* also produces the change, and the prefix of the past participle *n* + vowel.

|                            |                             |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>wəras</i> , to be tired | <i>asperas</i> , to tire    |
| <i>ganas</i> , to take     | <i>nukan</i> , having taken |

The change in these cases is not limited to sonant stops, the sonant spirants are also affected:—

$\gamma \rightarrow q$   
and after *\*-as*  $w \rightarrow p$

The change of sonant to surd does not, however, take place after the pronoun prefixes *a-*, *gu-*, etc., in any shape or form.

Zarubin devotes a couple of pages to discussing the philological affinities of Werchikwār (and Burushaski), in which he is inclined to find Iranian and Dravidian elements. He also cites examples of words common to Werchikwār and the Dard languages and the Eastern Iranian and Pamir languages.

Here borrowing at all periods may account for much, but the Iranian and Dravidian claims are more serious. As Iranian elements he gives the verb "to be" *ba*, which he identifies with the Iranian root *bu-*, *bav-*, and *ēa*, "I," which he derives from *azəm*.

Dravidian elements he sees in the locative postposition *ulā* (B.-*ulo*), which he identifies with Dravidian *olli* and other forms, and the plural suffixes *-ng* and *-šku* (twice recorded by him), which he identifies with Dravidian *-nga*, *-ga*, *-ng*, *-sk*, etc. (in Tamil and Gondi).

It seems doubtful whether scholars will find these identifications convincing.

However this may be, it does not affect the value of the contribution of solid fact, which he has made to our knowledge of Werchikwār.

I should add that since writing the above a second recent work of the same author has come into my hands. This is a study of the Eastern Iranian language, Munjānī. It appeared in *L'Iran*, vol. i, 1926, pp. 111-200. The offprint is dated Leningrad, 1927. It is on the same lines as the Werchikwār article, containing 20 pages of introduction, a short text, and 50 pages of Munjānī-Russian vocabulary.

D. L. R. LORIMER.

SUMÉRIEN ET INDO-EUROPÉEN : L'ASPECT MORPHOLOGIQUE DE LA QUESTION. By C. AUTRAN.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 11$ , h + xi + 199 pp. Paris, Geuthner : 1925. 125 fr.

Many attempts have been made to connect Indo-European with other language-families—notably with Finno-Ugrian on the one hand and Semitic on the other. In this book we have an attempt to show a connexion between Indo-European and Sumerian. But whereas so many of these attempts have been rendered nugatory by their authors' ignorance of linguistic science and of the principles which must underlie any attempt to prove relationship between two languages, in this M. Autran has shown himself well aware of the dangers which await the voyager in these uncharted seas.

The doctrine of the uniqueness of linguistic phenomena is forcibly enunciated by Meillet; and on that uniqueness depends the possibility of proving linguistic relationship. For proof of relationship between two Indo-European languages we depend upon the particularities of grammatical inflection more than on anything else. Similarity of vocabulary may be a matter of borrowing, one from the other or both from an outside source. But if we go back to a period before the grammatical structure of Indo-European had been developed to the stage at which we know it by



comparison of the existing Indo-European languages, we are left with little more than the possibility of comparing its vocabulary with that of any other language-group with which we wish to establish connexion. But even that is not all. The number of Indo-European words to which we can assign definite, concrete meanings (like "father" to *\*patēr*, "two" to *\*dwōu*, etc.) is small; for the most of what we know of its vocabulary consists of roots, of which we know the *type* only of derivation and to which we can attach only vague and generalized conceptions. To find similarities of sound between such vaguely known roots in one hypothetical language with similar roots in another hypothetical or imperfectly known language can bring little conviction of relationship.

None has realized this essential difficulty more clearly than M. Autrun, and his recognition of it greatly enhances the value of his exposition. It follows then that an important section of the book is that in which he draws comparison between certain grammatical features of Indo-European and Sumerian, notably some of the case-affixes. The parallels at first sight are striking. But the sum total of exact correspondence is slight, and not perhaps beyond the possibility of chance.

In the domain of vocabulary also, though here the proof is less cogent, there are, it is true, some striking resemblances. Nursery words like *ad* 'father': Gk. *ἄττα* prove little; nor can the comparison of *ár* 'glory' with an IE. *\*er-* having the vague meaning 'to raise' (or 'to move') be held convincing. A slip causes a greater resemblance in *dag* 'to be bright' with IE. *\*dagh-* 'to burn': for the latter should be *\*dheg<sup>wh</sup>- dhog<sup>wh</sup>-* (Lat. *foveo*, etc.). Nevertheless the number of agreements is striking, and almost beyond the realm of chance. We are thus left with two possibilities: ultimate relationship or borrowing. The latter may well be the case in a comparison like *agar* 'field' with IE. *\*ághros*, of which the vowel *a* makes its ultimate IE.

origin suspect, and of which the generally accepted derivation from a root *\*aġ-* (in Lat. *ago*, etc.) is by no means clear.

On this evidence, it is true, we can come to no certain conclusion; but the facts thus soberly exposed by the author must be kept in mind whenever the further relations of Indo-European are considered.

R. L. TURNER.

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GRAMMAR OF THE SHINA (ṢINĀ) LANGUAGE. By T. GRAHAME BAILEY, M.A., B.D., D.Litt.  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ , xv + 285 pp. R.A.S. Prize Publication Fund, 1924.

Shina is an Indo-Aryan language belonging to that NW. group of dialects which, on account of certain common characteristics, it is convenient to class as Dardic. These dialects have more than others been cut off from the general development of Indo-Aryan in India and particularly from the influence in later years of literary Sanskrit. Knowledge of them is therefore of the greatest importance in the study of the comparative grammar of the Indo-Aryan languages. The language of this group hitherto best known, chiefly owing to the work of Sir George Grierson, was Kashmiri. The other Dardic languages, including Shina, were known only from very imperfect and fragmentary sources. Now with the publication of this book Dr. Bailey has enormously enlarged our knowledge. He has dealt in full detail with the dialect of Gilgit, fairly fully with that of Kohistan and Gures, and has added notes on that of Dras. In addition to the grammar, there are good vocabularies, both Shina-English and English-Shina for Gilgiti, English-Shina only for the others: the first contains well over 2000 words.

Dr. Bailey contents himself with a description of the language; but in estimating the value of his book it is necessary to point to some of the conclusions to which his new facts lead the comparativist. First he has established quite clearly the survival of the three sibilants—*ś*, *ṣ*, *s*—



corresponding in general with those of Sanskrit, except that *ś* before *y* is palatalized (as in the language of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in general): e.g. *túśēi* '(belly) is filled' < *tusyati*; and that *ś* before *r* becomes *ṣ*, e.g. *śāṣ* 'mother-in-law' < *śvaśrūh*. He establishes also the existence of two series of *ch*-sounds, one palatal—*c ch j* (*ḥ*)—the other cerebral—*ç çh ḡ* (*ḥ*). The first correspond to Skt. *c ch j* (*ty thy dy dhy*; the second to *tr, kṣ, dr dhr, br bhr*.

The equation *ch* < *kṣ* is particularly interesting. In most of the modern IA. languages extensive dialectical borrowing has largely obscured the boundaries of the isoglosses *kṣ* > *kkh* and *kṣ* > *cch*, although J. Bloch shows that for Marathi at least *cch* was the real development. But for Shina (and the Dardic languages in general) the case is quite plain: it is a *cch*- or rather a *çch*-language. Out of 27 words containing original Skt. *kṣ*, one only has *k(h)*, viz. *lāk* '100000', which is particularly liable to be a loan; two have *c(h)*, *kāci* < *kakṣyā*- (palatalized by *y*) and *bēchōikī* 'to beg', which is perhaps a loan from Kashmiri *bēchun* < *bhīkṣate*; 24 have *ç(h)*. This again agrees with the language of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

The confusion of *d(h)r* and *b(h)r* as *j* (*ḥ*) is shared not only by the other Dardic languages, but extends into W. Pahari, for, as Sir George Grierson points out, Bhadrawāhī has *ḍhl* for both: *bhrātā* > Sh. *jā*, Bhad. *ḍhlā*; *abhrā*—> Sh. *āḥū* 'cloud', *ādrā*—> Sh. *āḥū* 'wet'.

The voicing of single intervocalic consonants which in India proper was confined to plosives is here extended to the sibilants: *-ś- ṣ- -s-* become *ṣ ṣ ṣ*, the last in the Gilgit dialect eventually disappearing. The beginnings of this process are probably to be seen in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents of Niya, in which different signs are used on the one hand for *s-* and *-ss-*, and on the other for *-s-*.

Another peculiarity of Shina is the disappearance of Skt. intervocalic *-t(h)- -d(h)-*, while it retains *-r-* and *-l-*:—Skt. *akṣota- ghaṭaka- caṭaka- lalāṭa- kaṭaka- sphāṭayati kuṭa-*

*sphota- paṭhati śódaśa nipādayati dhūli-* (< \**dhūdi-*, cf. Sindhi *dhūri*) become *áčhó gǎi cǎi nǐláu kǎo faijǒiki kǎi phoě payōny šōi niěi udū*; Pali *kāḥita- dāḥā* appear as *kǎyóiki dǎi*.

It shows also the archaic preservation of *-m-* (like other Dardic languages and Singhalese) and the distinction between Skt. *y-* and *j-*, which has been lost except in Dardic, Sindhi and Singhalese; and between *-n-* and *-ṇ-* (preserved also in old Singhalese).

Sir George Grierson has classed the Dardic languages as belonging neither to the Indo-Aryan nor to the Iranian branch of Indo-Iranian (Aryan), but as forming a third and independent branch. But in the phonology of Shina there is nothing which forbids derivation from the form of language represented by the Rigveda, while on the other hand forms quoted by Dr. Bailey show clearly that the ancestor of Shina underwent those very sound-changes which distinguish Sanskrit (or Indo-Aryan) from the other Indo-Iranian languages. IE. *\*r > ir/ur*, not *ar*: *giri* 'rock' = Skt. *giri-*, but Av. *gairi*; *purōny* 'old' = Skt. *purāṇá-*, cf. *puráh*, but Av. *parō*.

IE. *\*rə (ř)* appears as *ir/ūr*, not as *ar*: *řīgū* = Skt. *dīrghá-*, Av. *dar̥ga-*, *pūny* = Skt. *pūrṇá-*, *mūty* 'coagulated' = Skt. *mūrtá-*.

IE. *ǵ*, and *ǵʰ* before palatal vowels, appear as *j*, and are not distinguished as *z* and *j* as in Iranian: *jon* = Skt. *jantú-*, *jīnu* = Skt. *jīvantá-*. Similarly *ǵh* and *ǵʰh* both appear as *h* in Shina, but as *z* and *j* in Iranian: *hǎnzǝ* = Skt. *hamsá-*, *halǝzǝ* = Skt. *haridra-*, *hǎt* = Skt. *hástá-*, *hīu* = Skt. *hīdaya-*, *hǎram* = Skt. *hārāmi*, *hǎi* = Skt. *hati-*. The subsequent researches of G. Morgenstierne (*Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*) confirm the evidence thus given by Shina.

Students of Indo-Aryan are fortunate in that Shina has attracted to its study two such scholars as Dr. Bailey and Colonel Lorimer. For Indo-Aryan philology has benefited greatly from their work. May their results stimulate others to



investigate these dialects, which are probably among the last of living Indo-European languages awaiting description and which in all probability have not long to live.

R. L. T.

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THE DEVELOPMENT AND ORIGIN OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE.

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 7, xci + 1179 pp.  
Calcutta University Press, 1926.

Dr. Chatterji has written a book which will form a landmark in the history of Bengali and which will be welcomed and studied by all students of Indo-Aryan linguistics. To the elucidation of his mother-tongue the author has brought a strict training in phonetics and linguistic science and a very considerable knowledge of Old and Middle forms of the language, desiderata not always to be found in writers on the history of Indian languages. Indeed, this book marks an epoch, as the first considerable production of the younger school of scientifically trained Indian linguists.

The author has traced the history of modern Bengali sounds and forms from Primitive Indian (Sanskrit); but he has added also useful and illuminating discussions on the phonology of loanwords, both ancient and modern. Particularly interesting is his discussion of the historical conditions of the spread of the Indo-Aryan languages into E. India, and of their relations with the languages they displaced. This is a field which offers great opportunities to the researcher; and we may hope that Dr. Chatterji will pursue his studies still further in this direction.

The book deserves better indices. There is no subject-index, and its place is not filled by over 50 pages of "contents". The word-index would have been made far more useful to the general student of Indo-Aryan if it could have been constructed on the lines of the index to J. Bloch's *La Langue marathe*, or if at least a corresponding index had been added of Sanskrit words.

Such a work as this requires much more discussion than can

be attempted here. For in it are raised most of the problems of Indo-Aryan history; and if they are not solved, we have here presented the facts from the Bengali side, which may materially help their future solution.

A few points may be mentioned. The author is tempted to explain as pre-Indo-Aryan and even as going back to Indo-European some phenomena which probably find their explanation in Indo-Aryan itself. Thus the *a* of Pali *garu* is not the same as the *a* of Gk. *βάρυς*, which represents IE. \**g<sup>wo</sup>ru-* and has its regular development in Skt. *gurūḥ*: *garu* owes its *a* either to the influence of *gārīyān gāriṣṭhaḥ* or more probably to a process of dissimilation, cf. Pkt. *maūḍa-maūla-* < Skt. *mukūṭa-* *mukula-*, and *pahula-* (never \**puhula-*) < *prthula-*. Equally doubtful is the derivation of Pali *assa* from IE. \**esyēt* on the strength of Gk. *ἄς*η: more likely it is Skt. *syāt* influenced by the commoner strong forms of the present stem, *āsti*, *āsati*, etc.

The most serious fault is perhaps the failure to take sufficiently into account the forms of the other Indo-Aryan languages. No etymology should be made until the corresponding forms in as many of the other modern languages as possible have been considered. Etymologists are peculiarly open to attack, and amidst the vast mass of material, largely new, which the author has offered in this field, there is naturally something that is doubtful: but a stricter observance of this principle might have saved a few slips. *bhērā* 'sheep' cannot be from \**mhēda-* \**mēhāda-* < Skt. *meṣa-*, because Nepali *bhero*, Panjabi *bhedā* indicate Middle Indian *bhedda-*, for which earlier *bhedra-* is suggested by W. Pahari *dhledd* and Sindhi *bhedrī*. *bhedra-* is quoted by BR. from Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. This is reminiscent of, and may possibly be derived from, *medhra-* in Amarakośa and in Hindi *meṛhā*, Singhalese *māda* (through \**mhēdra-*?—though the change is not apparently regular)—which in its turn may be connected with *meṣā-* (> Hindi *meh mes*) as a regular development of \**maṛṣ-dhra-*, but is more probably to be referred to *mēhati*.



Part II, which deals with the history of grammatical forms, is equally valuable. Certainly a notable book.

R. L. T.

THE MIRROR OF POETRY. By 'ABDU 'R-RAHMÂN. 10 × 6½.  
Miratushshir : University of Delhi, 1926.

The *Mirror of Poetry* is an Urdu work consisting of a series of lectures on Oriental poetry, delivered by him at the Delhi University. It is useful for university students and gives in a single volume varied information on grammar, rhetoric, and diction—information that is scattered in various old-fashioned works; but there is little in the lectures that is original or striking. The book is well and clearly lithographed, and is well bound.

D. C. PHILLOTT, *Lieut.-Colonel*.

### Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. THE STONE AGE IN INDIA : being the Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar Lecture delivered on 10th December, 1925, by P. T. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR. 9½ × 6, i + 55 pp., 4 plates, 2 maps. Madras : Government Press, 1926.

The author of this interesting lecture, starting with an outspoken criticism of Darwin's theory of the origin of man through the accumulation of accidental variations, finds mankind's first home on the coast between the Indian Ocean and the jungles of Hindustan, and gives a survey of the culture of the palæolithic and neolithic ages in India as evidenced by the relics of their art and the data of language and religion, drawing the probable conclusion that "the Neolithic Epoch came as a result of gradual evolution from the preceding age" (p. 25) and pointing out that to a considerable extent "the Stone Age is still very much with us" (p. 54). Some of his views on matters of history and language, however, provoke respectful dissent. We can see no adequate

reason for his acceptance of the Diffusionist doctrine that "the fashion of megalithic tombs spread from Egypt to India" (p. 42); his theory of the fundamental unity of *all* the Indian vernaculars, although there are some truths in his arguments, seems on the whole to be radically unsound; and in his denial of an Aryan race (or races) distinct from other races of India and of an Aryan invasion from without (in spite of the admission on p. 43 that "in the Lithic Ages, as later, India had an active intimate intercourse . . . with the rest of Asia"), together with the further conclusions drawn thence by him, he appears to bring his case perilously near to a *reductio ad absurdum*.

2. ASURA INDIA. By ANANTAPRASAD BANERJI-SASTRI, M.A. (Cal.), D.Phil. (Oxon.). 10 × 6½, i + i + xviii + 137 + xvi pp. Patna, 1926.

When once the brilliant discovery was made that the Vedic *Asura* is the same as the Semitic *Aššur*, it was patent that a man of genius would soon arise who would tell us all about it. And now he has come, in the person of Professor Banerji-Sastri, whose eye, ranging in encyclopaedic erudition from China to Peru, discerns the whole course of Asura history, and a good deal besides. *Omnia novit*. He shows us in these pages how the Vedic Asuras and Avestic Ahuras represent the penetration of Assyrian power and culture into Iran and India; how their tribes—Pūrus, Bhr̥gus, Turvaśas, Nāgas, etc.—came to India by sea and land, and left their monuments in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa; how they, advancing upwards from the lower Indus, struggled vainly against the Aryan Tṛtsus and Bharatas descending from the north-west, succumbed to them at the battle of the Paruṣṇī, and partially fused with them; how the Bhārata war marks the Asuras' last struggle for independent existence, and Janamējaya's serpent-sacrifice "is an historical celebration of the conclusion of the Asura supremacy and the birth of a neo-Aryan polity"; how they likewise expanded eastwards to Magadha (Jarā-



sandha!) and Assam (Bhagadatta!!), and southwards as far as Ceylon (Rāvaṇa!!!), finally to merge into the aboriginal Dāsas. He can even discern their religion, their literature, their social institutions and moral ideas, and tells us a great deal about them. All honour is due to the intrepid Hercules Professor Banerji-Sastri, who has made his way to the Garden of the Hesperides and brought away thence—a *sky-lotus*, of a remarkably fine and large sort.

In view of the magnitude of this discovery, it is only a pettifogging criticism that would remark that there is not one passage in Indian and Iranian literature where *asura-ahura* denotes an historical people; that the author's understanding of Avesta and Avestic religion is strikingly faulty and his knowledge of Assyrian apparently second-hand; that his method of comparative philology is prehistoric (on page 101 he derives *virago* from *vir* and *ago*, explaining that it denotes "the power of man", and on p. 113 he equates Uṣas with Isis); that he, a professor of Sanskrit, writes the verbal form *mlecchitavai* on p. 1 as *mlecchhita vai*, and proves by his quotation on p. 20 that he means it to be read *divisim*; and that generally his combinations and conclusions attest his power of imagination rather than his capacity of judgment.

3. CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT INDIA. [By] SITA NATH PRADHAN, M.Sc., Ph.D.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , xxix + i + 291 pp. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1927.

Mr. Pradhan's object is to correct and as far as possible to bring into synchronistic connexion the ancient pedigrees of kings and others which are handed down in Vedic, Epic, and Puranic literature, on lines very like those followed by the lamented Mr. Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historic Tradition*. He deals accordingly with the Vedic Divōdāsa, his contemporaries (the Yadu Satvat, the Haihaya Vītahavya, the Paurava Kṛta, father of Vasu Uparicara, the Āikṣvāka Daśaratha Ājēya, etc.), the descendants of Satvat and Vītahavya, the Bārhadratha dynasty of Magadha descended

from Kṛta, the kings of Hastināpura, the two Pañcālas, and Aṅga, the Ikṣvākus from Daśaratha onwards, the Janakas, the Ikṣvākus of Southern Kōsala, and a number of famous ṛṣis, and he then essays to determine the succession in Magadha from Bimbisāra to Candragupta Maurya and the order and dates of the Pradyōtas. On the basis of these conclusions, and reckoning an average of 28 years for a generation, he fixes the Mahābhārata War at c. 1152 B.C., confirming this result by astronomical calculations, and makes c. 1500 B.C. the starting-point of the later Vedic period beginning with Divōdāsa's conquest of Śambara, so that the 'Ten Kings' Battle falls in c. 1470, Rāma's conquest of Laṅkā in c. 1450, and the accession of Brhadratha I in c. 1425, etc., and "the R̥gvedic Age extends right up to some of the events of the Mahābhārata". He moreover demolishes the Vedic chronology of Dr. A. C. Das, and even criticizes unfavourably the astronomical arguments set forth by the late Lōkamanya Tilak in his *Orion*—which shows much courage and independence. Although Mr. Pradhan's reasonings, in my opinion, are not all equally convincing, his work shows immense industry and ingenuity, and there is certainly "something in it", especially as some of his conclusions partly tally with those of Mr. Pargiter. How much historical fact lies hidden in the traditional pedigrees is still very uncertain; but the attempt to adjust and harmonise these is worth making, and Mr. Pradhan's essay is an energetic step in that direction. The task, however, is made vastly more difficult, and the results more uncertain, by the lack of good old manuscripts and critical editions of the Purāṇas; a really sound critical corpus of the historical parts of the Purāṇas would be an immense boon.

#### 4. DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU POLITY AND POLITICAL THEORIES.

By NARAYAN CHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAYA, M.A. Part I: From the earliest times to the growth of the Imperialistic Movement.  $10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ , x + 327 + 1 pp. Calcutta: R. Cambray and Co., 1927.



Though marred by innumerable misprints, this work is one of distinct merit. The six sections composing it discuss, after a preliminary survey, the political institutions of the Aryans in the earlier and later Vedic ages, the period represented by the Epics, and the centuries which culminated in the rise of the great centralised empires, and finally the speculations and ideals that ruled the minds of men in those days. The task, as the author realises, is beset with difficulties, especially as our sources of information are relatively scanty and our terms sometimes misleading. A striking example of the latter trouble is the use of the word "democracy". Perhaps a *gana* or *saṅgha* of ancient India might not unfairly be compared to a certain type of Greek democracy, though probably as a rule it was more like an oligarchy; but the form of government alike in the Indian and in the Greek state was far removed from that of a modern democracy, which is a vast ochlocracy manipulated by small opposed oligarchies. Again, in treating the evolution of kingship in India it is difficult to do justice at the same time to the limitations imposed by tradition upon early monarchy and to the germs of absolutism inherent in the office from the beginning; there is a temptation to generalise—and perhaps to idealise—*plus aequo*. On the whole, however, although some of Mr. Bandyopadhyaya's views seem to me to be open to criticism, he has handled his difficult themes with an ability and sobriety that deserve recognition, and it is to be hoped that the second volume of his work will not be long delayed.

5. HELENA WILLMAN-GRABOWSKA : LES COMPOSÉS NOMINAUX DANS LE ŚĀTAPATHABRĀHMAṆA. Première partie : Index de la composition nominale du Śātapathabrāhmaṇa avec quatre suppléments. (Mémoires de la Commission Orientale de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres, nr. 10.) 9½ × 6¼, xxii + 134 pp. w Krakowie, 1927.

The present part of this conscientious work contains an alphabetical index of all the compound substantives and

adjectives in the *Śatapatha*, with accentuation, translation, and references, which is followed by appendices giving lists of compound verbs, reduplicated words, derivatives of compounds, and proper nouns (simple, compound, and derived from compounds). Occasionally the authoress has tripped. On p. 16 *ātta-* is translated "mangée", but it is to be analyzed as *ā-tta-*, from *ā-dā*; and on p. 29 *kuvid* is presented as a substantive meaning "interrogateur", whereas it is an interrogative particle, and should have no place in this index. On p. 67 *prabhāvasu* is given without its accent, and long syllables are unmarked in *sūtagrāmaṇī*, p. 112, *svayamātrṇṇā*, p. 115, and *pārā-bhū-*, p. 120. It may also be questioned whether *śimidā* (p. 96), and *jyōg jīv-* (p. 119) should be regarded as compounds. On the whole, however, the work is well done.

6. A. GUÉRINOT: LA RELIGION DJAÏNA. Histoire, doctrine, culte, coutumes, institutions.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ , viii + 351 + i pp., 25 plates. Paris, Louvain printed: P. Geuthner, 1927.

The design of this work is clearly indicated by its title-page, supplemented by the author's statement in his "Avant-propos" that he addresses himself to a popular audience, "hors du cercle trop restreint des spécialistes," and on the whole he has been fairly successful, for the summary accounts of Jain history, teaching, worship, symbolism, iconography, and institutions which he gives us are clear and on the whole correct. The popular character of the book may to some extent excuse features in it which the "cercle restreint des spécialistes" might regard with dissatisfaction. There is, for example, some vagueness of outline in the introductory part. The author on p. 15 asserts that the Buddhists were ultimately forced to leave India on account of persecution by the Brahmans, which is a flight of imagination. On p. 63 he speaks of "la secte Virabanandjou" as a Jain community; but the *Vīra-baṇaṇjus* were not a religious body but a mercantile syndicate with a network of branches spread over Southern India and Ceylon. The capital of the *Vāghêlās*



Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala was at Dholka, not at Anhilwad, as stated on p. 65. *Siddhānta* does not mean "le code de la délivrance", as translated on p. 72, but "established view". The assertion on p. 272 that Jainism borrowed its theory of the soul from the Sāṅkhya is misleading: the classical Sāṅkhya, to which Dr. Guérinot refers, is probably later than Jainism, and he seems to be ignorant of the primitive Sāṅkhya, which was a different proposition. The statement on p. 279 that in architecture the Jains "ont atteint un degré de perfection qui les laisse à peu près sans rivaux" is far too strong: none of the existing Jain temples are marked by first-class beauty of contour and design, though some show marvellous delicacy of detail. *Bandé Djinavaram* (i.e. *Vandē jinavaram*) is wrongly translated on p. 327 "je célèbre l'excellence des Djinās"; it means "I adore the excellent Jina." Moreover, the system of transliterating Indian words, besides being singularly hideous ("Djnyatripoutra"!), is sometimes untruthful, for *gattcha* does not give a French reader a correct idea of the sound of *gaccha*. In a popular book, however, these minor matters do not greatly signify; 'twill serve.

7. BHAGAVĀN MAHĀVĪR AUR MAHĀTMĀ BUDDH. By KĀMTĀ-PRASĀD JAIN.  $7\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ , xvi + i + 271 pp. Surat: Jaina-vijaya Press, 1927.

In these pages the author endeavours to give Hindi readers a survey of the political and social life of India in the times of Mahavīra-Vardhamāna and Gautama Buddha, and of their doctrines and careers; and to this a "foreword" in English is contributed by Dr. B. C. Law, of Calcutta, summarising the principles of Jainism. Writing from the standpoint of a convinced Jain, Mr. Kāmtāprasād nevertheless seeks to do justice to the other party, and he is fairly well read in the elementary literature of the subject; but in regard to historical and critical judgment his work is deficient, and it will scarcely interest Europe.

8. A CENTURY OF PASSION. Being a rendering into English verse of the "Śṛīṅgāraśatakam" [*sic*!] of the Sanscrit poet Bhartṛhari. By C. W. GURNER.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ , v + 42 pp. Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1927.

To render the exuberances of Bhartṛhari's erotic muse into acceptable English verse demands a higher degree of poetic talent and taste than Mr. Gurner appears to possess. His introduction makes somewhat more pleasing reading than his poetry; the drawings on the end-papers leave much to be desired in the matter of artistry.

9. THE SIDDHĀNTA-RATNA (with commentary) OF BALADEVA VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA. Edited with introduction, etc., by GOPINATH KAVIRAJ, M.A. (The Princess of Wales' Saraswati Bhavana Texts, No. 10, part ii.)  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. 1-15, 143-351, i, 1-4. Benares: Vidya Vilas Press, 1927.

10. THE PRĀKṚITA PRAKĀŚA OF VARARUCHI. With the "Sañjīvanī" of Vasantarāja and the "Subodhinī" of Sadānanda. Edited with introduction, etc., by BATUK NATH SHARMA, M.A. . . . and BALADEVA UPĀDHYĀYA, M.A. (Id., No. 19, parts i, ii).  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , 4 + i + i + 405 + xiv pp. Ibid., 1927.

11. THE MĀNSATATTVAVIVEKA OF VIŚVANĀTHA NYĀYAPANČHĀNANA BHATṬACHĀRYA. Edited with introduction, etc., by JAGANNĀTHA ŚĀSTRĪ HOSHING . . . With a Foreword by . . . GOPINĀTHA KAVIRĀJA, M.A. (Id., No. 20.)  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , 3 + 4 + ii + ii + 29 pp. Ibid., 1927.

The first instalment of the *Siddhānta-ratna*, an authoritative guide to the theology of the Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava school, was noticed by us in this *Journal* for January, 1927, p. 168. In the present part it is completed, and a useful introduction summarising the system is added by the learned editor. Vararuci's *Prākṛita-prakāśa* is an old acquaintance, but the



two commentaries in exposition of it that are here published have not been printed previously. The *Saṅgīvanī* is the more important of the two, the *Subōdhiṇī* being brief and apparently based upon it. Both follow the usual lines of the Prakrit grammarians, but the abundance of examples quoted in them gives them a certain value. The *Māṃsa-tattva-vivēka*, by the famous logician Viśvanātha, is a tract on the lawfulness of eating meat, a subject of intense interest to orthodox Hindus, which, however, leaves most Western students somewhat cold.

12. KAVYAPRAKASHA OF MAMMATA. Translated by MAHA-  
MAHOPADHYAYA GANGANATHA JHA, D.Litt. (Revised).  
9 × 5½, xiv + iii + 431 pp. Allahabad: The Indian  
Press, 1925.

In 1898 a young student, 18 years of age, published in the *Pandit* a translation of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Since then the youth has ripened into one of the most eminent scholars of India, and now he republishes his translation in a revised form. The work is one of singular excellence, for the translator's unsurpassed mastery of Sanskrit literature, especially in the departments of *Alaṃkāra* and *Nyāya*, is happily combined with a gift of lucid expression. To the translation are added some useful notes by the Mahāmahōpādhyāya's son, Amaranātha Jhā, which are a foretaste of a separate work now in preparation. As Mammata's analysis of the art of poetry is extremely subtle and at the same time very terse, it presents peculiar difficulties to the translator; but it may be safely asserted that no living scholar could have produced a better version than this.

13. GREATER INDIA. By KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.Litt.  
(Greater India Society, Bulletin, No. 1). 8½ × 5½,  
44 pp. Calcutta, 1926.
14. INDIA AND CHINA. By DR. PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI,  
M.A., D.Litt. (Id., No. 2.) 8½ × 5½, 42 pp. Calcutta,  
1927.

15. INDIAN CULTURE IN JAVA AND SUMATRA. By Dr. BIJAN RAJ CHATTERJEE, D.Litt., Ph.D. (Ib., No. 3.)  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , ii + 40 pp. Calcutta, 1927.

With these three interesting Bulletins the Greater India Society makes a good start in publicity, and we cordially wish it all success in its admirable design of propagating and increasing knowledge of the cultural influence of India on its neighbours. With Professor Jadunath Sarkar as its president and a committee of able scholars to direct it, its prospects are promising. Dr. Nag's contribution is an eloquent (perhaps a little too *à la française* eloquent) discourse on the ideals of peace, progress, and the "open door" which, as he maintains, have guided India through the ages, giving an historical survey of what he calls "her career of internationalism", meaning thereby her cultural relations with other peoples; there is a good deal of truth in his views, though we suspect he hardly does full justice to the other side of the case. The other two essays deal more with matters of fact. Dr. Bagchi briefly but ably surveys the relations of India and China, the ancient routes of communication by land or sea, the intermediary peoples (Yue-chi, Parthians, Soghdians, Kuchians, Khotanese, Tibetans, Mongols), the parts played by Cambodia, Campā, Sumatra, and Java, and finally "Sino-Indian collaboration", while Dr. Chatterjee handles well his theme under the headings "An Outline of Indo-Javanese History", "Shrivijaya—the Empire of the Shailendra Monarchs of Sumatra", "Java and Sumatra in Indian Literature", and "The Ramayana in Java". Though addressed to general readers, these surveys have merit, and will be distinctly useful.

16. DAWN OF NEW INDIA. By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJEE. With a foreword by Sir EVAN COTTON, Kt., C.I.E.  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$ , viii + 126 pp. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar, 1927.

Three essays compose this well-written little book—"The Sannyasi Rebellion in Bengal," "Pandit Jagannath Tarka-



panchanan," and "The College of Fort William"—and all are based upon the records of the Government of Bengal, which are copiously quoted in them. The theme of the first is well known, chiefly through the medium of Bankim-candra Chattôpâdhyâya's *Ānanda-maṭha*, a novel which as a work of literature is excellent, but from the point of view of historical truth is utterly mendacious, representing as bands of saintly patriots gangs of ruffians who under the guise of religion robbed, maltreated, and murdered the unhappy natives of Bengal for many years, until at length they were suppressed by the vigorous measures of Warren Hastings and his officers. By publishing the unvarnished facts, Dr. Banerji effectively dispels the odour of sanctity that hitherto has clung in Bengal to the memory of these vagabonds, and thereby renders a valuable service to his country and the cause of truth. To turn from rogues to honest men, Jagannātha Tarka-pañcānana well merits the honour of a separate essay, for he was the chief author of the *Vivāda-bhaṅgārṇava*, the digest of law prepared for Sir William Jones and translated by Colebrooke, and he was equally eminent as a logician and man of letters. Finally the account of the College of Fort William is a most interesting story, which shows the fine ideals that inspired Wellesley to found it in 1800, and the excellent work that it accomplished.

17. KALYĀPAD-DHARMA-SARVASVAM. By MAHĀMAHŌPĀDHYĀYA SADĀŚIVA MIŚRA.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7$ , ii + vi + 4 + xii + vi + iii + 803 + 24 + xviii + ix pp. Calcutta: Bhārata-mihira Press, B.E. 1331 [1924-5].

The object of this bulky volume is to furnish a guide to the theory and practice of orthodox Hindus in relation to modern conditions of life. In spite of its theoretical rigidity, Hinduism has generally shown considerable elasticity in accommodating itself to circumstances, and of these accommodations our author gives us an exhaustive survey of fluent Sanskrit discussing successively the legal concessions in regard

livelihood and travel, marriage and the family, caste, inheritance, and atonement for lapses, and illustrating his arguments with quotations drawn from a remarkably wide range of reading. To orthodox Hindus it will be very useful ; it would be still more so if it were furnished with a detailed table of contents.

18. THE DISCOURSES ON THE PŪRVA MĪMĀNSĀ SYSTEM. By P. B. SATHE, B.A., LL.M., M.R.A.S.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , 3 + 44 pp. Poona : Mimansa Vidyalyaya, 1927.

In these nine "discourses" the author, with laudable zeal slightly marred in its effect by some imperfections in English idiom and spelling, expounds the nature and value of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā system of doctrine in relation to religious and social life and civil law, defending it vigorously against the objections commonly raised against it in modern India, and pleading for the study of it, especially at the College recently founded for that purpose by the Śikṣaṇa-prasāraka-maṇḍali of Poona. As an intelligent effort to enlighten the public on the importance of Pūrva-mīmāṃsā the pamphlet merits commendation ; to scientific readers it brings practically nothing new.

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THE OCEAN OF STORY. Being C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, now edited with Introduction, fresh explanatory Notes, and terminal Essay, by N. M. PENZER. Vol. VIII.  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ , xxxv + 361 pp. London : Chas J. Sawyer, Ltd., 1927.

The extreme swiftness with which part has followed upon part of Mr. Penzer's great and valuable re-edition of Tawney's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* must undoubtedly evoke our admiration and gratitude. Besides the volume we are now speaking of, the following one, containing above all the extensive bibliography and indexes, has already been issued ; and we feel sure that it will not be long ere with the tenth volume this



magnificent work will have been brought to an end—perhaps within a period of less than five years.

The translation of the text has throughout been revised by Dr. Barnett on whose qualifications for this vast task we need not dwell here. Mr. Penzer himself has added extensive notes to those of Tawney, notes in which are stored up vast and valuable collections of parallels fetched from the innumerable works on folk-tales and folk-lore perused by the author. Besides he has contributed to every volume more or less lengthy treatises on various subjects connected with the tales, subjects which are often of very wide bearing and presenting a considerable interest. At times we, of course, miss some information which we had hoped and expected to find here. But that is the case with every work composed by human beings; and, on the whole, we must be very grateful to Mr. Penzer for the unsparing zeal with which he has endowed us with the fruits of his very wide reading.

There are several minor points, however, in this volume upon which we scarcely feel at one with Mr. Penzer. But it would be impossible, within the space allotted us here, to go into these things, and we must restrict ourselves to a few occasional remarks.

*Añjanādrī* (p. 108), of course, means "Mount Añjana", the "Mountain of Antimony", and nothing else; cf. *Śiṣupālavadha*, i, 15; *Epigr. Ind.*, vi, 323; *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, lxxi, 266. On p. 135 we have a word *tārکشياراتنا*, which Tawney quite correctly rendered by "emerald", though in a note he professes not to know what sort of jewel it means. As *Tārکشيا* is = *Garuḍa* the word really means *Garuḍamāni*, i.e. emerald.<sup>1</sup> On p. 244 we find *almisquere*, etc., explained by "the *salip misri*" of Egypt, Persia, and India." Mr. Penzer adds that "the use of *salep* in betel-chewing seems to have been of very rare occurrence". This we fully believe; nor do we see any reason why *almisquere* should

<sup>1</sup> On this, cf. the present writer's work *Die Suparṇa Sage*, p. 379, n. 3.

not mean here what it always means, viz. "musk".<sup>1</sup> In the passage quoted from Varthema on p. 258, *coffolo* is, of course, an old mistake for *foffolo* = *faufel*, Areca.<sup>2</sup>

Appendix I deals somewhat superficially with the "Swan-maiden" *motif*. The author gives it as his opinion that this *motif* originally came from India and spread in different directions to the most distant parts of the world. But the swan plays no part in the folk-lore of India; for the *hamsa* is invariably the goose and not the swan. And, as far as we are aware there is little or nothing of swan-maiden tales in the Buddhist literature which would account for the spread of the *motif* with Buddhism through Central and Eastern Asia. If there be really a common origin of the swan-maiden tales it seems far more probable that at some remote time they originated in more northerly regions and spread from there to India and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

Appendix II is called "The Romance of Betel-chewing", and makes easy and pleasant reading while bestowing ample information upon a somewhat out-of-the-way subject. Mr. Penzer has here made some very important suggestions, and we would fain see him continue his researches in this fascinating field. We feel slightly astonished that anyone should write about the date of betel-chewing in India without mentioning the well-known theory of Kern on this problem.<sup>4</sup> But little harm is done by that as most probably Kern's suggestion cannot be upheld.

We should like to wind up this short review by sincerely congratulating Mr. Penzer on the success of his great undertaking.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiático*, i, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Port. *fofoli*, Dalgado, l.c., i, 400.

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of bibliography I quote here an article on Indian swan-maiden tales by the late Professor Johansson in *Finsk Tidskrift*, xlv, (1899), 1 sqq. Cf. also Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, ii, 60 sqq.; L. von Schroeder, *Griechische Götter und Heroen*, i, 34 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pali-Geschriften voorkomende*, p. 6 sq.; also Speyer, *Studies about the KSS.*, p. 49 sq.



**A HISTORY OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN INDIA.**

By A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B. Humphrey Milford,  
Oxford University Press. 4s. 6d.

This is a careful and painstaking effort to trace the history of village communities in one portion of India, and to suggest the reasons for their decay. The author truly observes that there is an unfortunate tendency to assume that what existed in one Province of India existed in another, and that what was true of one age would hold good in others also. He is not altogether free from this tendency himself, as, for example, when he assumes that the observations of Megasthenes on the chivalrous methods of warfare in India applied equally in Western India throughout the ages until the Mahomedans (according to the author) introduced hunnish methods of barbarism. Nor is he altogether exempt from the inclination towards vague laudation of bygone ages. For example, he asserts that "owing to the absence of modern civilization and its artificial life, diseases were few. Elders again, both male and female, used to possess, until recently, a surprising amount of medical knowledge. Every person above forty used to know by experience how to treat himself and others in the case of ordinary ailments and diseases." As in another passage he states that the sanitary conditions in the villages have changed but little from early times, it is somewhat difficult to realize why disease should formerly have been so rare. The common diseases of India such as fevers, cholera, and small pox have certainly existed since the earliest days of which there is record, and they were presumably as difficult of treatment as they are in modern times.

The main contention of the book seeks to establish that village communities were comparatively uniform in the North and in the West of India, and that, at any rate, the communities of the latter had greater affinity with the Aryan North than with the Dravidian South. In order to establish this thesis, the author maintains that the chief contact of the Vedic Aryans with the Dravidians took place not in

the Deccan, but in the Karnatak; and that there is no evidence whatever that Gujurat was ever a Dravida settlement. This view is hardly likely to receive general acceptance. Most authorities consider that the inhabitants of Maharashtra were largely Dravidian and, to judge from the authorities he quotes, this seems to be also the view of Mr. S. V. Viswanatha in his recent book, *Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture*. It is, at least, still possible to argue that the name itself Maharashtra was derived from the Mahars, its presumably Dravidian inhabitants. The Deccan has always been the meeting place of the races from which the admittedly diverse Maratha clans took their origin. As regards Gujarat, leaving aside the question whether the Brahui remnant in Baluchistan does not indicate a Dravidian entry into India by the north-west, Mr. R. D. Bannerji and other authorities believe that the remains found at Mohan-jo-daro in Sind have Dravidian characteristics. It would be curious indeed if Dravidians were north and south of Guzarat without having entered and settled in it. Again, both Mr. Altekar and Mr. Vishwanatha lay stress on the point that the Dravidians conducted a vast maritime trade with foreign countries. One of the principal centres of that trade was Barygaza or Broach in Gujarat. If the trade of that port was not conducted by Dravidians, in whose hands was it?

It is at least curious that both as regards the Rayatwari tenure and the grain share, the likeness with the Dravidian south is closer than with the north, though Mr. Altekar maintains that the differences from the prevailing system in the north arose through the Mahomedan invasion of the latter part of India. The arrested development of the village communities in Gujurat Mr. Altekar, whose bias appears to be somewhat anti-Moslem, similarly ascribes to the replacement of the paternal solicitude of the Hindu rulers by the cold indifference of the new conquerors, though he admits that the Mahomedans did little to interfere with the internal arrangements of the village communities. But this hardly



allows for the fact that in many parts of Guzarat and Kathiawar, Rajput States preceded the Mahomedan supremacy, were not greatly affected as regards internal management by that supremacy, and have in fact survived the Mahomedan kingdoms.

Mr. Altekar makes no mention of the *mirási* tenure in the Deccan, the existence of which would appear to run counter to his argument. The truth seems to be that the old kingdoms of the Deccan disintegrated far more completely than was the case with the kingdoms of Gujarat. This combined with the warlike and independent character of the people and the difficult nature of their mountainous country led to a far more virile village life in Maharashtra than in Gujarat. Mr. Altekar, however, correctly points out that the village councils were more informal and less Brahmanic than was the case further south. They were composed of the elders of the village of all classes, without any definite system of election.

The author regrets the disappearance of the old Panchayat courts, and seems to blame both the Mahomedan and the British Governments for causing or accelerating this result by the establishment of a regular judiciary. He does not seem to allow sufficiently for the love of appeal of the Indian litigant, nor for the effect of the creation, in British times, of the lawyer class which naturally prefers the more complicated processes of the judicial courts to the simple and informal methods of the Panchayat. Efforts to revive informal and friendly modes of decision, as for example, recourse to conciliators under the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, have always failed, and must fail so long as appeal to higher tribunals is possible.

The author demurs to the view of Maine and others, that the existence and authority of the Panchayat was due to the general anarchy of the country. He admits, however, that there was no State system of education, or of public works, or of sanitation, or of medical relief. The villagers

had to help themselves, because there was no one else to help. Once a government was established, centralized as the author would say, or *ma-bap* as others might describe it, which did the work, however imperfectly, the villagers ceased to help themselves. The process has steadily gone on. Forty years ago it was not impossible to collect funds from the village for the removal of prickly pear, or the repair of the chavdi, or the deepening of the village tank. These funds obtained a grant more or less equivalent from Government. Now-a-days it has become almost impossible to raise money by such subscriptions; and, to mention just one result, the area under tank irrigation has in many parts seriously decreased.

As the author points out, the Village Panchayat Act passed by the Bombay Legislative Council in 1920 has proved a dead letter. No village has yet opted for a Panchayat. He might equally have referred to similar previous failures. The Taluka Local Boards might well be abolished, and the Sanitary Committees can only be introduced under the protests of the villagers concerned. While, however, the author enumerates several of the causes of the decay of village life, he somewhat curiously omits two of the most important. One is the power of the money lender and of the subordinate Civil Court. Whatever was the ancient status of the occupant of the land as regards the Crown, it is at least certain that free trade in land did not exist. The combined power of the moneylender and the Civil Court led to the passing of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act. This, however, has been at its best, a palliative, and in no sense a remedy. The second evil is the subdivision and still more the fragmentation of holdings, the fatal results of which have been shown by Mr. Keatinge and Dr. Mann.

It is interesting to examine the remedies suggested by the author for the revival of village communities whose decay he recognizes and deplores. He naturally starts with a few words of blame for Government, on account of their failure



to make the Panchayat Act popular, though he does not explain how a system, which the people do not ask for, is to be forced upon them, and is still to be popular. He next suggests that the drain on village ability should be stopped, but he does not explain how the clever boy is to be prevented from seeking his fortune in a wider sphere. The Brahman boy has done so for many generations ; it is scarcely possible to prevent the Maratha and the Mahar from doing likewise. His further suggestion is that Government should restore to the village some of the local fund payments. Here there seems some confusion of thought. Government do not absorb any of the local fund revenue ; in fact, they supplement it largely. Localization in the village of the local fund cess would mean diminution of the resources of the District Local Board. The author holds that any deficiency in funds should be made up by compulsory unpaid labour by the inhabitants of the village. This would in our opinion be entirely salutary and useful, but it would hardly make the Panchayats popular, and seems contrary to one of the most cherished principles of the League of Nations at Geneva.

The author somewhat optimistically opines that Village Councils so revived could be safely trusted with judicial powers. It seems obvious, however, that village courts could never be successful, unless power of appeal to higher courts were debarred ; and, perhaps, unless the assistance of the local lawyer was debarred also.

Curiously enough, the author makes no reference to what is perhaps the most hopeful avenue of revival and regeneration, the Co-operative Movement. This movement does teach the people to help themselves and each other. It supplies an easy method for the deposit of savings. It can improve the agricultural methods of the villager, and it affords a loophole of escape to the cultivator from the moneylender. It can even do something towards prevention of subdivision and fragmentation, though probably not very much, without special legislation.

Although it is not possible to agree fully with the author's contentions, his book well deserves study and attention.

P. R. CADELL.

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SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1925. Vol. I. Oxford University Press. 25s.

This volume, written by Professor Arnold Toynbee, deals entirely with the affairs of the Islamic world from the conclusion of the Great War to the year 1926. It has been compiled with the care and impartiality to be expected from the author, and will be of the greatest interest and value to all students of Eastern affairs. The account of the resurrection of the Wahhabi power is of particular usefulness. Those interested in Indian affairs will find the problems of the Frontier set out with much clearness. The only point, and that a small one, apparently unnoticed is the series of petty wars and disturbances among the Baluchis living within the Persian frontier. Exception might perhaps be taken to the statement that, before Sir Robert Sandeman crossed the mountains in 1868, the Baluchis had been as notorious for turbulence and savagery as their Pathan neighbours. As a matter of fact, the relations between the Baluchis and the Authorities of Sind, who administered the affairs of the then frontier, had been friendly for many years, from the days of John Jacob onwards. Nor had the Baluchis who had immigrated into Sind and the Southern Panjab ever been so troublesome as the Pathans. Even the Pathans of the Pishin district had always been more commercially minded and therefore more tractable than the more northern members of their race. The point is of some importance, as it is sometimes argued that the policy adopted in Baluchistan could have been followed with equal success on other parts of the frontier. The author rightly points out that the régime followed in Waziristan is precarious, because it is at the mercy of Afghan policy; and that, indeed, the importance of the Afghan factor in the



Indian Frontier problem continues and increases. The results of the visit to Europe of the King of Afghanistan will therefore have a peculiar interest to the Indian Empire.

P. R. CADELL.

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L'ETHNOLOGIE DU BENGAL. By BIREN BONNERJEA.  
9 $\frac{1}{4}$   $\times$  7 $\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xx, 169. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1927.

This book, as the author states in his introduction, is but a sketch of the ethnology of Bengal, with a summary of beliefs and superstitions current therein. Chapters i-iv treat of the races and tribes found among the population generally, their religion, rites, and customs. The contents of chapters v-viii, which deal with demons, folk-lore connected with the animal and vegetable kingdoms, magic, omens, divination, and popular medicine, are said to have been mostly collected in the district of Nadiā, and may therefore be regarded as referring specially to that part of Bengal. In the notes references, collected with much industry, have been given to the occurrence of similar customs and beliefs in other countries, as recorded by writers on ethnology in numerous publications, a formidable list of which (well over 200) is prefixed to this volume.

Bengal is described as including all the districts that constitute Bihār, Choṭā Nāgpur, and Orissā (with their Feudatory States), Calcutta and eleven districts of Bengal proper, with the State of Sikkim superadded. Why all the northern and eastern districts of Bengal have been omitted, is not explained. Ever since the days of Akbar the eastern and northern districts have formed part of the province of Bengal, unless we except the few years between 1905 and 1912, when the Bengal districts were divided between two provinces by the widely condemned "Partition of Bengal"; but even then the Darjeeling district was left with the western province. Indeed, the ancient Vaṅga, from which Bengal takes its name, lay in the eastern area. The maps in Appendix A, which show

the actual limits of Bengal, naturally conflict with the definition given. The population of Mr. Bonnerjea's Bengal is given on p. 1 as 74,745,000; but according to the table of religions the total is 79,973,161, while the figures given in the statement headed "Population of Bengal" (by castes) total under 21,000,000 (*vide* tables in App. A). We are also informed that there are 241,350 Buddhists in this Bengal. But where can so many be found, if the Chittagong Division is to be excluded? Still more strange is the statement that among the important plants of Bengal are coffee and opium. The opium poppy used, no doubt, to be grown in Bihār and adjoining tracts; but, as is well known, this cultivation has long since been stopped in those areas; and we would be much interested to learn in what portion of the area defined on p. 1 coffee is an important local plant. Surely, again, the rhinoceros can hardly be correctly described as a wild animal peculiar to Bengal. It must be an extremely rare occurrence if a rhinoceros be seen now in any of the districts named. If the author had special reasons for restricting his survey to the area specified, the Gāro, Khāsi, Mīri, Ābor, Gālong, Poliyā, Koch, etc., tribes hardly fall within its horizon. As to the languages pertaining to the Austric family, the author would have done better perhaps to adopt the classification given in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. He might also have given his reasons for holding that the Orāons belong to the "Kolarian", and not to the "Dravidian", family.

C. E. A. W. O.

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POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARIKSHIT TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY. By HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D. 2nd edition.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , pp. xix, 416. University of Calcutta, 1927.

This is a revised and considerably enlarged edition of Professor Raychaudhuri's work, first published in 1923. Part I



deals with the period from Parikṣit to Bimbisāra. The author seeks to show, as he tells us in his preface, "that chronological relation of the national transactions before 600 B.C. is not impossible." He has laid under contribution the usual authorities, the Vedic, Puranic, Buddhist, and Jaina texts—though he does not appear to place much reliance upon the last-named (cf. pp. 6 and 72). A vast mass of records has been collated, and the evidence marshalled in a very concise and able, and in some respects original, manner. The apposite quotations from the original texts are useful. Professor Raychaudhuri regards Parikṣit I and Parikṣit II, as they are named by the late Mr. Pargiter in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, as being probably one and the same king, and as identifiable with the Vedic Parikṣit. By "the great Janaka" he refers to the Janaka of the later Vedic texts, whose court is said to have been thronged with Brāhmaṇas, and not to the traditional first king Janaka, the eponymous founder of the Janakavaṃśa, or to Janaka Śiradhvaja, the reputed father of Sitā. Synchronizing Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana with Āśvalāyana and the Buddha, he inclines, it seems, to place Parikṣit in the ninth, and the "great Janaka" in the seventh century B.C., though he wisely avoids coming to any positive conclusion as to these debatable dates, and points out that if the evidence of the Purāṇas were accepted we would have to place them some five centuries earlier. If it could be established that Parikṣit came into power at the beginning of the ninth century, or the end of the tenth, this would help to corroborate the approximate chronology suggested by Mr. Pargiter, having regard also to the synchronism between Senapati Bārhadratha and Adhisimakṛṣṇa. But until more convincing evidence is discovered, most scholars will probably agree in the verdict of Vincent Smith, that nothing approaching exact chronology is yet available for periods anterior to about 650 B.C.

Much of the matter in Part II will perhaps be familiar to students of Indian history; but it has been arranged in a

fresh and scholarly manner, while several important suggestions have been made on different questions. One or two of these may be cited as examples. On pp. 72-3 reasons are set forth for accepting the Ceylon tradition that Śīsunāga was later than Bimbisāra. The view recorded by Mahāmahopādhyāya H.P. Śāstrī that the ultimate dismemberment of the Mauryan empire was due to a reaction promoted by the Brāhmanas, is vigorously controverted. Whatever other causes may have operated, and Professor Raychaudhuri undoubtedly lays his finger on more than one such, Brahmanical influences cannot be ignored. The arguments used for holding that Demetrius,<sup>1</sup> rather than Menander, was the Yavana invader of the Madhyadeśa in the time of Pushyamitra, and that Simuka, the founder of the Śātavāhana dynasty, must be placed in the first century B.C., deserve careful consideration.

Since Hoernle made his well-known suggestion as to the identity of Devagupta, mentioned in two inscriptions of Harṣavardhana, several writers have attempted to frame the history of the later Guptas of Eastern Mālava and Bihār and the Maukharis of Kanauj. The period presents many difficulties, which are not likely to be solved until some further evidence reveals itself. Having regard to the conditions of the times and the bitter enmity of the Maukharis, who were then very powerful, it seems unlikely that the Susthitavarman mentioned in the Aphaṇḍ inscription of Ādityasena as having been defeated by Mahāsenagupta of E. Mālava, could have been the king of Kāmarūpa, as the author states. Fleet's suggestion that he was the Maukhari king of that name, whom we know to have been contemporaneous with Mahāsenagupta, seems more probable.

Not the least valuable part of the contents of this volume are the numerous comments on the geographical information supplied in the records quoted; and it is a matter of regret

<sup>1</sup> For the latest reading of the Hāthigumphā inscription reference to the Yavana king, see *JBORES*, XIII, 228.



that of the five maps entered in the Table of Contents (p. xvi), only one, viz. that of " Bhāratavarsha " appears in the volume before us. As regards this map we are not told what specific period, if any, it refers to. In any case, the positions assigned to the Niṣādas, S. Kosala, Kāmboja, and the Rikṣa mountains seem to call for some explanation. On the other hand, the geographical information given in the text is extensive, and often suggestive, and it indicates that much attention has been devoted to this important auxiliary to ancient Indian historical research. The indexes, both bibliographical and general, have been very well prepared.

C. E. A. W. O.

ETYMOLOGISCHES UND WORTGESCHICHTLICHES. By K. F. JOHANSSON. 87 pp. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1927.

The late Dr. K. F. Johansson, the predecessor of the present writer as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Uppsala, was one of the most accomplished linguists of his time. His activities in his special field of research began about forty years ago. Together with Noreen, the great founder of modern Scandinavian philology, and the two very prominent classical scholars, Professors Danielsson and Persson, who are happily still living, he founded that admirable school of comparative philology at Uppsala, which, during its halcyon days, may well have been able successfully to vie even with that of Leipzig.

Johansson's occupation with etymology was of long standing, and some twenty-five years ago he began to plan an etymological dictionary of Sanskrit on a scale which in exhaustiveness and completeness, leaves every one of its predecessors far behind. Unfortunately, at his premature death he had only finished about two-thirds of the whole, which already forms a giant manuscript of some 6,000 leaves. Although it must probably be strictly curtailed, the present

writer hopes, by and by, to lay this stupendous work before the learned public.

The little book reviewed here contains only four articles, dealing with the Sanskrit words *nepathya*, *nigranthana*, etc., *vaśā* and *vānya*, etc., articles which are of too great length to be included in an etymological dictionary. The manuscript was completed by the author shortly before his death, and the little book was seen through the press by the present writer. Every page bears witness to its author's vast power of combination, and truly inexhaustible learning. Not since the days of Pott have etymological researches been carried on on this magnificent scale.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

#### MUHAMMADAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE.

By TAUFIQ CANAAN, M.D., Physician to the German Deaconesses' Hospital, Jerusalem. Luzac and Co., London, 1927.

This book is a reprint from the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*. It is a very valuable and interesting piece of work. The author has taken full advantage of unique opportunities of co-operating in the important task of collecting before it is too late all the available material regarding the folklore, customs, and superstitions current in the Holy Land. For a variety of reasons the country is changing rapidly. The simple, if crude, patriarchal atmosphere of Palestine is fast disappearing and a civilization of a more sophisticated nature is taking its place. Dr. Canaan's work is based on a study of 235 shrines, which he has examined *in situ*, and he has also made a collection of stories told about the local saints and of verses sung in their honour. He has too made a voluminous collection of Palestinian proverbs and idioms, which must be of much value and interest, though he has not drawn on it much in the present work. Apart from its value for the study of primitive religion and archæology,



this work has a special interest on linguistic grounds. Many of the verses cited, though they have little merit as poetry, are of great interest from this point of view. The verses are quoted in the Roman character, which allows the Palestinian pronunciation to be indicated in a way that would be impossible, if the Arabic character were used. They are accompanied by translations, which are literal and generally accurate. Over one word, however, which occurs several times, I venture to differ from the author. On page 259 we have the line

*šōbeš 'ar-rǧāl yom el-ḥarb mā wallū*

which is rendered "Recite a *šobāš* for the men who in the day of war do not flee", and there is a footnote that the word "*šōbeš*" is unknown to a selection of six authorities cited.

The same word occurs in a line on page 312, where it is translated "Call a *šobāš*", but no note is added. At page 320, where the word again occurs, it is translated in the same way, but there is a footnote to the effect that the word means "to chant a song aloud and in company".

It seems to me probable, almost certain, that the word is merely the common Persian word شاباش (bravo, a corruption from شاد باش), which has crept into colloquial Arabic and that it is used in all these cases as an exclamation.

R. P. DEWHURST.

IRANIAN STUDIES. By CURSETJI ERACHJI PAVRY, late Principal of the Nasarvanji Ratanji Tata Zend Pahlavi Madressa. Bombay: Captain Printing Works, 1927.

This is a collection of essays on miscellaneous subjects written by a veteran Parsi scholar and translated into English from Gujarati by his son. They all deal with ritual and historical questions connected with the Zoroastrian religion. In view of the indifferent paper and printing, the price of this rather small book (Rs. 10) seems to me unduly high.

These essays are interesting and display a good deal of knowledge, but there is little or no evidence of any original research or independence of thought in their rather discursive and disconnected matter. The book as a whole suffers inevitably from a lack of co-ordination and unity of design. It is rarely clear in any essay exactly what position the writer wishes to establish, or with what object various points of detail are enumerated and discussed. The writer's method does not seem to be definitely historical, exegetical or controversial, and there is throughout no definite logical cohesion.

R. P. DEWHURST.

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A YEAR AMONG THE PERSIANS. By EDWARD GRANVILLE BROWNE. With a Memoir by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. Cambridge University Press, 1926.

Forty years have elapsed since the late Professor Browne spent the year in Persia, which he described in what Sir E. Denison Ross rightly calls one of the world's most fascinating and instructive books of travel. This truly great book was published in 1893, and in the following year a long and appreciative review, written by Sir Frederick Goldsmid, appeared in this Society's *Journal* (pp. 194 et seq.). I feel that the appearance, long overdue, of a reprint of the book, accompanied by a sympathetic Memoir written by a scholar well-qualified to appreciate the author's unique gifts as an Orientalist, ought not to pass unnoticed. I have always felt that I owed much to the book myself. In 1895 a friend in Cawnpore spoke to me about it enthusiastically, and after borrowing his copy I procured one from Calcutta, which has been re-read by me more than a dozen times, and lent to many friends, English and Indian. Apart from the great enjoyment derived from the book, the numerous apt quotations in it from Persian poetry, rendered into English with an altogether exceptional skill and felicity, acted as a



powerful stimulus to an incipient love of Persian literature. A further debt of a more personal kind was that it served as an introduction to the writer himself. I spent a few weeks in England in the winter of 1900-1, and in January, 1901, I went to Cambridge solely with the object of seeing Professor Browne. I knew no one in Cambridge at the time, and I was armed with no introduction, but by a lucky chance I found Professor Browne in his room on my arrival, and, after introducing myself as a fervent admirer of his book, I received from him much courtesy and kindness, which culminated, when I next visited England in 1905, in an invitation to stay with him in Pembroke College in the long vacation. He was a most delightful host and a most brilliant talker. It will always be a source of satisfaction to me that I had the privilege of reviewing the last volume of his great history of Persian Literature for this *Journal* and that I was informed that the review had given him great pleasure.

One small point connected with the book now under discussion was mentioned by me verbally to the writer. There is a very fine Persian couplet cited at the beginning of the sixth chapter, which Browne renders more than adequately:—

“Free-thought and faith—the upshot’s one; they wrangle  
o’er a name:

Interpretations differ, but the dream is still the same.”

This is attributed to Šâib, but I pointed out that I had been unable to find it in the *Kulliyât* of that poet. Professor Browne thought that he had seen the couplet attributed to Šâib in an anthology of Persian poetry compiled by some Turk.

There is another couplet at the head of the 17th chapter, which I have always admired very much, taken from a very beautiful ode written by the Babi poetess Qurratu’l ‘Ain. The whole of Browne’s rendering of this ode will be found on page 535, and it seems to me to maintain a remarkably high level throughout. I should like to quote it in extenso, but I limit myself to the dominant couplet first mentioned:—

"Sikandar's pomp and display be thine, the Qalandar's  
habit and way be mine,  
That if it please thee I resign, while this though bad is  
enough for me."

Of this book as a whole it may be said that it reveals an astonishing memory, a knowledge of the language and literature of the country phenomenal in a young man, and a wonderful sympathy with all that is best in the culture and mental outlook of the Persian people.

R. P. DEWHURST.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE THESAURUS SYRIACUS OF R. PAYNE  
SMITH, S.T.P., COLLECTED AND ARRANGED BY HIS  
DAUGHTER, J. P. MARGOLIOUTH. 4to, pp. xix, 345.  
Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1927. 42s. net.

No one is more qualified to write such a book than Mrs. Margoliouth. Already before she has assisted her father in the compilation of that monumental work, the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, and, paradoxical as it may sound, it is much easier to compile a dictionary than to write a supplement. In the former case much preparatory work has already been done, and although no doubt great industry and care is required, as well as profound scholarship, to gather it up and arrange it systematically, still greater is the care and competence needed for a supplement. One must be fully steeped in the knowledge of the whole material contained in the dictionary, in order to find out the lacunæ, and fill up the gaps discovered only by indefatigable industry and consummate knowledge. Mrs. Margoliouth has practically put now the final touch to the *Thesaurus*, for she has gathered up her material from a number of works which have appeared since the publication of that book. She has spread her net very wide, as the bibliography at the beginning shows, having included in it not only a large number of recently published Syriac texts, but also Manichæan and even Mandæan from Nöldeke's Grammar. Whether she would have been able to add anything



more from gleanings of the *Qolasta* and the *Book of St. John*, published by Lidzbarski, must remain doubtful, for some of the words occurring in these writings in which I am specially interested are already entered in this supplement. I refer, e.g., to the word "šekhina", which has a history of its own, especially through the difference of the meaning given to it by Jewish, Samaritan, and Mandæan tradition. Full information is now found in the supplement, amplified also by reference to the Manichæan text, *ex ungue leonim*. All students of the Syriac literature are sure to unite in praise of this excellent piece of work. A word of appreciation must be added for the fine typographical execution, which one is accustomed to find in all the productions of the Clarendon Press.

M. GASTER.

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SEFER HA-TAMAR. Das Buch von der Palme des Abu Affah aus Syrac. Ein Text aus der arabischen Geheimwissenschaft. Nach der allein erhaltenen hebräischen Uebersetzung. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von G. SCHOLEM. 59 + 50 pp., 8vo. Part I, Jerusalem, 1926; Part II, Hannover: Heinz Lafaire, 1927.

Dr. Scholem publishes here for the first time the Hebrew text with a German translation of a book which claims to be the translation of an Arabic work ascribed to a certain Abu Affah. It is called *The Book of the Palm-tree*. It consists of two parts. The first is a treatise on pneumatic astrological speculations, leading up to the second part, the practical application of those speculations, giving directions for the preparation of a bird out of the twigs of a palm-tree. It becomes a magical bird, able to answer all the questions that are put to it in a special manner. Dr. Scholem proves that the author, who is called Abu Affah al Saragosi, was really a man from Syracuse. He was well acquainted with the King of Sicily, and the treatise is in the form of an epistle sent to the pupil in Marakesh. The author must have lived before 1100,

since he refers to the Arab domination of Sicily. But Dr. Scholem goes one step further, and doubts the authenticity of the name. He characterizes the writing as pseudepigraphic. But the details, on the contrary, which are contained in the writing do not warrant the doubt as to the authorship of Abu Aflah. True, the author describes his work as resting on one ascribed to King Solomon, who is credited with the creation of this magic bird. Rules are given in the name of King Solomon. They are very obscure. Dr. Scholem, who in spite of all these difficulties has rendered the text into German very satisfactorily, still in consequence admits that his translation of these twenty rules is tentative. The book is a very important contribution to the history of magical operations. The episode of the banishing of the ravens from the "island" of Sicily is an interesting parallel to similar stories of reptiles and other obnoxious animals being banished by saints or magicians. It is obviously incomplete, as no reason seems to be given for the persistent gathering of the ravens over the palace of the king (cf. Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, No. 352). The Arabic original of this Hebrew text has not yet been discovered, which adds a special value to this publication.

M. GASTER.

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OZAR MASSAOTH, a collection of itineraries by Jewish travellers to Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and other countries, pilgrimage to holy tombs and sepulchres, with maps, notes and index. Selected and edited by J. D. EISENSTEIN. 4to, 352 pp. (two columns to the page). New York, 1926.

This volume contains the itineraries of four and twenty Jewish travellers who visited eastern countries between the middle of the twelfth and the middle of the nineteenth century. The work, which is written in Hebrew throughout, is introduced by the narrative of journeys undertaken in



Talmudic time up to the second half of the twelfth century. The author enters on his subject proper with the travels of the famous Benjamin of Tudela, whose work has been printed many times in the Hebrew original and translated into a number of European languages (twice into English). It is very attractively written, and throws a good deal of light on the geography and history of lands in Western Asia. Strange to say, the author omitted to mention Al Ḥarizi, a contemporary traveller who did not compile a historical account of his journeys, but described them in short verses embodied in the 35th and 46th chapters of his *Taḥkemōni*, maqāmas written in imitation of Al Hariri's famous work. Nearly all travellers in the fifteenth century were either French, Spanish, or Italian. In more recent times we encounter the names of H. D. J. Azulāi, Romanelli, and in the last century Dr. Louis Loewe, the travelling companion of Sir Moses Montefiore and Lady Montefiore. Each account in the book is prefaced by a biographical sketch. An appendix describes the position of important graves to which pilgrimages are still made. The book is accompanied by cartographical sketches and photo-gravures. The editor is to be commended for the thoroughness of the work, which could only have been achieved by industrious research. A translation should receive a warm welcome.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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ABENHÁZAM DE CÓRDOBA Y SU HISTORIA CRÍTICA DE LAS IDEAS RELIGIOSAS. Por MIGUEL ASÍN PALACIOS de las RR. AA. ESPAÑOLA, etc. Tomo Primero. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1927.

Ibn Ḥazm of Cordova is ranked with Ṭabarī as the most prolific of Islamic authors. The merit of "discovering" him is shared by Dozy and Goldziher. The former in his *History of the Arabs in Spain* gave in translation some selections from a treatise on love by this author (published by Petrof in

1914); and the latter in his monograph on the Zahirites gave extracts from the treatise on Heresies and Sects (published in Cairo in five volumes, A.H. 1317-21). Of this vast work Professor Asín Palacios, of whose work on the *Divina Commedia* an English translation has appeared, proposes to give an exhaustive account in Spanish, occupying numerous volumes; the volume of which the title is reproduced above is devoted to the biography and bibliography of the author. The materials for the life (A.H. 383-456) are fairly copious; in the first place autobiographical notices in Ibn Ḥazm's published works, which Professor Asín Palacios has collected with great care; in the second the accounts of the author compiled by the authors of biographical dictionaries. The Professor's wide reading in both Eastern and Western literature has furnished numerous supplements to both these sources. The charm of his style renders the perusal of his book unusually agreeable.

The love-affair with which the biography starts was introduced by Dozy into his history (*Spanish Islam*, translated by F. Griffin Stokes, pp. 577-80), who accounted for its chivalrous character by Ibn Ḥazm's descent from Spanish Christians. "In vain did such orientalized Christians repudiate their descent; in their innermost nature there lingered a delicate and spiritual element which was not Arabian." This view is assailed by Asín Palacios, and it would seem with justice. There is little in Ibn Ḥazm's love-story which cannot be paralleled from the poems of Arabs who had no Christian ancestry.

Kant observes that a change of religion is popularly regarded as discreditable, and this is true of even so mild a change as transference from one of the Sunni law-schools to another. Ibn Ḥazm offended twice in this way. He began as a Mālikite, shifted into the school of Shāfi'i, and again into that of Dāwūd the Zahirite. His chief historical importance lies in his success in obtaining adherents to the Zahirite school, whose fortunes are recorded by his biographer. It has long been extinct.



An earlier study by Professor Asín Palacios was devoted to Ibn Ḥazm's treatise on morals, which has supplied some materials for the study of the author's character. His practice was not always in accord with his theory. According to the latter the controversialist should be courteous in his language. In practice Ibn Ḥazm is proverbially violent, and his want of self-restraint is regarded as the cause of many of his failures and misfortunes. It may be hoped that his admiration for veracity received more practical illustration.

In calling Ibn Ḥazm "the first Historian of Religious Ideas" (p. 267) Professor Asín Palacios claims more for him than he claims for himself; for in his preface he admits that he had numerous predecessors. One, who in learning was probably superior to Ibn Ḥazm, is Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, whose work was published by the late Professor Huart with the title *Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*. In the list of works by Ibn al-Kalbi, who died in A.H. 204, there is a *Book of Religions of the Arabs*, which belongs to this subject; and the work of Epiphanius, who died A.D. 403, is very similar both in scope and spirit to that of Ibn Ḥazm.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, true that the latter displays far more originality and thought than could have been expected from an author of four hundred volumes. Ibn Ḥazm pointed out difficulties in the Biblical narratives which lay dormant till the rise of Biblical criticism in the eighteenth century. And students of Islam will welcome the profound study of this treatise which the professor promises us.

While he has endeavoured to render these Prolegomena intelligible to those who are not specialists, even advanced students will find them a mine of geographical and historical information. And since the study of Spanish has recently been making great strides in this country, the language in which they are written should not prevent their being widely read and appreciated here.

D. S. M.

<sup>1</sup> Professor A.P. suggests that *Fisal* in the title *al-Fisal fi'l-Milal wal-Aḥad wal-Niḥal* is "an arbitrary broken plural of *faṣl*". Few will accept this. It would be simpler to vocalize *faṣl*, since *Milal* with *Niḥal* furnishes a rhyme.

FRÜHARABISCHE LIEBESGESCHICHTEN: EIN BEITRAG ZUR VERGLEICHENDEN LITERATURGESCHICHTE. Von Dr. BUDI PARET. (*Sprache und Dichtung*, Heft 40.) Bern: Paul Haupt, 1927.

This work is a translation of select stories from the *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿUshshāq* of Ibn al-Sarrāj, who died A.H. 500. The original was published A.H. 1301 in Constantinople (Jawāʿib Press). The title is rendered by the translator (*Ring*) *Kampfplätze der Liebenden*, but this is not quite felicitous, as it means rather places (or occasions) where lovers were overthrown; i.e. cases wherein people died of love, or, at least, were seriously wounded. And, indeed, the course of true love runs smooth in few, if any, of these anecdotes. The collector took them very seriously, as he gives chains of authorities, occasionally with dates, in the style of a traditionalist. The translator has endeavoured to group similar stories together, and has added a few notes. These are not always satisfactory. On p. 68 of the original a lover who is about to be beheaded in the presence of the Caliph recites a verse—

ولقد ذكرتک والسیاط تنوشنی عند الامام وساعدی مغلول

"Verily I thought of thee (i.e. his beloved) whilst the scourges were assailing me in the presence of the sovereign, and my arm was fettered."

This is paraphrased *er habe ihn bei dem "Imam" (in anklagendem Sinn) erwähnt*, and the note tells us that the Imam means the Prophet Muhammad! It seems doubtful whether the first note is correct. Someone hears a *hātif*, the Islamic equivalent of the Talmudic *Bath-qōl*, i.e. a voice from the sky. The note says *Hatif bezeichnet ein Wesen, das man sprechen hört, aber dabei nicht sieht. Es kann ein Geist oder ein Mensch sein*. Only extreme rationalists would suppose the speaker in such cases to be a man. In the main these notes contain useful references to collections in which the same or similar anecdotes are to be found. The translation is scholarly, but there are some slips. The name of the lady who is the



heroine of tale 143 is surely not *Mifdāt*, but *Mufaddāt*. This name is correctly transliterated by Boucher on p. 6 of his *Farazdaq*, though he misunderstands it in the following line.

Dr. Paret is evidently right in rejecting the supposition of Chauvin that the "Israelitish" stories in the *Arabian Nights* were introduced by a Jewish editor. The nature and source of these *Isrā'iliyyāt* would well deserve a special study; there are frequent citations from them in the *Qūt al-Qulūb*, whose author died A.H. 386. A collection of such Apocrypha must have existed before that date.

D. S. M.

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THE ALTARS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 4to, pp. 34. Leipzig: Hinricks.

The author of this treatise presents another instalment of his famed Bible studies. In applying the results of his legal training to the methods of modern criticism, he struck out new lines showing up errors in the writings of leading scholars whom the lack of this training led to the adoption of false notions. He avows that the effect of the strict application of the legal rule of *contemporanea expositio* has come as a surprise to himself, and he brings it to bear on this latent treatise. The subject, although not quite new, has never before been discussed as systematically and thoroughly. The author deals seriatim with the altars of sacrifice, dividing them into two classes, viz. cairn altars and horned altars. To these are added memorial altars and altars of incense. This classification and the arguments by which it is supported turns energetically against the notion that slaughter and sacrifice are identical terms in the Old Testament. In his discussion of the method of utilization he naturally gives much space to the difficult question of what sacrifices should be offered on the horned altar of the sanctuary. There were national as well as individual offerings, but there was also slaughter for food, and this was the general usage in Israel from the earliest times.

The author quite rightly stresses the point that sacrifices were not an Israelite invention. Archæology has shown that the use of altars goes back to remoter times, and was only directed into the channel of the Biblical law as a protest against pagan practices, such as shown by the instance of Elijah on Mount Carmel.

In so abstruse a subject which is even made more perplexing by textual difficulties the reader cannot be expected to accept every detailed proposition put forward by any author, but he can certainly agree to our author's conclusion that the sacrificial system of the Bible stands in close relationship to the contemporary Semitic system, and is clearly illustrated by the facts as to altars. In a few final sentences the author asserts that "the contemporary material shows that views which have enjoyed the greatest currency of recent years are entirely baseless", and "the sooner scholarship leaves the field of speculation to found itself on solid fact, the better will it be for its work and regulation".

H. HIRSCHFELD.

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LE MAUSOLÉE DES PRINCES SA'DIENS À MARRAKECH. By GABRIEL-ROUSSEAU. Préface par E. DOUTTÉ. Texte arabe et Traduction des Inscriptions par F. ARIN. Aquarelles, dessins et relevés de l'auteur. pp. xxii, 68, and 3 plans, with case of plates.  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ . Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925.

Here is presented with great beauty and scholarly care, rich material for the student of Muhammadan art and history. To begin with, M. Doutté gives us an interpretation of Moroccan art as exhibited in architecture and sculpture under the rule of the Banu Sa'd. He contrasts it with that of the two preceding dynasties, the Almohads and Merinids. The first, severe and bare, symbolic of man's nakedness and mute obedience under the inexorable will of the *One*, invisible and omnipotent; the second, struggling for an expression of greater freedom



and beauty, but (according to M. Doutté) with only partial success, for lack of the thrust of a strong national consciousness. Later the Banu Sa'd, flushed with military and mercantile triumphs, and having leavened the traditional faith with a warm humanity, find artistic expression in bold rectilinear forms laden with immense richness of decoration and colour. M. Gabriel-Rousseau follows with a description of the cemetery and buildings which is illustrated by charming sketches executed by himself. To M. Félix Arin falls the task of editing the funerary inscriptions, fifty in number. This he has performed with thoroughness, and we are given the Arabic texts, released from their veils of floral decoration and accompanied by translations and valuable notes. Three ground plans of the mausoleums by A. Gilles conclude the volume. The plates, which are in colour, phototype, and lithography, are magnificently produced and are prefaced by a descriptive index. The story of the great days of the Sharifs, already recovered for us by the labours of Cour, Lévi-Provençal, and Fagnan, is vividly illumined by this beautiful work.

A. S. FULTON.

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ANCIENT RECORDS OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA. Vols. I and II. By DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL, Ph.D., Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago, University of Chicago Press. Price £1 per volume.

Professor Breasted, who edited the *Ancient Records of Egypt*, entrusted the companion series on Babylonia and Assyria to the capable hands of his colleague, Professor Luckenbill, who has edited the historical records of Assyria in these two handsome volumes. To the profound regret of his friends, they proved to be the last work of this great scholar. He died in London, 5th June, 1927, while preparing the further volumes on the historical records of

Babylonia. His book bears the seal of his University Press, *Crescat scientia Vita excolatur*. The plan of this series admits of translation only, with few notes; the text is not given, and consequently the series can hardly supply the needs of scholars after the manner of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, now largely superseded by Jeremias and Winckler's *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* and Ebeling-Meisner-Weidner's *Altorientalische Bibliothek*. But Luckenbill's work has the immense advantage of being a definitely complete work for which the reader need not vexatiously await the continuation. The *Altorientalische Bibliothek* does give an exhaustive account of all the historical records of Assyria, but only vol. i is issued, which ends with the records of Salmanassar I, circa 1289-1261 B.C. Luckenbill has all this material translated in the first 48 pages of vol. i. The *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* is an ambitious undertaking, and at present Assyrian records are represented by only one book by Streck, on the inscriptions of Assurbanipal in three volumes, at the very end of Assyrian history. Luckenbill, in 718 pages, gives a translation in chronological order of the vast historical material of Assyria, and an index of all the personal and geographical names which occur in them. There is also a list of rare Assyrian words, and a reconstruction of the *eponym lists*; the *king's lists* contain scanty and unarranged material, based upon the important Assyrian and Babylonian synchronistic list of Photo Assur 4128, and fragments of Assyrian lists of kings from Assur, published by Schroeder. He was not able to use the revised copy Photo 4128, now given by Weidner in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, iii, 66-77, where some very serious errors are corrected and the important discovery of an Assyrian dynastic list by Nassouhi in Constantinople, *ibid.*, iv, 1-10, in which the lengths of a good many hitherto unknown reigns down to Tiglathpileser ii, circa 963-931 B.C., are given.

With commendable caution he does not commit himself concerning the violently disputed problem of early Assyrian chronology and gives no specific dates back of the dead



reckonings of the *limmu* lists, 1103 B.C. Vol. ii (421 pages) is devoted to the Sargonids, and here, of course, the dates are given ; in the valuable introductions to the monuments of the preceding reigns in vol. i, the author gives some dates, Salmanasar III (858-827) ; Assurnasirpal II (i, 138-99), 882-859, is left without a date ; Tukulti-Ninurta II (889-883). Adad-nirari II is given as 911-891, but there is no evidence for this reign beyond the fact that it ended in 891. The *limmu* list, *KAV.* 22, v, 25 to 21, vi, *circa* line 22, assigns about forty years to Asurdan II and Adadnirari II. Great caution is preserved in dating all earlier kings, but the author states that he intended to discuss the chronology in the volume on Babylonian records. His solid learning served him well here ; for as we have noted above, valuable new chronological material appeared almost immediately after his publication.

This is an extremely useful work, and for general purposes trustworthy. On page 111 the name of the early king, Ushpia, is said to occur in Cappadocian, which has been challenged by Ferris J. Stephens, *JSOR.* xi, 103 ; he reads *Du-uh-bi-a* in the Cappadocian text, where the name *Uzbia* is said to exist ; i, 243, § 673, mention should be made of Andrae, *Festungswerke von Assur*, p. 169, and J. A. Craig, *Hebraica*, April, 1886 ; ii, 427, § 1194, read *PSBA.* xi, 286, for 268. The author carefully collated most of the historical records of the Sargonids which has resulted in clearing up and rectifying many difficult passages. This is a very important contribution to Assyriology. Note the remark (ii, 290) on Streck's edition of the inscriptions of Assurkanipal : " Most of the philological notes . . . would have been unnecessary had the author been able to collate the originals . . ." The author's translations, therefore, frequently present improvements of previous editions, and the valuable contributions to philology are silently given without remark.

S. LANGDON.

Всёволод Ф. Миллер: Осетинско-Русско-Немецкий словарь.  
Под редакцией и с дополнениями А. А. Фреймана.

WSEWOLOD MILLER: OSSETISCH - RUSSISCH - DEUTSCHES  
WÖRTERBUCH. Herausgegeben und ergänzt von A.  
FREIMAN. I. A-З. Ленинград (Academy of Sciences),  
1927. pp. xvi + 618.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . Price 10 roubles.

More than forty years ago the writer of the present lines found Vsevolod Miller (born 1848) at work in Moscow on the Ossetian language and this was his chief interest till his death, in 1913, when he left over 8,000 cards of words to form a dictionary, of which, in 1903, he had already made mention in his *Sprache der Osseten*. The material was to have been published by the Academician C. Salemann, but he died in 1916, and the work was continued by A. Freiman, who tells us that the bulk of the dictionary is now almost doubled, though the original plan has been changed as little as possible. It will be news to most students that a language with no written literature, except of recent date, should have as many as 14,000 or 15,000 words in existence; it must have suffered many changes in the last thousand years without any controlling literary models in MS. form. It is to be hoped that this first part of the dictionary may soon be followed by the remainder; the whole will be of considerable value for the study of comparative philology. The large number of Ossets who for nearly half a century have collaborated give a reasonable guarantee that the book in its complete form will be authoritative and trustworthy. Of the orthographic system adopted it is difficult to say what one thinks; it is certainly not the best conceivable, very far from this, and we may hope for something better in a not too distant future, but any rash change is to be deprecated.

The most serious criticism to be made at present of the volume now printed is that it contains too many entries like the following: "Name e. Vogels" (twice at the bottom of p. 363), "Name einer Pflanze" (p. 386), "Benennung e.





## SIR GEORGE GRIERSON AND THE *LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA*

The Society gave a luncheon at the Criterion Restaurant on 8th May, in honour of Sir George Grierson, on the completion of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, at which eighty-nine persons were present. The President, Sir Edward Maclagan, was in the Chair, and in giving the toast of Sir George Grierson, said: The completion of this monumental work called to mind the classical case of the completion of Gibbon's *History*. He congratulated Sir George Grierson on the pluck and determination which had enabled him to carry the work to a finish. He emphasized the fact that apart from his linguistic studies, Sir George has pursued an effective and successful career in the Indian Civil Service, and had published many works of an authoritative character on Indian folk-lore, antiquities, literature, religion, and philosophy. He drew attention to the entire absence of any element of secretiveness in Sir George Grierson's method of working, and his constant willingness to help others; instancing his devotion to the work of the Royal Asiatic Society and the sister society in Bengal, and his sympathetic treatment of other scholars.

Lord Birkenhead, proposing the toast of *The Linguistic Survey of India*, said that had Sir George Grierson devoted his whole life to the conduct of the survey it would have been pronounced by those who came after us a work fully adequate to the intellectual efforts of a powerful and illustrious mind. It was altogether a greater achievement that a member of the Indian Civil Service who carried out with extreme efficiency his duties therein should have been able to undertake and carry to a successful conclusion so remarkable an undertaking. It was comparable not only to the work of Gibbon, to which the chairman had referred, but also to that of Dr. Johnson in preparing singlehanded his dictionary, and to that of the Scotsman Murray, who began that monumental dictionary of the English language which had lately



been completed. Another name he could mention in this connexion was that of Sir Richard Burton, who was reputed to know about one-tenth of the languages which their distinguished guest conversationally delighted in. Sir George Grierson could understand 180 languages and 480 dialects. Sir George was one of a band of four brilliant men of his generation who came from Trinity College, Dublin, and occupied supreme positions in their respective spheres. Speaking for the India Office and, on this occasion, for the Government of India, he expressed their gratitude to Sir George Grierson, formally and officially, with the greatest emphasis in his power. He had rendered a great service to the British Empire and especially to India by the inexhaustible energy and wide culture with which he had undertaken and carried through this vast survey.

Sir George Grierson, in reply, said : It is just thirty years since I last had occasion to say something in circumstances such as this ; and, curiously enough, that was when I was leaving Patna for Simla to undertake this very Survey, the completion of which is being celebrated to-day.

I have said somewhere that the Survey was one long romance, and so indeed it was. It is true that we have endeavoured to record facts, and facts alone. But what facts ! At every stage of our work we heard inarticulate murmurs from the past—of days when China was pre-Chinese, when our own ancestors herded their flocks on the borders of the Caspian, or when some Indian Teucer, greatly daring, led his compatriots across the *ingens aequor* of the Bengal Bay to people distant Indo-China, and thence to wander almost as far as America across the islands of the wide Pacific. What food for imagination is here ! What history lies hidden under apparently dry grubbing among roots and fossils ! And then, turning to later days, there was the ever present contrast between the wild and the civilized. Wearied, perhaps, with the analysis of some savage dialect possessing but a few hundred words, we could turn to the Plains of India with

their splendid modern literatures, and recognize that here was an enchanted garden, its paths almost untrodden by explorers from the West—not laid out by rule or governed by precept like its illustrious Sanskrit predecessor, but one in which Nature, suffused with bounteous sunshine, affords vistas of never-ending delight.

I must thank you gratefully for your kind personal remarks, and, if I abstain from protesting that they have been too flattering, it is because the compliments must be shared with others than myself. I have had many helpers. First of all I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the Government of India, without whose constant support and help the Survey could never have been undertaken. It honoured me by placing at my disposal all its resources of printing and publication, and by putting me into touch with every official that was in a position to assist me. Here I cannot refrain from mentioning one name that is affectionately familiar to everyone in this room, that of the late Sir Charles Lyall. In those days he was one of the Secretaries to the Government of India, and it was largely due to his representations that it consented to entertain the project. Then there were my brethren of the Indian Civil Service. I, who have been through the mill myself, know well what a trial such calls as mine upon his time and labour are to a District Officer already overburdened with more urgent responsibilities. Yet from each and all I received nothing but cordial and ready help. Again, there were the many officials, Indian and European, not members of my own service, missionaries, and personal friends, to all of whom I owe a heavy debt of gratitude. When I came home to arrange the materials that had been collected with their help, there was my friend Dr. (now Professor) Konow, who for some years generously contributed from the treasury of his wide learning much information on subjects that I had had few opportunities of studying in India. I hope it will not be forgotten that a large and valuable section of the Survey comes from his



experienced pen. Finally, there is one who was associated with the Survey from its beginning to its end, and, to whom, in some respects, I am indebted more than to any other. It was she who never spared herself in the perpetual and monotonous labour of correcting proofs, whose wise criticism saved me from many a solecism, and whose tender care inspired me in phases of occasional discouragement. Need I say that I am referring to Lady Grierson.

So we all did our best, and if the Survey help ever so little to bring the India that I love nearer to the England that sent me to her, if it suggests to the Englishman something of the amazing complexity of at least one phase of Indian life, and if it suggests to the Indian that England does try to understand him, and that it is from mutual understanding alone that true fellowship is born, then I shall feel that our labour has not been in vain.

In the name of Lady Grierson and on my own behalf, I thank you for the kindness you have shown us. So long as we live it will abide in our memories and be enshrined within our hearts.

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The following observations on the *Linguistic Survey of India* have been communicated by Professor F. W. Thomas :

In advocating, organizing, and carrying to completion a Linguistic Survey of India, Sir George Grierson has not only accomplished a work of enormous extent and complexity, but also fulfilled a mission. At the University of Dublin, whither he proceeded from St. Bees and Shrewsbury, and where he took a distinguished Degree in mathematics, he came under the influence of a remarkable scholar and teacher, Professor Atkinson, who was a linguist of extraordinary versatility.

It is not too much to say that from the time of Colebrooke and Colin Mackenzie (if we should not even say Sir William Jones) the necessity of some comprehensive description of

Indian languages had been glimpsed. Such pioneers as Leiden, Buchanan-Hamilton, and Hodgson had been widely interested in languages and dialects, and Hodgson had published much valuable material. The Government of Calcutta issued in 1874 *Specimens of the Languages of India*, edited by Sir George Campbell. The comparative study was represented by the work of Caldwell for Dravidian, Beames and later Hoernle for the Indo-Aryan languages, and Forbes for Further Indian.

Sir George Grierson after his arrival in India (1873) was not long in getting to work. He speedily began to interest himself in the languages, folk-lore, and literature of his province. He published various notes and texts such as the *Song of Mānik Chandra* (1878), leading on to his *Introduction to the Maithili Language with a Grammar and Chrestomathy* (1881), and the wonderfully complete account of the country life and vocabulary contained in his *Bihar Peasant Life* (1885). In the same year the *Comparative Dictionary of the Bihari Language*, compiled in conjunction with Dr. Hoernle, began to appear. The *Seven Bihari Grammars* were published officially in 1883-7. From this time Sir George's publications began to take a wider range. In 1889 appeared his biographical account of *Indian Vernacular Literature*, greatly extending the Hindu side of Garcin de Tassy's work and supplying the indispensable preliminary to any comprehensive study of the literary history of Hindi. The re-edition of the *Satsai* of Bihari with commentary and valuable introduction was issued in 1896, and in the same year appeared the first part of the *Padumāvati*. In the early 'nineties also commenced the series of Sir George's numerous studies concerning the *Kashmiri* language, which may be said to be a favourite part of his work: the *Essays* were published in 1899. We should not forget his interest in the Sanskrit and the old period of Indian history, as shown by his notes and reviews in the *Indian Antiquary* and his translation of M. Senart's work on the *Inscriptions of Piyadasi*.



The Linguistic Survey was definitely authorized in 1898, and Sir George was placed in charge. For this purpose it was necessary to take up a residence in Europe. In this Society he has been an honoured and popular Hon. Secretary and Vice-President and is now an Honorary Vice-President. In the year 1909 he received from the hand of the then Prince of Wales the triennial gold medal, and later (in 1923) he was accorded the Campbell Gold Medal of the Bombay Branch.

The greatest part of his energies during his residence in England has been absorbed by his exacting task, but among other subjects which have occupied him the first place belongs perhaps to the Kashmiri language, of which in 1898 he published with Pandit Išvara Kaula a grammar in Sanskrit, entitled *Kāṣṁīrakāḍmṛita*. His *Manual*, published at Oxford in 1911, furnishes an admirable guide to the study of the language, while in *Lallāvākyāni* (1920) and *Hātim's Tales* (1923) he has used materials supplied mainly by Sir Aurel Stein for editions of two very interesting collections of mystical poems and popular lore. He is also editing an extensive religious poem in the language, *Śiva-paricāya*, with Sanskrit rendering.

The groups of north-western languages related to Kashmiri, Kafir languages, Dard languages, spoken chiefly in Western Tibet and Northern Afghanistan, and adjacent districts, constitute a remarkable and previously little known department of Asiatic Indo-European speech, which has moreover left its traces in the Punjab Lahndā and so forth, reaching down to Sindh. Sir George's theory that primarily these dialects are not Indo-Aryan, but represent an intermediate group of the Indo-Iranian branch has been contested. But their remarkable features, their conservation of old vocables and their peculiar phonological development, have been set in a clear light. Sir George's most important discussions of the subject and allied matters outside the Survey volumes, are contained in his monographs on the *Pisāca Languages*

(1906) and on the *Ishkasmī*, *Zēbākī*, and *Yāzghulāmī* (1906), both published by the Society.

We must not pass over the valuable work done by Sir George on the subject of Prakrit Grammar or on that of the Speech Tones, or again his activity in procuring and exhibiting gramophone records of Indian dialects ; or his many essays on the poetical and religious literature of Hindi, or the encouragement which he has given to Indian editors of important texts, such as the works of Tulsī Dās.

In regard to the Linguistic Survey a mere contemplation of the eighteen large folio volumes, giving specimens of all the languages and dialects with admirable bibliographies, with grammatical sketches and select vocabularies, reveals a work of compilation and editorship of almost incredible dimensions. The grammatical sketches furnish scientifically definite and reliable descriptions of the sounds, forms, and syntax of the languages, steering a wise course between the old method of imposing the arrangement and terminology derived from the classical languages and the opposite extreme. In these volumes we have the means of grasping as a whole the present linguistic situation in India with many lights upon the linguistic history. Whole new families of speech have been brought to light, and there have been significant deductions from their distribution.

On more than one occasion Sir George has given an account of his survey, notably in a lecture delivered before the Society of Arts. Outside the Survey volumes he has published lists and descriptions of the languages and he has regularly reported to the Orientalist Congresses. In 1928 he will be able to notify to an Oxford Congress the completion of a task of thirty years.

Apart from the volumes compiled under his superintendence by Professor Konow, whose collaboration has been carefully recorded, and apart from the officials and friends who have co-operated by supplying materials, the work has been carried on single-handed under special difficulties in connexion



with the proofs, which has made heavy calls upon the patience both of Sir George himself, and of his devoted helpmate, Lady Grierson.

The work furnishes an admirable basis for the detailed study of Indian Linguistics, and will inspire and guide many future researches. It places the Government of India in a unique and highly honourable position, inasmuch as, while presiding over the most varied and complicated linguistic area in the world, it has procured for its own and the general enlightenment an unrivalled instrument and guide.

Since the above was written the Order of Merit has been bestowed upon Sir George Grierson in the Birthday Honours.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April-June, 1928)

The Council record with regret the death of the Rev. Canon W. H. T. Gairdner, Dr. T. H. Weir, and Mrs. D. B. Spooner. Staff-Surgeon F. Rackham Mann has resigned.

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During the quarter the following have been elected :—

|   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Mr. P. D. Bhanot.                         | Mr. Shosen Miyamoto.                  |
| Mrs. J. Hally Brown.                      | Mr. Gurmukh Singh Mongia,             |
| Mr. Eric B. W. Chappelow.                 | M.A.                                  |
| Pandit Jagadish Chandra Chatterji.        | Babu Charu Chandra Nag,               |
| Dr. S. K. Chowdury, H.M.B., S.A.S.        | M.A., B.L.                            |
| Mr. L. Arjan Dass.                        | Mrs. G. Pavitram, B.A., L.T.          |
| Abid Hasan Faridi.                        | Mr. Pande Janunandan Prasad,          |
| Mr. Mysore Hatti Gopal.                   | M.A., B.Ed.                           |
| Mr. A. D. Ince.                           | Mr. G. Rankin.                        |
| Mr. Ganda Singh Kewal.                    | Professor Syed Riyaz-ul-Hasan.        |
| Mr. Abdur Rahman Khaki,                   | Mrs. G. Sankunni, M.A., L.T.          |
| B.A., H.P.                                | Professor George Sarton.              |
| Mr. Mohammad Hafizullah Khan, B.A., LL.B. | Mr. Raghunath Sahaya Sharma, M.A.     |
| Mr. Abdul Hakim Khan.                     | Mr. M. Abdul Majid Sheikh, M.A.       |
| Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan.                      | Rai Bahadur Sardar Hotu Singh, P.C.S. |
| Díwan H. Lal Khanna.                      | Mr. Mir Valiuddin.                    |

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## GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

*3rd April, 1928*

Sir Edward MacLagan, President, in the Chair.

Dr. Unvala read a paper on the "Excavations of the French Mission at Susa in the Season 1926-7," illustrated by lantern slides. Sir Wolseley Haig spoke, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

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## ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 8th May, 1928, Sir Edward MacLagan, President, in the Chair. The annual report of the Society was read by the Secretary.

## REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1927-8

The Society has lost by death two distinguished Honorary Members, Professor V. Thomsen and M. Emile Senart, and the following thirteen ordinary members :—

|                           |                             |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Kaviraj A. Ch. Bisharad.  | Mr. H. G. A. Leveson.       |
| Mr. S. K. Bose.           | Mr. D. B. Parasnis.         |
| The Hon. Dewan Tek Chand. | Mr. Edwin Ransom.           |
| Dr. W. E. Geil.           | Mr. B. Lewis Rice.          |
| Mr. J. Lal Jaini.         | Dr. Y. Sarruf.              |
| Mr. A. D. Keith.          | Mr. A. J. Shelley-Thompson. |
| Raja Madho Lal.           |                             |

The following 17 Members have resigned :—

|                             |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Mr. R. Bharadwaj.           | Mr. D. Talbot Rice.      |
| Mrs. C. Brownlow.           | Lord Scone.              |
| Mr. S. Cohen.               | Mr. Sefton Jones.        |
| Sayed Aziz Hassan-Sahib.    | Colonel H. W. R. Senior. |
| Mr. B. R. Jain.             | Mr. J. S. Trimmingham.   |
| Mr. J. Leveen.              | Professor Max Walliser.  |
| Miss E. A. Levin.           | The Rev. G. A. Wilder.   |
| Mr. Manmatha Nath Mukerjee. | Mr. David Yellin.        |
| Captain A. Platts.          |                          |

Under the Rule 25 the following 32 have ceased to be Members of the Society :—

|                             |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Mr. B. D. Arora.            | Mr. S. Gupta.            |
| Mr. G. P. Singh Bhalowalia. | Mr. M. A. Haidari.       |
| Mr. Sri Ram Bharatiya.      | Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan.    |
| Mr. Brameswar Bhattacharya. | Mr. Md. Basheer Hossain. |
| Maulvi Md. Din.             | Mr. V. Kaul.             |
| Mr. G. P. Fisher.           | Mr. Md. Kazim.           |
| Mr. S. S. Gujral.           | Mr. Maheshey R. Lal.     |

|                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Mr. A. Macdonald.     | Mr. Sh. Abdur Rashid.  |
| Mr. M. K. Menon.      | Mr. I. H. Saleem.      |
| Mr. Hans Raj Nanda.   | Mr. K. P. Saxena.      |
| Mr. L. Narayan.       | Mr. G. B. Singh.       |
| Mr. M. Pratap.        | Mr. A. L. Suherverthy. |
| Dr. H. Rahman.        | Mr. H. R. Tajdar.      |
| Mr. K. D. Ram.        | Mr. Md. Talha.         |
| Mr. S. R. L. Rana.    | Mr. Samad Yar.         |
| Mr. R. Ry. V. P. Rao. | Mr. M. Yusuff.         |

Nine Resident Members have been elected during the year :

|                           |                             |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Mr. Kastoor Mal Banthiya. | Mr. Y. R. Parpia.           |
| Mr. Harold C. Bowen.      | Mr. R. Said-Ruete.          |
| Mrs. J. Hally Brown.      | Mr. Manzoor Husain Siddiqi. |
| Mr. Eric Chappelow.       | Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Waheed.  |
| Rev. Joseph McCarthy.     |                             |

Three Library Members :—

|                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Sir H. J. Maynard, K.C.I.E. | Mr. C. F. Strickland. |
| Miss D. Murray.             |                       |

One Non-Resident Compounder :—

Mr. Hans Raj Davar.

And 103 Non-Resident Members :—

|                                     |                             |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Moulvi Hafiz Jalal-uddin Ahmad      | Pandit N. Chengalvarayan.   |
| Sheikh Md. Iqbal Ahmed.             | Mr. Abdul Satter Chowdry.   |
| Mr. R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar.        | Mr. Iresh Lal S. Chowdhury. |
| Rai Sahib Gulap Ch. Barua.          | Mr. R. D. Daga.             |
| Mr. Phakirdas Banerji.              | Mr. L. Arjan Dass.          |
| Rai Sahib Padmanath Gohain Barooah. | Mr. R. Ch. Dhar.            |
| Rai Sahib Gulap Ch. Barua.          | Mr. B. Bhusan Dutt.         |
| Mr. Mahadeva V. Bhide.              | Capt. A. G. C. Fane.        |
| Dr. Karanjaksha Banerjee.           | Mr. H. L. O. Garrett.       |
| M. Jean Burnay.                     | Mr. Narendra Ch. Ghose.     |
| Mr. O. K. Caroe.                    | Dr. S. K. Ghosh.            |
| Mr. P. Chandra.                     | Mr. F. H. Giles.            |
| Pandit Jagadish Ch. Chatterji.      | Mr. Mysore Hatti Gopal.     |
|                                     | Mr. Ram Sharan Lal Govil.   |
|                                     | Mr. Akhwand Ghulam Hassan.  |



|                               |                                |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.        | Mian Sultan Ahmed Vajudi       |
| Mr. Agha Akhtar Hosain.       | Nizami.                        |
| Syed Badrul Hoesain.          | Mr. Basheer Ahmad Nomani.      |
| Mr. Choudhri Zafar Husein.    | Sastri Sohan Lal Partak.       |
| Mr. Chowdhri Hyder Husein.    | Mr. B. P. Pande.               |
| Mr. Choudhri Aghar Hussein.   | Dr. J. G. Peters.              |
| Mr. Md. Latifuddin Idrisi.    | Mr. V. G. Vasudeva Pillai.     |
| Khan Bahadur Sheikh Nur       | Mr. Pande Jadunandam           |
| Ilahi.                        | Prasad.                        |
| Mr. Arthur D. Ince.           | Mr. Baini Prashad.             |
| Mr. Md. Ishaque.              | Syed G. Mohiuddin Qadri.       |
| Mr. T. K. Duraiswamy Iyengar. | Mr. M. D. Raghavan.            |
| Mr. S. N. A. Jafri.           | Rai Bahadur D. Ropmay.         |
| Mr. Jannina Prosad Jain.      | The Rt. Hon. The Earl of       |
| Mr. K. Clement Jones.         | Ronaldshay, G.C.S.I.           |
| Mr. N. G. Saswad Kar.         | Pandit Sarup Narain Rozdon.    |
| Sayid Misbahuddin Tamkin      | Mr. Abdul Munim Saidi.         |
| Kazini.                       | Mr. Sayyad Sajjad.             |
| Mr. A. Ahmed Khan.            | Mr. Kanakhya Lal Saqib.        |
| Mir Ahmad Ali Khan.           | Pandit Swaroop Ch. Saroj.      |
| Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan.          | Dr. Jyotis Govinda Sen.        |
| Mr. M. Basheer Ahmad Khan.    | Prof. Fradun-e-Zaman Md.       |
| Khan Bahadur Nawab Muzaffar   | Shuja.                         |
| Khan.                         | Mr. Md. Hasan Siddiqi.         |
| Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hosain  | Dr. Balwant Singh.             |
| Khan.                         | Mr. Bhagat Singh.              |
| Mr. Girijaprasanna Lahiri.    | Sardar Darshan Singh.          |
| Mr. Nathu Lal.                | Mr. G. Hamilton Singh.         |
| Mr. R. V. Malliah.            | Rai Bahadur Sardar Hotu        |
| Professor N. Martinovitch.    | Singh.                         |
| Mr. K. B. L. Mathur.          | Mr. Kunwar Maharaj Singh.      |
| Mr. Md. Abdulla Minhas.       | Raja Raghunandam Prasad        |
| Rai Bahadur Sarda Jwala       | Singh.                         |
| Sahai Misra.                  | Sir Rameshwara Singh, G.C.I.E. |
| Mr. R. J. Moses.              | Mr. Akshay Kumar Sircar.       |
| Mr. A. R. Arunachala Nadar.   | Mr. Nirujun Sircar.            |
| Mr. Jagat Narain.             | Rai Sahib Tara Chand Sood.     |
| Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo       | Mr. H. L. Srivastava.          |
| Narain.                       | Mr. V. S. Subramanian.         |

Mr. Manohar Lal Talib.  
 Mr. H. M. S. Thompson.  
 Sir Lionel L. Tomkins.  
 Mr. John Walker.  
 Mr. Mir Valiuddin.

Mr. Stuart Wolfenden.  
 Mr. R. Ramsay Wright.  
 Mr. Suleman Ishaq Yakub.  
 Mr. Wasi Md. Yas.

### *Lectures*

The following lectures have been delivered :—

"Excavations at Ur, 1926-7," by Mr. C. Leonard Woolley.

"Journey and Results of the Fourth Turfan Expedition,"  
 by Dr. A. von Le Coq.

"The Hebrew *Tetragrammaton* ; its Original Form and  
 Pronunciation," by Mr. G. R. Driver.

"Somnath and its Conquest, by Sultan Mahmud of  
 Ghazna," by Mr. Muhammad Nazim.

"Court Life in the T'ang Dynasty as illustrated by the Life  
 of Tu Fu," by Mrs. Ayscough.

"From the End of China's Great Wall to Moscow," by  
 Miss Mildred Cable.

"Results of the Herbert Weld (for Oxford) and Field Museum  
 Expedition at Kish and Jemdel-Nasr during the two seasons  
 1925-7 and early 1928," by Professor S. Langdon.

"Excavations of the French Mission at Susa, in the season  
 1926-7," by Dr. J. M. Unvala.

The *Journal*, already enlarged in 1926, has again been  
 increased, and is now practically its pre-war size, but  
 it must be remembered that the expense of printing is very  
 nearly double what it was in 1914.

The Oriental Translation Fund has published the *Asatir*,  
 Dr. Gaster's long promised work, and has re-issued, by the  
 photographic process, the *Lawā'ih of Jāmī*, for the second time  
 out of print. The Fund has in progress the translation of the



# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

## RECEIPTS

|  | £   | s. | d. | £     | s. | d. |
|--|-----|----|----|-------|----|----|
| <b>SUBSCRIPTIONS—</b>                          |     |    |    |       |    |    |
| Resident Members . . . . .                     | 250 | 10 | 0  |       |    |    |
| Non-Resident Members . . . . .                 | 995 | 10 | 1  |       |    |    |
| 3 Non-Resident Compounders . . . . .           | 36  | 0  | 0  |       |    |    |
|  |     |    |    | 1,282 | 0  | 1  |
| <b>RENTS RECEIVED . . . . .</b>                |     |    |    | 611   | 5  | 0  |
| <b>GRANTS FROM INDIA AND COLONIAL OFFICES—</b> |     |    |    |       |    |    |
| Government of India . . . . .                  | 315 | 0  | 0  |       |    |    |
| " Hong-Kong . . . . .                          | 25  | 0  | 0  |       |    |    |
| " Straits Settlements . . . . .                | 20  | 0  | 0  |       |    |    |
| " Federated Malay States . . . . .             | 40  | 0  | 0  |       |    |    |
|  |     |    |    | 400   | 0  | 0  |
| <b>SUNDRY DONATIONS . . . . .</b>              |     |    |    | 17    | 17 | 0  |
| <b>JOURNAL ACCOUNT—</b>                        |     |    |    |       |    |    |
| Subscriptions . . . . .                        | 511 | 2  | 8  |       |    |    |
| Additional Copies sold . . . . .               | 140 | 7  | 7  |       |    |    |
| Pamphlets sold . . . . .                       | 5   | 19 | 7  |       |    |    |
|  |     |    |    | 657   | 9  | 10 |
| <b>DIVIDENDS . . . . .</b>                     |     |    |    | 70    | 4  | 11 |
| <b>CENTENARY VOLUME SALES . . . . .</b>        |     |    |    | 7     | 4  | 0  |
| <b>CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES . . . . .</b>    |     |    |    | 1     | 16 | 8  |
| <b>COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS . . . . .</b>   |     |    |    | 21    | 17 | 5  |
| <b>SALE OF LIBRARY BOOKS . . . . .</b>         |     |    |    | 35    | 18 | 6  |
| <b>SALE OF CABINET OF COINS . . . . .</b>      |     |    |    | 50    | 0  | 0  |
| <b>SUNDRY RECEIPTS . . . . .</b>               |     |    |    |       | 17 | 6  |
| <b>INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS . . . . .</b>  |     |    |    | 14    | 16 | 6  |
| " <b>POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK</b>              |     |    |    |       |    |    |
| <b>ACCOUNT . . . . .</b>                       |     |    |    |       | 7  | 2  |
| <b>BALANCE IN HAND 31st DECEMBER, 1926—</b>    |     |    |    |       |    |    |
| Deposit Account . . . . .                      | 550 | 0  | 0  |       |    |    |
| Savings Bank . . . . .                         | 85  | 16 | 6  |       |    |    |
|  | 636 | 16 | 6  |       |    |    |
| Less: Current Account overdrawn . . . . .      | 22  | 0  | 6  |       |    |    |
|  |     |    |    | 614   | 16 | 0  |

£3,786 10 7

## INVESTMENTS.

£250 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.  
 £1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.  
 £125 National War Bonds, 1929 (4th Series).  
 £635 2s. 7d. Funding 4 per cent Stock 1960-90.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1927

## PAYMENTS

|  | PAYMENTS   | £ s. d.  | £ s. d.     |
|--|------------|----------|-------------|
| <b>HOUSE ACCOUNT—</b>  |            |          |             |
| Rent and Land Tax . . . . .  |            | 503 17 5 |             |
| Rates, less contributed by Tenants . . . . .                         |            | 42 7 4   |             |
| Gas and Light, do. . . . .   |            | 60 8 0   |             |
| Coal and Coke, do. . . . .   |            | 50 3 8   |             |
| Telephone . . . . .  |            | 12 4 11  |             |
| Cleaning . . . . .   |            | 4 4 0    |             |
| Insurance . . . . .  |            | 28 12 6  |             |
| Repairs . . . . .  |            | 27 5 0   |             |
| Sundries . . . . .   |            | 47 15 9½ |             |
|  |            | <hr/>    | 776 18 7½   |
| <b>LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND . . . . .</b>                           |            |          |             |
| SALARIES AND WAGES . . . . .   |            |          | 20 10 6     |
| PRINTING AND STATIONERY . . . . .                                    |            |          | 742 2 0     |
|  |            |          | 72 16 10    |
| <b>JOURNAL ACCOUNT—</b>  |            |          |             |
| Printing . . . . .   | 1,008 15 3 |          |             |
| Postage . . . . .  | 65 1 5     |          |             |
|  | <hr/>      |          | 1,073 16 8  |
| LIBRARY EXPENDITURE . . . . .  |            |          | 250 0 10    |
| GENERAL POSTAGE . . . . .  |            |          | 55 12 7     |
| AUDIT FEES . . . . .   |            |          | 9 9 0       |
| <b>SUNDRY EXPENSES—</b>  |            |          |             |
| Teas . . . . .   | 15 5 8     |          |             |
| Parcels and Fares . . . . .  | 4 19 3     |          |             |
| Lectures . . . . .   | 13 13 0    |          |             |
| Lantern Operator . . . . .   | 5 0 0      |          |             |
| Addressograph . . . . .  | 20 13 4    |          |             |
| Sundries . . . . .   | 16 6 6     |          |             |
| Interest on overdraft . . . . .                                      | 12 0       |          |             |
| National Health and Unemployment Insurance                           | 14 4 7½    |          |             |
|  | <hr/>      |          | 90 14 4½    |
| <b>INVESTMENT IN £285 2s. 7d. 4 per cent Funding Stock . . . . .</b> |            |          |             |
|  |            |          | 250 0 0     |
| <b>BALANCES IN HAND, 31st DECEMBER, 1927—</b>                        |            |          |             |
| Current Account . . . . .  | 244 9 2    |          |             |
| Deposit Account . . . . .  | 200 0 0    |          |             |
|  | <hr/>      |          | 444 9 2     |
|  |            |          | <hr/>       |
|  |            |          | £3,786 10 7 |

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.  
C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, Auditor for the Society.

22nd March, 1928.

JULY 1928.



# SPECIAL FUNDS

## ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

| RECEIPTS |         |      |       | PAYMENTS  |     |       |          |
|----------|---------|------|-------|---|-----|-------|----------|
| 1927.    | Jan. 1. | £    | s. d. | PRINTING AND BINDING VOL. XIII                  | £   | s. d. | £        |
|          |         | 488  | 16 8  |   | 53  | 0 2   |          |
|          |         | 125  | 6 5   | Do. do. Vol. XIX                                | 9   | 12 10 |          |
|          |         | 10   | 0 0   | Do. do. Vol. XXVI                               | 109 | 3 0   |          |
|          |         | 9    | 5 6   | SUNDRIES  |     |       | 201 16 0 |
|          |         |      |       | 10% COMMISSION TO GENERAL ACCOUNT ON 1920 SALES |     |       | 13 10    |
|          |         |      |       | 1927.   |     |       | 12 14 3  |
|          |         |      |       | Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY             |     |       | 358 4 6  |
|          |         | £353 | 8 7   |   |     |       | £633 8 7 |

## ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND

| 1927. | Jan. 1. | £    | s. d. | 10% COMMISSION TO GENERAL ACCOUNT ON 1926 SALES | £ | s. d.     |
|-------|---------|------|-------|---|---|-----------|
|       |         | 48   | 13 5  |   |   | 3 2 1     |
|       |         | 25   | 2 9   | PRINTING AND BINDING VOL. VII                   |   | 24 4 8    |
|       |         | 80   | 0 0   | 1927.   |   |           |
|       |         |      |       | Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY             |   | 126 9 5   |
|       |         | £153 | 16 2  |   |   | £153 16 2 |

## SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

| ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND |            | CASH AT BANK—      |            |
|---------------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
|                           | 358 4 6    | On Current Account | 134 13 11  |
|                           | 126 9 5    | " Deposit Account  | 350 0 0    |
|                           | £484 13 11 |                    | £484 13 11 |

# LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND

|                                   |                  |                              |                  |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| Jan. 1. BALANCE                   | 118 2 4          | Dec. 31. BALANCE—            | 145 8 10         |
| TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT     | 20 10 6          | Represented by £136 2s. 10d. |                  |
| DIVIDENDS RECEIVED TO BE INVESTED | 6 16 0           | 5 per cent War Loan, 1929/47 | 138 12 10        |
|                                   |                  | CASH AT BANK                 | 6 16 0           |
|                                   | <u>£145 8 10</u> |                              | <u>£145 8 10</u> |

## TRUST FUNDS

### PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

|                 |                  |  |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|--|------------------|
| Jan. 1. BALANCE | 136 7 7          | PRINTING AND BINDING                         | 12 13 6          |
| SALES           | 45 8 8           | VOL. IX                                      | 6 5 0            |
| DIVIDENDS       | 18 0 0           | BINDING VOL. VII                             | 3 0 6            |
|                 | <u>63 8 8</u>    | STORAGE                                      | 2 14 0           |
|                 |                  | 10 PER CENT ON 1926 SALES TO GENERAL ACCOUNT | 24 13 3          |
|                 |                  | Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY          | 176 3 3          |
|                 | <u>£199 16 3</u> |  | <u>£199 16 3</u> |

### GOLD MEDAL FUND

|                 |                 |                                     |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Jan. 1. BALANCE | 51 16 5         | Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY | 61 11 5         |
| DIVIDENDS       | 9 15 0          |                                     |                 |
|                 | <u>£61 11 5</u> |                                     | <u>£61 11 5</u> |



## Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund

[illegible]

Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY.

$$\begin{array}{r} 62 \ 8 \ 10 \\ \hline 105 \ 6 \ 10 \end{array}$$

## SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

|                                 |   |   |     |    |    |
|---------------------------------|---|---|-----|----|----|
| PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND          | . | . | 175 | 3  | 3  |
| GOLD MEDAL FUND                 | . | . | 61  | 11 | 5  |
| PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL FUND | . | . | 62  | 8  | 10 |

CASH AT HAND—  
On Current Ac-

$$\begin{array}{r} 209 \ 3 \ 6 \\ \hline 209 \ 3 \ 6 \end{array}$$

TOOT POWDER

£900 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B"  
 Stock (Fringe Publication Fund).  
 £925 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A"  
 Stock (Gold Medal Fund).  
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable  
 "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal).  
 £40 Conversion 3½ per cent Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.

Countersigned { L. C. HOFKINS, Auditor for the Council.  
C. E. A. W. OLIPHAM, Auditor for the Society.

# BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

| RECEIPTS  |                | PAYMENTS |                |
|-----------|----------------|----------|----------------|
|           | £ s. d.        | £ s. d.  | £ s. d.        |
| 1927.     |                |          |                |
| Jan. 1    |                |          |                |
| BALANCE   | 3 1 2          |          |                |
| DIVIDENDS | 1 9 4          |          |                |
|           | <u>£4 10 6</u> |          |                |
|           |                |          | <u>£4 10 6</u> |

INVESTMENT.  
£49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans.

# JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

| RECEIPTS             |                | PAYMENTS |                |
|----------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|
|                      | £ s. d.        | £ s. d.  | £ s. d.        |
| 1927.                |                |          |                |
| Jan. 1.              |                |          |                |
| BALANCE              | 82 17 9        |          |                |
| DIVIDENDS            | 259 19 4       |          |                |
| INCOME TAX RECOVERED | 30 7 2         |          |                |
| SALE OF BOOKS        | 19 14 11       |          |                |
|                      | <u>£4 10 6</u> |          |                |
|                      |                |          | <u>£4 10 6</u> |

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES—  
Publications . . . 225 0 0  
Lecture . . . 31 10 0  
Bursary . . . 16 16 0  
Printing Account . . . 11 6 2

STORAGE OF VOL. 3 . . . 284 12 2  
10% ON SALES 1926 TO GENERAL  
ACCOUNT . . . 1 19 2  
Dec. 31. CASH AT BANK—  
On Current Account . . . 3 7 1  
53 0 9  
£342 19 2

# INVESTMENTS.

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942-62.  
£1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed  
Stock, 1940-60.  
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, Auditor for the Society.

22nd March, 1928.



*Al-Babu 'l Hâdi 'Ashar*, translated by the Rev. W. M. Miller. It is passing rapidly through the press, and will be ready, it is hoped, this summer.

The Prize Publication Fund has nearly ready Mr. Malalasekera's *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, and the Asiatic Monograph Fund also will soon publish *A Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, by Dr. Pran Nath.

The Forlong Fund added a fourth volume to the series in 1927, *Ta'rikh-i Fakhru'd-din Mubarakshâh*, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, and another volume is in course of preparation, a new edition of Trenekner's *Milindapanho* with Indices by Mr. Rylands and Mrs. Rhys Davids. The work is being published in conjunction with the Pali Text Society.

The Council regrets that no competitors entered in 1927 for the Public Schools Gold Medal; the subject was "Bombay, Town and Island," one which might have been thought to contain sufficient interest to attract competitors. This year the subject chosen is "Lord Cornwallis in India," and the Council hopes that a wide interest will be aroused.

Through the generosity of the heirs of the late Mrs. Rachel Beer the Society has become possessed of the portrait by Edwin Long of the late M. Ernest Renan, a distinguished Hon. Member. The portrait was lent to the Society in 1893 by Mrs. Beer, and the Council are glad to announce that it is now the property of the Society. The grateful thanks of the Society are due to the donors. To other donors also thanks are due, to Mr. George Eumorfopoulos for further volumes of the *Catalogue* of his collection; to Professor Takakusu for thirteen volumes of the *Chinese Tripitaka*; to Mr. Said Ruete for a photograph of the portrait of his grandfather, Sayyed Said bin Sultan Imam of Muscat and Sultan of Zanzibar, elected an Hon. Member of the Society in 1836. The original was painted by a Lieut. Lynch about the year 1830.

Two distinguished foreign savants were selected as Hon. Members, Professor F. W. K. Müller, of Berlin, and Professor

Antoine Meillet, of Paris, in place of Professor V. Thomsen and M. Émile Senart.

The Council have selected Professor Margoliouth as the recipient of the Triennial Gold Medal in recognition of his long and eminent services to the cause of Oriental learning.

The Burton Memorial Lecture is to be given in the autumn by Mr. McMichael, C.M.G., to whom has been awarded the Triennial Medal for exploration and travel in the East.

The Carnegie Trust was approached during the year for a grant in aid of the Library, which requires very large expenditure to bring it up to date.

The Trust has generously responded, and has made a grant of £2,000 to be expended over three years. The work of revising and enlarging the existing catalogue has already been undertaken, and as each room is done the cards are provisionally arranged so that the Catalogue for the rooms as finished is immediately available.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1927-8 are as follows :—

Under Rule 29 the President, Sir Edward Maclagan, retires from the office of President, and the Council recommend the Earl of Ronaldshay be elected to succeed him.

Under Rule 30 Dr. Cowley retires from the office of Vice-President ; the Council recommend the election of Sir Edward Maclagan.

Under Rule 31 the Hon. Officers, Sir Stewart Lockhart, Mr. Perowne, and Mr. Ellis retire from the office of Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian respectively. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 32 only one member, Sir William Foster, retires this year, non-eligible for re-election. Next year, however, the compulsory retirements would have been seven, so three members, Mr. Fulton, Professor Macdonell and Mr. Winckworth, have voluntarily retired this year instead of next in order to equalize the retirements in the future. The retiring members therefore are



Sir William Foster, Mr. Fulton, Professor Macdonell, and Mr. Winckworth. To these must be added Professor Thomas, who in resigning the office of Hon. Secretary in October was co-opted on to the Council, and retiring under Rule 28 is eligible for re-election.

The Council recommend in their place the election of

- (1) Dr. Cowley.
- (2) Mr. H. A. R. Gibb.
- (3) Lieut.-Col. Sir Wolseley Haig.
- (4) Professor F. W. Thomas.
- (5) Sir Oliver Wardrop.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend (1) Mr. L. C. Hopkins and (2) Sir Richard Burn as Hon. Auditors and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co. as Auditors for the ensuing year.

Dr. Barnett, moving the adoption of the report, said :

It is with genuine satisfaction that I beg to move the acceptance of the annual report ; for the document now before us reveals a year's prosperous and effective work, though it does not reveal how much of this happy result is owing to the able manner in which Sir Edward Maclagan has presided over the Society, and how deep is the gratitude which we feel towards him.

The first words of the report strike a note of sorrow, for they refer to the death of two eminent scholars, M. Senart, whose brilliant researches in ancient Indian history and antiquities are truly classic, and Professor Thomsen, whose philological work has been epoch-making. They were honorary members of this Society ; and to fill the vacancies arising by their death the Council has elected two foreign Orientalists of the highest distinction, Professor Meillet of Paris, who succeeds to the place of M. Senart, and Professor Müller of Berlin, who comes in lieu of Professor Thomsen.

The financial statement shows that on the year's working, after investment, we have a real balance of £60. The Special Funds are hard at work publishing and republishing works

of importance for Oriental studies, and our *Journal* has practically recovered its pre-war bulk. It is peculiarly inspiring to be able to report that the Carnegie Trust has responded to the Council's request by granting us the sum of £2,000 for the service of the Library, to be expended in cataloguing, purchase and binding of books, etc. This endowment will be of immense help to us, for the Library is the heart of our Society.

It is fitting on this occasion that I should mention two other incidents in our history, one of which appears on this report, while the other does not. The first is the presentation of the Triennial Gold Medal to Professor Margoliouth, to whom we all offer our hearty congratulations on this testimonial of our appreciation of his brilliant and untiring scholarship, congratulations which are the warmer because he has at all times served the Society with the most unselfish and zealous loyalty. We all heartily wish that he may for many years continue his services to the cause of learning and the R.A.S. The other incident is the pleasant ceremony which has been held this day, the lunch of honour held to celebrate Sir George Grierson's completion of his colossal work, the *Linguistic Survey of India*, one of the greatest achievements of philological science and literary organization. More than a generation has been needed to complete that great structure; and now the task has been accomplished, and with profound joy and gratitude we celebrate its fulfilment with the master-builder among us, still strong and wise. Long may he also be with us; *laetus intersit*, happy for many reasons, and most of all in the consciousness of having brought his life's work to completion.

Mr. Oldham: I have pleasure in seconding the adoption of the Report. Professor Barnett has already referred to our loss on the President's retirement, and I shall not spoil it by adding anything to what he has said. The past year cannot be described as an *annus mirabilis*, unless we may venture to claim some reflected glory from that truly monumental work



to which we have heard such eloquent tributes to-day. I refer to the *Linguistic Survey of India*, which has been completed by our Hon. Vice-President, Sir George Grierson, who for nearly half a century has been one of the mainstays of this Society. I think the Society is well entitled to associate itself with the world-wide congratulations which have been showered upon him.

There is one department perhaps to which special reference should be made, as the Report scarcely does justice to the amount of work which has been effected. I refer to the Library—a very important department of the Society's functions which Professor Barnett has just described as the heart of the Society. The important work that is being done deserves some recognition at our hands. It consists in the revising and bringing up to date of the catalogue, the rebinding of books and their rearrangement and re-housing in more suitable situations where they can be more readily got at. The cards are being revised and brought up to date, with a view to the publication at a no distant date of a complete catalogue, which will be an immense service to all readers. The opportunity is not being lost to deal with the subject catalogue also, but the completion of that, and its publication will necessarily have to be deferred. Work in connexion with the Library has long been wanted, and I think we should congratulate the Council on the success of their appeal to the Carnegie Trust, the grant from which has enabled the work to be carried on rapidly.

I would like to add, however, that whatever has been done in connexion with the Library is chiefly due to the personal interest which our retiring President has taken in this branch of the Society's work.

Those who have had administrative experience know the important effect that a word of kindly encouragement from the higher authority—an expression of interest and of sympathy with difficulties met—has upon the conduct of work. Sir E. Maclagan understood this; and the marked

improvements which have been, and are being, carried out in our Library we owe in large measure to his initiative, supplemented by the vigilance of our Secretary, the wide learning of our Honorary Librarian, and the business capacity and unremitting attention to detail of our Assistant Librarian.

Hon. Treasurer: My remarks will be brief. You will be glad to hear that we have a small margin on the right side. The total receipts come to £3,155, which is about our normal income, and the payments to £3,092 10s., that is, 60 guineas on the right side. Subscriptions show an increase, due partly to the fact that our effective membership is now 865; and we hope we may soon reach over 1,000.

There is an item of commission on sales, £21 17s. 5d., which will appear in the accounts for the last time, because it is considered that the Society's General Funds should not charge commission on sales of books for the Special Funds, and that we should give our services liberally and gratuitously in order that the Special Funds may have their full reward of the works published. The payments show an increase on the House Account. The *Journal* account has also increased. We have now gone up to over £1,000 for printing; this is really a third of the whole normal income of the Society, but we have a much larger *Journal*, and we want to keep it at 950 pages, or perhaps a little more.

The Library expenditure comes to £250, a very special amount, our normal one being £120. We are glad to say the Carnegie Fund has come to our rescue with a grant of £2,000, spread over three years, and with this we hope to bring the Library well up to date.

I would like specially to thank the Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Davis, who has been so helpful during the year in giving me various details of accounts and other information from time to time required by me.

The President, in referring with satisfaction to the increase of membership, said that he would have liked to see a larger



proportion of resident members among the new accessions to the Society. He referred to two suggestions which had been made at the last anniversary meeting. One of them—the repainting of the exterior of the Society's building—the Council had not hitherto been able to deal with owing to financial exigencies, but the painting was now about to be carried out in the near future. The other suggestion—made by Sir Percy Sykes—to the effect that the Library was in need of improvement, had already been taken in hand before the last meeting, and had since been met by the grant from the Carnegie Fund, to which reference had already been made. It was hoped that by the aid of this grant the Library would now be put in a thoroughly efficient position.

The President proceeded to express his thanks to the Council, the Director, the Honorary Officers and the Staff of the Society for the support and assistance he had received from them during his three years of office; and concluded by expressing his satisfaction that the Society had secured Lord Ronaldshay as his successor. He was a distinguished administrator, traveller, and writer, and was much interested in the objects of the Society, and there was little doubt that under his Presidency the Society would continue its prosperous career.

The adoption of the Report with the recommendation for the Council and Auditors was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

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### TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL PRESENTATION

The President, before presenting the Society's triennial gold medal to Professor Margoliouth, explained that the medal was awarded by the Council of the Society in recognition of distinguished services in Oriental research. Few persons had rendered more distinguished services of this kind than Professor Margoliouth, and it gave the President much satisfaction to be able to present him with the medal before handing over charge of his office.

Professor Margoliouth had been a brilliant Classical scholar from his school days, and at Oxford had carried all before him, securing ten University Prizes—a feat which had not been rivalled before or since. While a classical tutor, he published work of much value, including his brilliant edition of the *Agamemnon*, and he maintained his mastery of classical learning throughout his career. When he became occupied with Arabic, he published editions of Arabic translations of Aristotle.

He was scarcely 30 years of age when he was made Laudian Professor of Arabic and from that day to this he had directed his chief energies to Arabic study. His larger works—the edition of Yākūt's *Dictionary of Learned Men* and his history of the *Eclipse of the Abbassid Caliphate*—are held to be masterly publications, contributing a notable addition to Islamic studies in Europe and an example of the highest level of Oriental scholarship. In less technical fields he had explained the East to the West in such well-known publications as his *Life of Muhammad* and his Hibbert and Schweich lectures.

Apart from this he possessed very early knowledge of Hebrew, and had in his early Oxford days acquired a comprehensive acquaintance with Sanskrit. It was impossible to indicate with any adequacy all the languages in which he was versed, but he may be said to have attained high proficiency in languages so diverse as Persian, Armenian, Coptic, and Turkish. In Syriac he enjoyed the special privilege of having an accomplished collaborator, Mrs. Margoliouth having joined with him in the production of her father's *Syriac Thesaurus*. Mrs. Margoliouth was herself a distinguished Orientalist and Professor Margoliouth would doubtless recognize that she had a claim to a large share in the medal which had been awarded to him.

In his knowledge of the languages of the Near East, Professor Margoliouth had not confined his interests to the classical works, but was well versed in the current literature of the



day, more especially in Arabic. He had also a good conversational knowledge of many of these languages, and more particularly of Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and Turkish. He had been able to do what few European scholars could succeed in doing, namely to lecture in Arabic. He had also devoted himself to the more human side of Oriental lecturing, attending many conferences and congresses where he had made for himself a number of devoted friends. His work for the Royal Asiatic Society had been indefatigable, and his attendance at the Council meetings was almost unfailing, in spite of the distance at which he lived from London.

The encyclopædic nature of his learning was its most prominent characteristic, and his interests even included a wide acquaintance with detective fiction. Whether it would be possible or not for him—after the manner of his treatment of the plays of Euripides—to extract from the inscription on the medal an indication of the year of the Hijra in which it was awarded, it was the wish of the Society for him and Mrs. Margoliouth, that for many years to come the new moon of Muharram would shed the beams of happiness on the garden of their erudition.

Professor Margoliouth, in replying, thanked the President for what he had said and those who were present for their sympathy. Anyone, he felt, would be proud to be enrolled in a list of medallists which included such names as that of Professor Sayce, to whom the Medal had last been awarded, and Sir George Grierson, whom they had been proud to see amongst them that afternoon and to congratulate on the completion of his monumental work. Twenty-five years had elapsed since the Medal had been given to a representative of Islamic studies. Its recipient had then been Sir William Muir, whose *Life of Mohammed* and *History of the Caliphate* were still standard works, yet who might best be remembered by his collection of Despatches issued by him or through him as Intelligence Officer at Agra during the Indian Mutiny, a capacity wherein he displayed courage, resourcefulness,

sobriety of judgment, and other rare qualities. The Medal had in different years of necessity been assigned to different departments in the numerous and vast fields with which the Society dealt; had it been restricted to Islamic studies, a suitable medallist might have been found each time. Names which would occur in this connexion were those of Sir Charles Lyall, the scholarly editor and felicitous translator of numerous collections of early Arabic poetry, and Professor E. G. Browne, the historian of Persian literature, the worthy successor of the great Cambridge Orientalists, W. Wright, E. H. Palmer, and W. Robertson Smith, whose various talents he combined, and among whose many services to Oriental study his organization and administration of the Gibb Memorial Trust merited special recognition. Had the Society existed in the seventeenth century, and possessed a Medal, Professor Margoliouth's first predecessor in the Laudian chair at Oxford, Edward Pocock, would have been a suitable recipient; among his successors Joseph White, who occupied it at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, would also have earned the Medal, since his Syriac, Persian, and Arabic editions were still required by students.

*15th May, 1928*

At the School of Oriental Studies, Finsbury Circus, Sir Edward Maclagan, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Leonard Woolley gave a lecture on the Excavations at Ur in 1927-8. An abstract of the lecture, which was illustrated by lantern slides, will be found on page 659 of this *Journal*.

*12th June, 1928*

At the Royal Society's Rooms, the Earl of Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

Sir E. Denison Ross read a paper on "The Contribution of Hungary to Central Asian Studies with special reference to Csoma de Kőrös".

The Hungarian Minister, Mr. Shuttleworth, and Sir Charles Bell joined in the discussion.



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## OBITUARY NOTICES

### Émile Charles Marie Senart

The greatest part of M. Senart's productivity as a scholar was concerned with Buddhism. In 1871, at the age of 24, he made his début, in the *Journal Asiatique* (vi, xvii, pp. 193-540), by a publication of Kaccāyana's Pali Grammar, *sūtras* and commentary, a work of great difficulty; the translation and notes betrayed no signs of immaturity and manifested a familiarity with the Sanskrit grammarians, whose model Kaccāyana had followed. Next, published likewise as a series of articles in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1873-5, and issued as a volume in 1875, came the celebrated *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, a book which has always been provocative to the more literal Buddhologists. No one can doubt that the story of Buddha, largely miraculous, is also in part mythological. The speciality of M. Senart's theory was that the person of Buddha had absorbed not merely isolated mythological factors, but a fairly compact body of conceptions, originally solar. The case would be parallel to a well-known illustration accompanying one of Thackeray's essays and showing three designs: (1) Rex (an imposing royal costume, standing by itself), (2) Ludovicus (a mere man), and (3) Ludovicus Rex, the combined awe-inspiring figure. It seems rather clear that the idea of the *cakravartin* was pre-Buddhist and ultimately solar: the events preceding the abandonment of home are at least highly poetical, the accounts of the birth and childhood in fact mythical: the detailed incidents of the illumination and the defeat of Māra are surely mythology, and, even if the Bodhi-tree was an actuality, it was a conventional adjunct of ascetics, and, as such, symbolical too—though the symbolism need not have been solar. M. Senart may not have gone too far in suggesting a doubt whether Māyā is a fictitious name for Buddha's mother or even that of Śuddhodana for his father; but



clearly it was imprudent to doubt the existence of Kapilavastu. How much can be retained of the theory of the Viṣṇuite or Kṛṣṇaite character of the legend it would not be easy to say. But, in fact, the legendary part of the Buddha story would hardly now be seriously considered by scholars, who are more concerned to discover what views were propounded by the person who figures in the Pali dialogues and why both he and Mahāvira founded not schools, but sects.

In 1877, M. Senart published a short article, entitled *Sur quelques termes buddhiques*, wherein he took note of certain forms of words occurring in the Buddhist texts, such as *upādisesa*, which seemed to point to an earlier canonic dialect more developed (*plus altéré, plus prakritisant*) than appears in their surroundings. His preoccupation with the dialects was also evidenced by a long and suggestive review of Cunningham, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, 1877. The articles containing his own edition of the *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi* began to appear in 1880.<sup>1</sup> The completed work (1881) was translated by Sir George Grierson in the *Indian Antiquary* (xviii, 1889—xxi, 1892). M. Senart was able in some instances to make use of new facsimiles furnished by Dr. Burgess. But the great advance in the interpretation was due mainly to his own insight and his familiarity with the Pali language and literature. The concluding chapters are devoted to a study of the date and chronology of the inscriptions and the general questions of Buddhist chronology so far as connected therewith; the author of the inscriptions, his faith and his measures; the language and the several dialects, whereof full grammatical sketches are given; the linguistic chronology of India and the interrelations between Sanskrit, Mixed Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and Pali. Almost all the conclusions at which M. Senart arrived (including his acceptance of the date A.D. 319 for the commencement of the Gupta era) still hold good. But there is one great matter which seems in his argument to retain some of its previous

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, vii, xv, pp. 287-347—viii, viii, pp. 384-478.

obscurity. He holds that the alphabets show by their inadequacy that they could not have been used for writing Sanskrit (or, we may add, Pali). The first Sanskrit to be written was the Mixed Sanskrit of certain inscriptions, which had been known as the Gāthā dialect and for which M. Senart had himself previously proposed the name Buddhist Sanskrit. This ceased to exist at the moment when the philological exactitude of the old Brahman schools extended its influence. The Prakrits and the Pali also assumed a definite form when controlled by a similar influence. The process may have begun about A.D. 100 and have been completed before the Gupta period. The matter is certainly puzzling, and it is clear that the Aśokan alphabets must have been developed in certain points before they could be fitted for the writing of Sanskrit. But the inference that at the time there was no written Sanskrit, and in fact no worldly Sanskrit at all, seems inadequately grounded. The influence of the learned language upon the popular speech did not commence with Pāṇini: it must have begun from the moment when the vernacular began to diverge from the language of the texts (*Brāhmaṇas*, *Upaniṣads*, and so forth). What Pāṇini discriminated was the correct language of the *śiṣṭas*, the scholars. We know from the early references in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* and elsewhere that there were whole classes of writings of a worldly character, and these must have been composed in fairly popular speech. Thus in principle the Mixed Sanskrit must go back many centuries B.C., and we cannot doubt that stages of it existed in the time of Buddha and in that of Aśoka. The character of the Buddhist Sanskrit was, of course, fully recognized by M. Senart, and his divergence from the view of Burnouf that it was a language of persons who, with inadequate competence, were trying to write the literary language is a little hard to seize. The Mixed Sanskrit is Sanskrit with faults, a variety of that "bad Sanskrit" which we find in Vedic *Parīṣiṣṭas*, manuals of crafts, arts, etc. Its only excuse for existence was its actual currency, and it was no doubt the



spread of grammatical training that ultimately expelled it from all higher literature. To this extent we cannot but subscribe to M. Senart's view. But, then, for the Mixed Sanskrit the Aśokan alphabets are no less inadequate than for the scholarly form ; so that we should have to deny that the Mixed Sanskrit itself was written prior to the use of double consonants, differentiation of the sibilants, the nasals and so forth. We must, it seems, stop short of this and hold (1) that writing was first employed in connection with popular speech, for business purposes, and so forth, (2) that the Sanskrit, like the Mixed Sanskrit, may at first have made shift with the imperfect alphabets as used in the Aśoka inscriptions (possibly writing double consonants with *virāmas* and so forth), (3) that the inscriptions themselves, being written in merely popular and official dialects, may have been content with alphabetic practice less developed than that which at the time was in actual use for literary purposes—this last proposition is in fact maintained by Bühler. M. Senart's discrimination of the different dialects represented in the Edicts, his recognition of the Māgadhi as official over an area wider than its currency and of its particular intrusions in the texts of the other dialects have been generally confirmed ; and his detailed accounts of the features of the several dialects have been merely amplified in later works.

M. Senart's study of the early inscriptions in the Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhī alphabets continued throughout his life as a scholar. New materials and new discoveries were regularly referred to him, and they gave occasion to a long series of articles, for the most part published under the running title *Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne*,<sup>1</sup> always characterized by the most scrupulous examination of the copies and the most penetrating explanation of the texts. His editions of the

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, viii, ix (1888), pp. 498-504 ; xi (1888), pp. 504-33 ; xii (1888), pp. 311-30 ; xiii (1889), pp. 364-75 ; xv (1890), pp. 113-63 ; xix (1892), pp. 472-98 ; ix, iv (1894), pp. 332-53, 504-78 ; vii (1906), pp. 132-6 ; xiii (1899), pp. 526-37 ; xv, (1900), pp. 343-60 ; x, vii, pp. 132-6 ; xi, iv (1914), pp. 569-85 ; vii (1916), pp. 425-42 ; *JRAS.* 1900, pp. 335-41.

Karle and Nasik inscriptions (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. vii, pp. 47-74; viii, pp. 59-96) brought those texts up to the level of modern scholarship. When the time came for a republication of volume i of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, his preoccupations did not allow him to undertake the task, which was discharged in a thorough manner by that very sound, careful and fair-minded scholar, Professor Ernst Hultsch. The last articles by M. Senart on these subjects were his discussion (1916) of the new Aśoka edict found at Maski in Hyderabad and—in collaboration with the Abbé Boyer and Professor Rapson—an examination (1918) of a poem inscribed on a Kharoṣṭhī tablet from Chinese Turkestan.

We have still, however, to take account of an analogous task of great difficulty, wherein M. Senart collaborated with the same two scholars. The materials consisted of documents, chiefly wooden tablets, discovered by Sir A. Stein in the course of his three expeditions to Chinese Turkestan. The general features of the script and language, as well as some tentative transliterations and translations, were the subject of a communication by Professor Rapson to the Algiers Congress of 1905. But the developed form of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, including unprecedented combinations of signs, and the mixed character of the vocabulary, which comprises a large number of local proper names and titular designations, entailed a long period of joint manipulation: two fasciculi, containing the bulk of the material, were published, under the title *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, in 1920 and 1927.

The *Mahāvastu* is a Sanskrit Buddhist text, which with its apparatus criticus fills in M. Senart's edition more than 1300 pages octavo. It is a work of great importance, belonging to the Vinaya of one of the old Buddhist sects, that of the Māhāsāṅghikas. It is a mine of old Buddhist story, observation, reflection, and wit in unlaboured prose and flowing verse: a book which in another literature might be made a life's study. Unfortunately, it is but a drop in the ocean of Buddhist



literature, which we must somehow encompass as a whole, if we are not to be engulfed in it. Still more unfortunately, perhaps, it is written in the Mixed Sanskrit, a text presenting at every step irregularities, and even regularities, which may have been imported into it at any stage in its long history. The MSS., of modern date and all from Nepal, have by their discrepancy involved the editor in an enormous labour of collation. If we had copies of older date or of different provenance (say from Central Asia), we should be confronted (as many analogies show) with divergences far more numerous and in many cases on a much larger scale. A definitive text is hardly to be hoped for. The difficulty, however, is in the main a matter only of grammar or language. M. Senart has given us an important canonical text of one of the most influential early sects. Its further study cannot fail to yield continual fruit, and M. Senart's closely printed commentary of about 400 pages is itself a mine of new and valuable observations upon textual and linguistic matters and upon Buddhist thought and terminology.

Still a different dialect appears in the MS. Dutreuil du Rhins, the Kharoṣṭhī *Dhammapada*, concerning which M. Senart read a paper before the Paris Congress of 1897, and which he edited in the *Journal Asiatique*.<sup>1</sup> Among the papers of the ill-fated traveller some birch-bark fragments were noted by M. Sylvain Lévi as inscribed in Kharoṣṭhī characters. The fragments were for the most part small, in many cases minute; but M. Senart had no difficulty in recognizing a version of the celebrated collection of moral and religious verses known in Pali under the title *Dhammapada*. The formidable task of decipherment was thus lightened, and M. Senart was able to find Pali equivalents for most of the verses and fragments. It was unfortunate that another part of the same MS. (the Petrovsky fragments), which had found its way to St. Petersburg, was not fully available for incorporation. The MS. did not originate in Chinese

<sup>1</sup> ix, xii (1898), pp. 192-308.

Turkestan: it had been brought from north-western India, and it furnished a new early Prakrit dialect, which has yet to be fully explored.

There remains for commemoration only one extensive work by M. Senart. This is his monograph on caste (*Les Castes dans l'Inde*, 1895, reprinted without change in 1927), a subject in regard to which the examination of prior views is almost more onerous than the direct study of the facts. M. Senart's three chapters are devoted respectively to the present, the past, and the origins, including a criticism of the traditional Brahmanic theory and the conclusions of Nesfield, Ibbetson, and Risley. The main originalities of his own view are (1) the distinction between the original classes, *varṇa*, of Brahman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, at first two "colours", *varṇa*, namely Āryan and Śūdra, and the specific endo-exo-gamic groups properly denoted by the word *jāti* "caste", (2) the tracing of the latter organizations to an Āryan source in a *gentile* constitution of society such as existed in early Greece and Rome. It must be admitted that for *gentes* in the required sense we do not find much evidence in early India (that is by no means conclusive) and that among the castes mentioned by Manu and other ancient writers (we need not take into account the castes of modern times, after a development of about 2,500 years) we find designations professional, genealogical, tribal, and local, but hardly any of a gentilician import. Also we ought to be able to point to Brahman and Kṣatriya *gentes*: can this be done? Yet M. Senart's view does account for two main features of caste, namely the endogamic principles and the rules as to common meals. It remains possible that a gentilician constitution of society did leave these features as a legacy to new divisions of very various origins, developing in the complex Indian people.

Besides the works which we have cited we owe to M. Senart a number of studies of less extent. Such are his striking little work on Buddhism and Yoga, his papers on the *Abhisambuddha-gāthās* of the Pali Jātaka, on the Vajrapāṇi in early



Buddhist art, on *Rajas* and the theory of the three *Guṇas* in the Sāṃkhya philosophy. In 1922 he published an elegant translation of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. All his writings are distinguished by a refined linguistic sense and a clear unbiassed judgment. There is also nothing second-hand or compilatory in his work: on the contrary, his tendency was always towards new and vital conceptions. Considering the combined brilliance and solidity of his work, it cannot be said that in the qualities of a scholar he was surpassed by any Indianist of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

It is well known that M. Senart possessed advantages of fortune which might have proved an obstacle to a strictly scholarly career. Fortunately science and letters can point to not a few instances of men of means who were not merely thinkers or amateurs, but specialist investigators whose work would not have been modified by being professional. M. Senart was always counted among the Indianist circle of the University of Paris, and not only of the Société Asiatique, in which he was successively member of Council (1872), Vice-President (1890), and President (1908). After the death of M. Barth, to whom in 1914<sup>1</sup> he paid a touching tribute, he was, so to speak, the father of the Paris Indianists. In the Académie des Inscriptions he was the outstanding representative of oriental studies. In such matters as the foundation of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, the Pelliot mission to Central Asia, the Commission Archéologique of the Academy his was usually the directing influence. When the time came for celebrating the centenary of the Société Asiatique the full burden of organization and leadership in the splendid succession of ceremonies and festivities recorded in the published record was unflinchingly borne by him. Nor could anything surpass the patience, the courtesy, and the distinguished eloquence and dignity with which at the age of 75 he carried out the whole programme.

<sup>1</sup> On the occasion of the presentation recorded in the then collected edition of M. Barth's writings, pp. vii-xli.

From the time of the Paris Congress of 1897, M. Senart was regarded outside France as the leading French orientalist. He was a prominent figure in the gatherings at Rome (1899) and Algiers (1905). He was a member of the permanent international committee, and he also represented the Institute at the international conferences of Academies. In 1917, in order to meet the situation created by the war, and also in view of certain features of the pre-war Congresses, he made formal proposals, on behalf of the Société Asiatique, for special co-operation with the Royal Asiatic Society, providing for mutual privileges, annual gatherings, and joint enterprises. The agreement, to which also the American Oriental Society, the Scuola Orientale of the University of Rome, and the Asiatic Society of Japan became parties, is fully recorded in this *Journal* (1918, pp. 186-97). The first Joint Session was held in London on September 3-6, 1919, and the proceedings are reported in the *Journal* for 1920, pp. 123-62. There were further meetings at Paris in 1920 and at Brussels in 1921. From the gathering in 1919 four new Orientalist societies directly or indirectly originated, namely in Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Sweden, of which the second, the Oostersch Genootschap in Nederland, has since held annual assemblies of a partly international character. In 1923 the centenary of the Royal Asiatic Society was honoured by M. Senart's presence as a representative of France. When in 1926 the question of resuming the old series of international gatherings assumed a practicable aspect, M. Senart and his colleagues of the Société Asiatique were consenting parties in the negotiations and approved the outcome. Shortly afterwards, in March, 1927, M. Senart's eightieth birthday was made an occasion for messages of congratulation from friends and colleagues both in France and abroad. A critical illness prevented any formal presentation; but the messages did not fail to receive an individual and gracious acknowledgment. Ever scrupulous in the minor offices of social life, a punctual correspondent, a



delightful host, and a loyal friend, he realized an ideal of urbane unselfishness, in which only the winning exterior disguised a renunciatory quality. His increasing frailty was naturally as perceptible to himself as to others; but he anticipated its denouement, which took place on February 21 of the present year, without either satisfaction or regret.

He was born at Rheims on March 26, 1847. His relations with the Société Asiatique have already been particularized. In 1882 he was elected a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. He was also at various times chosen as a member of the Academies of Belgium, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, and Russia, of Berlin, Göttingen, and Munich, and an Honorary Member of numerous societies. In this country the Royal Asiatic Society paid him that tribute in 1892, and the India Society in 1922 elected him a Vice-President; in 1923 he received the Honorary Doctorate of the University of Oxford. The death of his wife evoked many expressions of sympathy from orientalists who had enjoyed her hospitality at Paris in 1897; it left M. Senart without descendants.

### Canon W. H. T. Gairdner

To have known Temple Gairdner must be accounted one of the privileges of life. His attractive temperament, his serious purpose, and his rare gifts in language and music made an unusual combination. Some one happily described him and his friend Douglas Thornton as the "poetry and prose of the Cairo Mission", an apt description of two splendid men of different types. Now the poetry and prose have both gone and the Mission can never be the same again.

Gairdner was born in Ayrshire nearly 55 years ago. He was the son of a distinguished President of the British Medical Association, Sir William Gairdner, of Edinburgh, who for 38 years held the chair of medicine in Glasgow University. His mother was English. After leaving a preparatory school in Moffat he went on to Rossall and then to Oxford, where he was an exhibitor of Trinity College. His missionary

enthusiasm showed itself early, for he was Secretary, possibly founder, of the Schoolboys' Missionary Union. He went to Cairo in 1899 for the Church Missionary Society, and at once laid the foundations of that accurate Arabic scholarship for which he became so well known.

His first books were a Life of his colleague, D. M. Thornton ; Edinburgh, 1910, an account of the great missionary conference in Edinburgh ; and a book on Muhammadanism, *The Rebuke of Islam*. By this time he had become head of the Cairo Language School and was turning his attention to books on Arabic. To be exact, his office was that of Adviser in Arabic Studies at the School of Oriental Studies, Cairo. He produced an admirable manual of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic and a book on Arabic Syntax. For our Society he wrote a translation of Al Gazzālī's *Mishkāt ul Anwār*, 1924.

But perhaps his best book, the one which showed most clearly his exceptional ability, was his *Phonetics of Arabic*, 1925. I can remember its earliest beginnings in 1912. We were seated in a hotel in Cairo discussing the book which was to be written. He suddenly darted out into the square and stopped an unknown passer by whom he persuaded to enter the hotel with him. This stranger answered questions and repeated Arabic sounds for a considerable time departing finally with a satisfying clink in his right palm. Such was the beginning of this truly remarkable book. In the course of that year it was my great pleasure to receive the MS. of the book and engage in voluminous correspondence about it.

Even the briefest account of Canon Gairdner should refer to his musical powers. No one who has seen him teaching Egyptian Christians to sing prose Psalms or watched him conducting a little orchestra in his drawing room can forget it. Music was his great hobby. To his work he gave himself without stint ; what he did he did with his might ; and he leaves the fragrant memory of a life well spent, full of usefulness and bright with example for us who remain behind.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.





TRANSLITERATION  
OF THE  
SANSKRIT, ARABIC  
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

THE system of Transliteration shown in the Tables given within is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.



## SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

|   |   |   |   |                                 |
|---|---|---|---|---------------------------------|
| अ | . | . | . | a                               |
| आ | . | . | . | ā                               |
| इ | . | . | . | i                               |
| ई | . | . | . | ī                               |
| उ | . | . | . | u                               |
| ऊ | . | . | . | ū                               |
| ऋ | . | . | . | r̥ or ṛ                         |
| ॠ | . | . | . | r̄ or ṝ                        |
| ऌ | . | . | . | l̥ or ḷ                         |
| ॡ | . | . | . | l̄ or ḹ                        |
| ए | . | . | . | e or ē                          |
| ऐ | . | . | . | ai                              |
| ओ | . | . | . | o or ō                          |
| औ | . | . | . | au                              |
| क | . | . | . | ka                              |
| ख | . | . | . | kha                             |
| ग | . | . | . | ga                              |
| घ | . | . | . | gha                             |
| ङ | . | . | . | ṅa                              |
| च | . | . | . | ca or <u>cha</u> <sup>1</sup>   |
| छ | . | . | . | cha or <u>chha</u> <sup>1</sup> |
| ज | . | . | . | ja                              |
| झ | . | . | . | jha                             |
| ञ | . | . | . | ña                              |
| ट | . | . | . | ṭa                              |
| ठ | . | . | . | ṭha                             |
| ड | . | . | . | ḍa                              |
| ढ | . | . | . | ḍha                             |
| ण | . | . | . | ṇa                              |
| त | . | . | . | ta                              |
| थ | . | . | . | tha                             |
| द | . | . | . | da                              |

<sup>1</sup> In modern Indian languages only.

|                 |   |   |   |                        |
|-----------------|---|---|---|------------------------|
| ध               | . | . | . | <i>dha</i>             |
| न               | . | . | . | <i>na</i>              |
| प               | . | . | . | <i>pa</i>              |
| फ               | . | . | . | <i>phu</i>             |
| ब               | . | . | . | <i>ba</i>              |
| भ               | . | . | . | <i>bha</i>             |
| म               | . | . | . | <i>ma</i>              |
| य               | . | . | . | <i>ya</i>              |
| र               | . | . | . | <i>ra</i>              |
| ल               | . | . | . | <i>la</i>              |
| व               | . | . | . | <i>va</i>              |
| श               | . | . | . | <i>śa</i>              |
| ष               | . | . | . | <i>ṣa</i>              |
| स               | . | . | . | <i>sa</i>              |
| ह               | . | . | . | <i>ha</i>              |
| ळ               | . | . | . | <i>ḷa</i> or <i>ḷa</i> |
| • (Anusvāra)    | . | . | . | <i>m̐</i>              |
| (Anunāsika)     | . | . | . | <i>m̐</i> } or -       |
| ː (visarga)     | . | . | . | <i>ḥ</i>               |
| × (jihvāmālīya) | . | . | . | <i>ḥ</i>               |
| ˚ (upadhmānīya) | . | . | . | <i>ḥ</i>               |
| ‡ (avagraha)    | . | . | . | .                      |
| Udātta          | . | . | . | .                      |
| Svaritā         | . | . | . | .                      |
| Anudātta        | . | . | . | .                      |

#### ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

|   |   |   |   |            |
|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ड | . | . | . | <i>ṛa</i>  |
| ढ | . | . | . | <i>ṛha</i> |

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindi करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ˘, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nīm-i-ghanna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars; thus अँ *ā*, आँ *ā*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.



## ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

¹ at beginning of word omit; hamza elsewhere ' or, alternatively, hamza may be represented by *ˆ* or

|   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| ب | <i>b</i>                |
| ت | <i>t</i>                |
| ث | <i>t</i> or <i>th</i>   |
| ج | <i>j</i> or <i>dj</i> ¹ |
| ح | <i>h</i>                |
| خ | <i>h</i> or <i>kh</i>   |
| د | <i>d</i>                |
| ذ | <i>d</i> or <i>dh</i>   |
| ر | <i>r</i>                |
| ز | <i>z</i>                |
| س | <i>s</i>                |
| ش | <i>ʃ</i> or <i>sh</i>   |
| ص | <i>s</i>                |
| ض | <i>d</i>                |
| ط | <i>t</i> or <i>t</i> ¹  |
| ظ | <i>z</i> or <i>z</i> ¹  |
| ع | <i>ˆ</i>                |
| غ | <i>g</i> or <i>gh</i>   |
| ف | <i>f</i>                |
| ق | <i>q</i>                |
| ك | <i>k</i>                |
| ل | <i>l</i>                |
| م | <i>m</i>                |
| ن | <i>n</i>                |

¹ Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by *t* or ظ by *z*, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

و *w* or *v*

ه *h*

ت *t* or *h*

ي *y*

vowels *a*, *i*, *u*

lengthened *ā*, *ī*, *ū*

*Alif-i-maqsūra* may be represented by *ā*

diphthongs *ay* and *aw* or *ai* and *au*  
respectively

*e* and *o* may be used in place of *ī* and *ū*

also *ē* and *ō* in Indian dialects, *ü* and *ö* in Turkish.—

ل of article ال to be always *l*

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and  
for Persian, will be recognized *ṣ* for ث, *ṣ̣* for  
ذ, and *ṣ̤* for ض

*waṣla*

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بند *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

#### ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

پ *p*  
چ *ç*, *c*, or *ch*  
ژ *ž* or *zh*  
گ *g*

Turkish letters.

ک when pronounced as *y*, *k* is permitted  
ن *n*



Hindi, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

ٹ or ٲ      *t̤*

ڙ or ڙ      *d̤*

ڙ or ڙ      *r̤*

ن (nūn-i-ghunna) - as in the case of the Nāgari  
*anunāsika*

Paṣhtō letters.

ټ      *ts* or *t̤s*

چ      *g* or *ʒh* (according to dialect)

ښ      *ŋ*

کښ      *kʃh*; or *ʃh* or *k̤h* (according to dialect)

ځ or ځ      *dʒ* or *d̤ʒ*

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# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1928

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## Problems in Archaic Chinese

BY BERNHARD KARLGREN

IN reconstructing the sound system of old Chinese—the script being ideographic, the old pronunciation cannot simply be read off—we have been able, thanks to rich materials of various kinds, to determine with tolerable certainty, even in detail, the system of what we call Ancient Chinese, the language of the sixth century A.D., embodied in the dictionary *Ts'ie yün*. When the inquiry turns to older epochs, the materials are much more meagre and unsatisfactory, and at present, at least, it does not seem feasible to reconstruct in detail the language which we may call Archaic Chinese, the language of the Chou dynasty, the language of the classics. But we are not entirely at a loss. Important conclusions can be drawn regarding this stage of Chinese, and that by four different means. Perhaps the most important of all will be a comparative study of the sinitic family of languages; but for such researches time can hardly be said to be ripe as yet. The T'ai languages and the Tibeto-Burman languages will have to be thoroughly investigated and their most ancient forms established by comparative methods, before there is any use of comparing them with Chinese. But the three remaining sources are ready at hand even now, and some examples will be given here to show how they can



teaching new and interesting results about the  
of Archaic Chinese.

In the first place there is the phonetic system of  
of Chinese, which by its *lacunae* gives us important  
have studied some cases of this kind in my *Analytic  
ary of Chinese* (1923), pp. 22 and 25. Another case of  
the same kind shall be studied here.

A glance at the rime tables by Sī-ma Kuang, embodied  
with slight modifications in the introduction to the K'ang-hi  
dictionary, will show that there is a regular correspondence  
between tables labelled as *k'ai k'ou*, i.e. "open-mouthed",  
and tables called *ho k'ou* "close-mouthed". This has in view  
the existence or absence of an intercalary *u* or *w*, a "medial  
*u*". To the *k'ai k'ou ká* corresponds *ho k'ou kuá*, to *k'ai k'ou  
káng* corresponds *ho k'ou kwáng*, to *k'ai k'ou k'iang* answers  
*ho k'ou k'iwang*, etc. Now, if we go to the rimes of the *Ts'ie  
yün*, about 500 years older than the rime tables, and arrange  
them according to the principles of the tables, and study  
particularly two groups of rimes, which in many respects are  
remarkably parallel, we obtain this table:—

| Division    | Rimes           | Rimes            |
|-------------|-----------------|------------------|
| I.          | 寒 <i>kán</i>    | 桓 <i>kuán</i>    |
| II.         | 山, 刪 <i>kan</i> | 山, 刪 <i>kuan</i> |
| III and IV. | 仙 <i>k'ian</i>  | 仙 <i>k'iwán</i>  |
| III.        | 元 <i>k'ím</i>   | 元 <i>k'iwán</i>  |
| IV.         | 先 <i>k'ien</i>  | 先 <i>k'iuén</i>  |
| Division    | Rimes           | Rimes            |
| I.          | 覃, 談 <i>kám</i> | 0                |
| II.         | 咸, 銜 <i>kam</i> | 0                |
| III and IV. | 監 <i>k'iam</i>  | 0                |
| III.        | 嚴 <i>k'íam</i>  | 凡 <i>p'íam</i>   |
| IV.         | 添 <i>k'iem</i>  | 0                |

Thus in the *-n* group there are the whole series of *ho k'ou*  
rimes, but the *-m* group lacks *ho k'ou* in nearly all

the rimes. We are obliged to ask ourselves if it is so, and the answer nearest at hand will evidently be that the reason is the final *-m* in the second group, labial, and *u(w)* is a labial, and there is a possibility that there have really existed words like *kwam*, *kiwām*, at an earlier date, but that there has been a kind of dissimilation, an antipathy to cognate *sc* in the same syllable, which has changed these syllables in some way or other, and thus caused a blank in the table to the right.

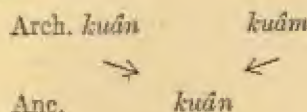
This, of course, is a mere guess, and we shall have to see if we can prove the theory. The first thing necessary will be to examine, if such a dissimilation tendency exists in Chinese.

We can easily prove it to have existed already in Archaic Chinese. There is the character 風 "wind", which in Anc. Chinese was *pīung*. But the "phonetic" in the character is 凡 Anc. *b'iwom* with an *-m*, which shows the Arch. sound of 風 to have been *pīum*. This is corroborated by the old book of poetry of the Chou dynasty, the *Shī king*, where 風 regularly rhymes with 心 Anc. *siəm*, 林 *liəm*, etc. Thus the reconstruction 風 Arch. *pīum* is safe. An exact parallel is the word 熊 Anc. *γiung* "bear". That this was Arch. *γiūm* which has developed *γiūm* > *γiung*, just as *pīum* > *pīung*, is revealed by two of the most conservative of our actual dialects in China, Amoy and Swatow, where 熊 is pronounced *him* with the Archaic *-m* preserved. If thus evidently Arch. *-iūm* has become > Anc. *-iung*, it must have been through dissimilation, because one did not suffer a labial, *m*, after another labial, *u*.

Another interesting testimony to this tendency is given by modern Cantonese. Cantonese as a rule has preserved the Ancient final *-m*: 監 Anc. *kam* is Ca. *kam*. But when we come to 凡 Anc. *b'iwom*, the *-m* of which can still be seen from Hakka *fam*, Swat. *huam*, then Cantonese has *fan* and not *fam*. Here dissimilation, the antipathy to the labial accumulation *f*: *m* has caused *-m* to become > *-n*.



Now return to our table of the Anc. *-ân* and *-âm*, etc., and safely suppose that there have existed some Arch. *-uam*, etc., which were changed into something else by dissimilation before the time of Anc. And what can we reasonably expect them to have become? If we take the cue from Cantonese, we may expect that the very rich group of rimes *kuân*, *kwan*, *huan*, *küen*, *küen*, which in Anc. Chin. included a great number of characters (see my *Etudes sur la Phonologie chinoise*, pp. 168-73), conceals lots of Arch. *kuâm*, *kream*, *kwâm*, etc. The Anc. rimes *-uân*, etc., would thus have two different origins:—



This again is nothing but a guess, but fortunately we are able to prove it. There is one dialect conservative enough to reveal the Arch. stage in a few isolated cases. It is once more the Swatow. There we find:—

| Swat.           | Anc.                      | Arch.                       |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 噴 <i>ham</i>    | <i>xuân</i>               | < <i>xuâm</i>               |
| 患 穗 <i>huam</i> | <i>ɣwan</i>               | < <i>ɣwam</i>               |
| 鑄 <i>chiam</i>  | <i>tsi<sup>h</sup>uân</i> | < <i>tsi<sup>h</sup>wâm</i> |

By this lucky find in the Swatow dialect we have been able to account for the great lacuna in the system of Anc. Chin.:—

| Anc.       | Anc.                    | Anc.                   | Anc. | (Arch.)                     |
|------------|-------------------------|------------------------|------|-----------------------------|
| <i>ân</i>  | <i>uân</i>              | <i>âm</i>              | 0    | ( <i>uâm</i> )              |
| <i>an</i>  | <i>wan</i>              | <i>am</i>              | 0    | ( <i>wam</i> )              |
| <i>jän</i> | <i>i<sup>h</sup>wân</i> | <i>i<sup>h</sup>am</i> | 0    | ( <i>i<sup>h</sup>wâm</i> ) |

The Arch. Chin. was more complete, but *-m* becoming *-n* by dissimilation, the Arch. *-uâm* etc. went over to *uân* etc. (2nd column), and so the gap was the result.

This example will be sufficient to show what I mean by studying Arch. Chin. by aid of the system of Anc. Chin.

There are two more means, even more important, for investigating the archaic sound system. One is the script: the compound characters, characters composed of a radical and a phonetic; and the other is the rimes of the Shī king.<sup>1</sup> Both these materials carry us back mainly to Chou time. And though they offer many peculiarities and irregularities, still there are certain general laws which can be studied, laws of paramount value.

By aid of the compound characters I was able, in my *Analytic Dictionary*, to make certain curious reconstructions. Among other things, I showed that certain initial and final consonants existed in Arch. Chin. which were dropped before the time of Anc. Chin. Thus in 甬 Anc. *ɿong* there was an earlier *d-*, which accounts for its being phonetic in a long series of words with dental initials, 通 Anc. *t'ung*, 笛 *d'ung*, 誦 *ɿ'ong*, etc. And if 列 Anc. *liät* is phonetic in 例 *liäi*, it is because there was in 例 a dental final consonant, lost, or rather changed into *-i* before the time of Anc. Chin. I wish to take up this latter case again, and propose a modification of my earlier theory, which I think will be advantageous.

I started in my Dictionary from the axiom that 例 Anc. *liäi* could not have been an earlier *liät* pure and simple, for then 列 *liät* as well should have lost its *-t*. It was impossible to assume that of two absolutely identical Arch. *liät* one 列 would become Anc. *liät* and another 例 Anc. *liäi*. It was near at hand then to reflect upon a *-d* in 例: Arch. *liäd* > Anc. *liäi*, and I found a support for this idea in the fact that in the great majority of cases, where character composition reveals a final consonant lost before Anc. Chin.,

<sup>1</sup> The rimes of the Shī king have been determined by Ku Yen-wu and Tuan Yü-ts'ai, and Legge conveniently has recorded the rimes according to the latter authority. It seems to me that both Ku and Tuan are inclined to exaggerate and see rimes even in places where it is very doubtful if the poet ever intended the lines to rime, but on the whole their researches are clever and convincing.



the word in question has the falling tone: 例 Anc. *liät'* (with phon. 列 *liät*), 世 *śiät'* (phon. in 泄 *śiät*), 怕 *p'a'* (with phon. 白 *b'vk*), etc. It is a well-known fact that, in the initials, voiced consonants entailed a low tone in Anc. Chin. — it is still so in many dialects: 田 *d'ien*, but 天 *t'ien*. I therefore drew the fairly natural conclusion that 例 was an Arch. *liäd*, and that the *-d* pulled down the voice pitch towards the end of the syllable, causing the falling tone still preserved in Anc. *liät'*.

But I have been thinking of late that I may have inverted cause and effect. It is possible that the nature of the end consonant did not determine the tone, but that the tone was original and has influenced the nature of the final. In such a case the final may have been not a *-d* but a *-t*:—

例 Arch. *liät'* > *liäd'* > Anc. *liät'*.

Whereas 列 *liät* without a falling inflexion (with "even" tone) preserved its final *-t*: Anc. *liät*, a 例 *liät'* with its falling inflexion changed its *-t* into *-d* and then this *-d* into *-i*. In the same way 怕 Anc. *p'a'* (with phon. 白 *b'vk*) would not have been an Arch. *p'ag*, as I supposed in my Dictionary, but a *p'ak'* with falling tone, and *p'ak'* > *p'ag* > *p'a'*.

This modification of the doctrine is of considerable importance. Instead of labouring with a difference in final consonant:—

列 *liät* phonetic in 例 *liäd* (> *liät'*)

白 *b'vk* „ 怕 *p'ag* (> *p'a'*)

we introduce a new tonal phenomenon:—

列 *liät'* phonetic in 例 *liät'* (> *liät'*)

白 *b'vk'* „ 怕 *p'ak'* (> *p'a'*).

This means a bold tone theory. It is well known that the Chinese philologists for many hundred years have reckoned four tones, without counting the high and low variants:—

*tan* (p'ing, even)

*tan'* (k'ü, falling)

*t'an* (shang, rising)

*tat* (ju, "entering," abrupt).

The placing of *tat* as a fourth tone is more a convenient arrangement than a logical procedure. It may be said, of course, that the abrupt ending in *tat* is a musical quality, an "exabrupto", comparable to the inflexion variations of the first three tones. But from the point of view of general phonetics it can be said that the above system means that whereas syllables like *tan* can be modified by three musical inflexions, syllables like *tat* have no tone variations. My theory above would purport, that just as well as you may distinguish *tan*<sup>-</sup> and *tan*<sup>`</sup> even to-day, the Archaic Chinese distinguished also *tat*<sup>-</sup> and *tat*<sup>`</sup>. But as the latter became > *tad*<sup>`</sup> > *ta*<sup>`</sup> (or *ta*<sup>`</sup>) before the sixth century A.D., the Chinese philologists have never known any tone variation in syllables like *tat* (*ju sheng*).

Phonetically there is nothing more curious in the opposition *tat*<sup>-</sup> : *tat*<sup>`</sup> than in *tan*<sup>-</sup> : *tan*<sup>`</sup>. So there is no obstacle on that account. The question now is: What can be said against and for the theory?

As far as I can see there can be no serious objection. One might argue, that if 列 was Arch. *liāt* and 例 was Arch. *liāt*<sup>`</sup>, one would expect them to rime in the Shī king. In point of fact there is a fair number of examples where such words rime:—

列 Anc. *liāt* : 發 *piwot* : 害 *γāi*<sup>`</sup> < *t*<sup>`</sup> (Legge, p. 352);  
 月 *ngiweot* : 達 *d'āt* : 害 *γāi*<sup>`</sup> < *t*<sup>`</sup> (Legge, p. 472);  
 揭 *kjot* : 害 *γāi*<sup>`</sup> < *t*<sup>`</sup> : 撥 *puāt* : 世 *šiāi*<sup>`</sup> < *t*<sup>`</sup> (Legge, p. 510);  
 舌 *dz'jāt* : 外 *nguāi*<sup>`</sup> < *t* : 發 *piwot* (Legge, p. 545).

However, rimes like these—type 列 Anc. *liāt* riming with the type 例 Anc. *liāt*<sup>`</sup>—are relatively rare in the Shī king; as a rule those types are kept apart in the rimes. But this is nothing astonishing, for the same can be said of the types *kan*<sup>-</sup> : *kan*<sup>`</sup>. On the whole, words with different tones do not easily rime in the Shī, even if they have identical finals for the rest. A brief examination of the rimes recorded by Legge after Tuan Yü-ts'ai will show, that in say 80 per



cent of the rimes one has stayed within the even, rising, and falling tones respectively. In the same way we must expect *liāt : liāt'* not to rime but for exceptional cases such as those mentioned just now.

The reasons for the theory on the other hand seem to me to be quite strong.

(1) In the first place there are a great number of characters, the composition of which will be much easier to understand by aid of the new theory. This is not only true in cases like 列 : 例, where an Arch. 例 *liāt'* comes closer to the phonetic 列 *liāt* than an Arch. \**liād*. It is still more so in cases like 弋 Anc. *ɨək* phonetic in 代 Anc. *d'ái'*, 昔 Anc. *sɨək* phonetic in 措 Anc. *ts'uo'*.

Here my earlier theory :—

弋 (*d*)*ɨək* phonetic in 代 *d'ág*,  
昔 *sɨək* „ 措 *ts'uoq*,

is by no means so plausible as my modified theory :—

弋 (*d*)*ɨək* phonetic in 代 *d'ák'*,  
昔 *sɨək* „ 措 *ts'uok'*.

(2) Secondly, the modified theory explains better the many interesting cases, where one character has two or more readings :—

度 Anc. *d'ák* to measure,  
„ *d'uo'* a measure, a rule ;  
塞 *sək* to block up,  
„ *sái'* frontier ;  
射 *d'ɛ'ɨək* to hit with an arrow,  
„ *d'ɛ'ia'* to send off an arrow ;  
質 *tsɨēt* solid (adj.),  
„ *tsi'* a pledge ;  
惡 *ək* bad,  
„ *uo'* (find bad) to hate ;  
易 *ɨək* to change,  
„ *iɛ'* (changeable) easy ;  
食 *d'ɛ'ɨək* to eat,  
„ (*d*)*zi'* food.

My earlier theory purported a fairly considerable difference between the phases of the stems :—

度 *d'ák* : *d'uog*, 惡 *ák* : *uog*, 塞 *sək* : *ság*, 易 *iak* : *ieg*, etc.

With the modified theory the similarity would become much greater :—

度 *d'ák* : *d'uok'*, 惡 *ák* : *uok'*, 塞 *sək* : *sák'*, 易 *iak* : *iek'*,  
射 *dž'jak* : *dž'jak'*, 食 *dž'jak* : *(d)z'ik'*, 質 *tšjēt* : *tšit'*.

And, as it is but reasonable to admit, that in the cases with loss of the final consonant the vocalism has developed differently, from Archaic down to Ancient Chinese, than in words with preserved *-k*, *-t*, it is possible or even probable that in Archaic time the forms were even more similar, perhaps identical, apart from the tone. They would then be parallels to well-known cases, where a difference in function is expressed exclusively by a change of tone : e.g. : 好 *hao'* good : *hao'* to love, 王 *wang'* king : *wang'* to be king, etc. It is clear, then, that the supposition of Arch. *-k'*, *-t'*, instead of my earlier *-g*, *-d*, explains these words with double readings exceedingly well.

(3) In the third place, as a *kag*, for instance, is phonetically so similar to a *kang*, we would expect that in compound characters a *kag* often enough should be used as phonetic in a *kang* and vice versa. This practically never takes place, which speaks rather in favour of an Arch. *kak'* and not a *kag*.

(4) In the fourth and last place there is a very suggestive case in the character 害 *γāt'*. This character was sometimes used in the oldest classics (e.g. Shu king : T'ang shī, and Shī king : Ko tan) for another word 曷 *γāt* "when ? which ?". It would be strange if for 曷 *γāt* one wrote 害 *γād*, but very intelligible that with a slight carelessness one wrote 害 *γāt'* instead of 曷 *γāt*.

Taken together I think the four reasons advanced here give an amount of probability which is practically equal to certainty.



I wish to emphasize that this new theory of mine does not entail, that in the hundreds of cases when in my *Analytic Dictionary* I have given formulas like this: 例 Anc. *liāi* < -d, these formulas are wrong; they are certainly not. It is almost certain that 例 *liāt* has passed a stage *liād* before becoming *liāi*. Only we can reach a still older stage *liāt* than that indicated by the formula *liāi* < -d. A parallel will show the wisdom of supposing a transitory stage *liād*, etc. A few centuries A.D. (cf. p. 789 below), when final -t in cases like 列 *liāt* (without falling tone), Cant. *lit*, ordinary *ju sheng*, commenced in its turn to disappear in Northern China, it first became > d > δ (fricative δ as in English *that*), which is shown by many ancient transcriptions, where it stands for foreign r: 涅槃 *niet* (> *nieδ*) for Nir- in Nirvāṇa, etc., and also by Sino-Korean, where it is represented by an -l: 列 (*liāt* > (*l*)iāδ =) *ial*.

From this question of final consonants we pass on to an important problem of Archaic vocalism.

In looking over the columns of Ancient Chinese in my *Analytic Dictionary*, one finds that in nine cases out of ten the so-called phonetic agrees phonetically very nicely with the compound: 主 *tšiu* phon. in 注 *tšiu* and 住 *d'iu*; 甘 *kām* phon. in 紺 *kām*, 酣 *γām*, 紺 *g'ām*. The initials are identical or at least cognate, and so are the principal vowels and the final consonants. But there are some glaring exceptions. Most of them I have been able to explain by conclusions as to the sounds in Archaic Chinese in my Dictionary. But one important point where I left the incongruence open for future discussion, will be discussed here.

Both in the compound characters and in the rimes of the Shī king there are a number of cases where -a and -o, according to the readings in Ancient Chinese, go together.

Let us mention the following cases:—

衙 Anc. *nga* having phon. 吾 *nguo*;

賈 *ka* and *kuo*, double readings;

- 家 *ka* riming with 乎 *ɣuo* (Legge, p. 253);  
 段 *ka*—derivate 駮 *ɣa* riming with 魚 *ŋiwo* and 祖 *dz'uo*  
 (Legge 614);  
 牙 *nga* riming with 居 *kiwo* (Legge 299);  
 下 *ɣa* riming with 女 *hiwo* (Legge 26);  
 夏 *ɣa* riming with 鼓 *kuo* (Legge 206);  
 馬 *ma* riming with 楚 *ts'iuo* (Legge 17);  
 巴 *pa*—derivate 耙 riming with 虞 *ŋjiu* (Legge 37);  
 拏 *nja* having phon. 奴 *nuo*;  
 且 *ts'ia* and *tsiwo*, double readings;  
 車 *ts'ia* and *kiwo*, double readings;  
 野 *ia* having phon. 予 *iuo*;  
 者 *ts'ia* phonetic in 諸 *tsiwo*, 都 *tu*, riming with 戶 *ɣuo*  
 (Legge 181);  
 邪 *zia* riming with 魚 *ŋiwo*, 祖, *dz'uo* (Legge 614);  
 斜 *zia* having phon. 余 *iuo*;  
 瓜 *kwa* phon. in 孤 *kuo*, riming with 廬 *luo* (Legge 376);  
 夸 *k'wa* phon. in 符 *k'uo*;  
 華 *ɣwa* riming with 都 *tu*.

There are several possibilities of explaining this discrepancy, from the point of view of Anc. Chin., in the principal vowel.

The first would be to suppose, that Arch. Chin. as well as Anc. Chin. had *-a* and *-o* respectively in these characters, and that the inventors of the compound characters and the poets considered the vowels *-a* and *-o* sufficiently similar to allow of a certain *licentia*. But there are several facts which forbid such an interpretation. There are some instances in the Shī king where these fatal *-a* words rime, not only with *-o* but also with *-u* :—

- 野 *ia* : 羽 *jiu* (Legge 251);  
 馬 *ma* : 武 *miu* (Legge 129);  
 華 *ɣwa* : 夫 *piu* (Legge 251).

Now a *licentia poetica* allowing *a : o* to rime, and permitting *o : u* to rime is conceivable, a rime *a : u* is really too bad. Another testimony to the same effect is this. Neither in the



phonetic series nor in the Shī king rimes do you find any confusion of *-āng* (*-wāng*) and *-uōng* (*-iūwōng*). There are some exceptions to this rule, but quite rare. *-āng* and *-ōng* as a rule are kept strictly apart. Now, if *-āng* and *-ōng* were not considered to be sufficiently similar to rime or to serve for each other in the phonetic series, why should *-a* and *-o* be?

This first alternative, that 衙 was a *nga* and 吾 was a *nguo* in Archaic just as well as in Ancient Chinese, is therefore out of question. We must assert that either 衙 was no *nga* or 吾 was no *nguo* in Archaic Chinese.

Professor H. Maspero has already in his book *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang* (BEFEO., 1920, p. 15) had his attention directed towards this problem. He asserts as his belief, that certain words of the type 家 Anc. *ka* (Mand. *kia*) had derived from an archaic *kô* (by *ô* he means an open *o*), and directly rimed with words like 女 *nūwo* (which Maspero writes *n<sup>vi</sup>ô*, also with open *ô*). But we cannot simply be satisfied with this assertion. On the one hand, he gives no reasons for his belief. On the other hand, he deals exclusively with words of the type 家 Anc. *ka*, 牙 *nga*, 下 *ya* (without any *i*), i.e. words which in Mandarin have *-a* (*kia*, *ya*, *hia*, *sha*, *ma*, *pa*), and he does not consider the words of the type 野 Anc. *ia*, 者 *tš<sub>1</sub>ia* (with medial *i*), i.e. words which in Mand. have become *ye*, *ché*, *shé*, etc.<sup>1</sup> And yet these latter belong to the problem just as much as the former, as we have already seen. For just as 家 Anc. *ka* rimes with 乎 *γuo* in

<sup>1</sup> If Maspero had taken into account not only the words of the "second division" of the rime tables, i.e. words of the type 家 Anc. *ka*, etc., but also words of the "third division", i.e. words of the type 野 Anc. *ia*, 者 *tš<sub>1</sub>ia*, he would have obtained, with the same interpretation of the Archaic vocalism, 野 (Mand. *ye*) Arch. *iô*, 者 (Mand. *ché*) Arch. *tš<sub>1</sub>iô*. According to his own reconstruction system, however, 子 (Mand. *yü*) was Arch. *iô* and 諸 (Mand. *chü*) was Arch. *tš<sub>1</sub>iô*, and it would be unreasonable to suppose one *iô* 野 to have become *ye*, another *iô* 子 to have become *yü*. Hence it is evident that Maspero has had in view only words of the type 家 Anc. *ka* (second division).

the Shī king, so 者 *tšia* rimes with 戶 *yuo*; and just as 夸 *k'ua* is phonetic in 袴 *k'uo*, so 者 *tšia* is phonetic in 諸 *tšueo*. Thus it is necessary to take up the question as a whole, to discuss various possibilities and fix on the solution which can be proved.

In tackling our problem there are logically two possibilities:

Either 吾 Anc. *nguo* comes from an Arch. *ngua*, and therefore is phon. in 衙 Anc. *nga*;

Or 吾 Anc. *ngua* is phon. in 衙 Anc. *nga* because this comes from some kind of Arch. *ngo*, as Maspero suggests.

The former possibility cannot be brushed aside without being seriously confuted. There are several things which speak in favour of it. In the first place we might mention a curious series of corresponding words in Tibetan and Chinese:—

|   |                     |                  |
|---|---------------------|------------------|
| 五 | Anc. C. <i>nguo</i> | Tib. <i>lnga</i> |
| 吾 | <i>nguo</i>         | <i>nga</i>       |
| 魚 | <i>ngiwo</i>        | <i>nya</i>       |

This looks very suggestive, but proves little about any Arch. Chin. *-a* in those words. It is just as possible that *-a* is secondary as that it is primary, and, besides, as long as an all round comparison between Chinese and Tibetan has not been made, it is too risky to draw conclusions from some forms like that chosen at random.

In the second place there is a curious gap in the system of Anc. Chinese. In the Anc. Chin. rimes *-ā*, *-a*, *-o*, and *-u* there are the following finals (the characters are the Ts'ie yün rimes):—

| Division | K'ai k'ou   | Ho k'ou      | Ho k'ou                    |
|----------|-------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| I        | 歌 <i>kā</i> | 戈 <i>kuā</i> | 模 <i>kuo</i>               |
| II       | 麻 <i>ka</i> | 麻 <i>kwa</i> |                            |
| III, IV  | 麻 <i>ja</i> | 0            | 魚 <i>kīwo</i> 虞 <i>kīu</i> |

The final *-iwa* to be expected in the second column (Div. III) does not exist but for a couple of isolated and dubious characters. It would be very tempting to suppose



that there had in Arch. Chin. existed words like 予 *\*iwa* and 諸 *\*tsiwa*, and that these later on, by influence of the *w*, had passed into 予 *iwo* and 諸 *tsiwo*, as they are pronounced in Anc. Chinese. This would explain in an excellent way cases like :—

予 *iwo* < *\*iwa* phonetic in 野 *ia*.

諸 *tsiwo* < *\*tsiwa* with phonetic 者 *tsia*.

But the difficulty of the theory is immediately evident. There are no gaps in the Divisions I and II. As soon as it comes to explaining why 吾 Anc. *nguo* is phonetic in 衙 *nga*, it will not do to suppose 吾 *nguo* to be derived from an Arch. *\*ngua* (*nguo* < *ngua*), for then we would collide with the *nguá* (e.g. the char. 臥 Anc. *nguá*) of Division I (rime 戈) or with the *ngwa* (e.g. the char. 瓦 Anc. *ngwa*) of the Division II (rime 麻). If 吾 had been a *\*ngua*, which had developed into *nguo*, then certainly 臥 *nguá* and 瓦 *ngwa* should also have developed > *nguo*, *ngwo*, which is not the case.

Of course one might answer, that the *-uá* (rime 戈) of Anc. Chin., e.g. 臥 *nguá*, in its turn has come from something else. This objection we must consider, and, as we shall see, this will give us a solid point of departure in solving the whole problem.

In point of fact, we are able to prove that the finals of the first division: Anc. rime 歌 *-á* (*ká*, etc.) and Anc. rime 戈 *-uá* (果 *kuá*, 臥 *nguá*, etc.) had really some kind of *a* as principal vowel in Arch. just as well as in Anc. Chinese. This is clearly shown both by compound characters and by the Shī king rimes. In both sources it goes together with a rime 支 of the Ts'ie yün, which now is pronounced *-i* in Mandarin, but which was an earlier *-ie* and a still earlier *-ig*. Thus 可 Anc. *k'á* is phon. in 奇 *g'jiq*, 我 *ngá* is phon. in 義 *ngjiq*, 波 *puá* has for phon. 皮 *b'jiq*, etc. And in the Shī king 河 Anc. *γá* and 他 *t'á* rime with 儀 *ngjiq* (Legge, 75), 何 *γá* with 宜 *ngjiq* (Legge, 78), 磨 *muá* and 磋 *ts'á* with 荷 *iq* (Legge, 93), 歌 *ká* with 池 *d'iq* (Legge, 209), and

so on. Thus the nature of the Anc. *-ā*, *-uā* rimes (first division) as some kind of *-a* finals also in Arch. Chin. is firmly established.

With this fact as a solid point of departure, we can go on and state that neither in the compound characters, nor in the Shī king rimes do these Anc. *-ā*, *-uā* go together with words of the Anc. Chin. category *-uo*, *-iwo* (Ts'ie yün rimes 模, 魚). I know of only two exceptions to this rule.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, the rule is remarkably strict. This shows conclusively that the Anc. *-uo* and *-iwo* in words like 吾 *nguo*, 諸 *tš'wo* (Ts'ie yün rimes 模, 魚) did *not* derive from any Arch. *-\*ua*, *-\*iua*; these words in all likelihood had their *-o* as principal vowel in Arch. Chin. as well.

With these two points firmly established, we can take up the *ka*, *pa*, *ia*, *tš'ia*, etc. words for a final examination.

Maspero has already pointed out that the Anc. *-a* type cleaves up into two Arch. types, for one of which he supposes an Arch. *-ō*. But the matter is even more complicated than that. The *-a* and *-ia* types taken together (Ts'ie yün rime 麻) are shown by the compound characters and by the Shī king rimes to split up into three neatly distinguished groups:—

(a) One group in character composition and in the Shī king rimes goes together with words in Anc. *-ā*, *-uā*, (*-ie <*) *ia* (Ts'ie yün rimes 歌, 戈, 支). To this group belong:—

加 *ka* phon. in 娶 *kā* and riming with 宜 *ngjiā* (Legge, 136);

麻 *ma* phon. in 摩 *muā* and riming with 歌 *kā* and 池 *d'ia* (Legge, 209);

沙 *sa* phon. in 娑 *sā* and riming with 多 *tā* and 宜 *ngjiā* (Legge, 481);

差 *tš'a* phon. in 磋 *tš'ā*;

也 *ia* phon. in 他 *t'ā* and 池 *d'ia*;

蛇 *dš'ia* with phon. 它 *t'ā* and riming with 皮 *b'jiā* (Legge, 29);

些 *sia* with phon. 此 *tš'ia*;

<sup>1</sup> 固 *kuo* phon. in 箇 *kā*; and 虛 *dš'd* phon. in 覩 *tš'wo*.



高 *k'ia* phon. in 過 *kuā*;

化 *yua* phon. in 貨 *yua*;

瓦 *ngwa* riming with 儀 *ngjiā* (Legge, 307).

Further, of course, we have to add various derivatives, such as: 獅, 袈, 迦, 嘉, 枷, 架, 駕, *ka*, 伽, 茄 *g'ia*; 麻 *ma*; 砂, 裝, 鈔, 紗 *sa*; 槎 *dz'a*, 嗟 *tsia*; 蝸, 媧, 剛 *kwa*; 花 *xua*. None of the words of this group ever have anything to do, either in script or in Shī king rimes, with words in Anc. -uo, -iwo.

(b) The second group goes together, in the script and in the Shī king rimes, with words in Anc. -uo, -iwo (Ts'ie yün rimes 模, 魚) and, rarely, -iu (Ts'ie yün rime 虞). This is the group which gave occasion to our inquiry. Here we have then (see pp. 778-9 above) in the first place 衙, 牙 Anc. *nga*, 賈, 家, 段 *ka*, 下, 夏 *ya*, 馬 *ma*, 巴 *pa*, 拏 *nja*, 且 *ts'ia*, 車 *tš'ia*, 野 *ia*, 者 *tšja*, 邪, 斜 *zia*, 瓜 *kwa*, 夸 *k'wa*, 華 *yua*; and secondly, of course, various derivatives, e.g. 檣, 嫁, 稼, 蝦, 葭 *ka*, 瑕, 蝦, 遐, 霞, 暇, 廈 *ya*, 厦, 厦 *sa*, 瑪, 碼, 嗎, 馬, 罵, 嗎 *ma*, 吧, 疤, 芭, 把, 爸, 耙 *pa*, 爬, 琶, 罷 *b'a*, 姐 *tšja*, 查 *dz'a*, 赭 *tšja*, 奢 *šja*, 爺, 椰 *ia*. This group never has anything to do, in script or Shī king rimes, with words in Anc. -ā, -uā, -ia (Ts'ie yün rimes 歌, 戈, 支).

(c) Thirdly, there are cases like 敕 Anc. *šja'*, which has 赤 *tš'jak* for phonetic and which itself is phonetic in 螯 *šjak*. Here we evidently have to reconstruct an Arch. final -*k'* with falling tone: 敕 *šja'* < -*k'*,<sup>1</sup> this -*k'* (becoming -*g* and then) dropping long before Anc. Chinese. To this group belong:—

敕 *šja'* < -*k'* as stated above;

乍 *dz'a'* < -*k'* phon. in 作 *tsāk*;

怕 *p'a'* < -*k'* with phon. 白 *b'ak*;

亞 -*a'* < -*k'* phon. in 惡 -*ak*;

<sup>1</sup> This -*ia'* < -*k'* then was distinguished from the -*jak* of the rime table 宕 (Ts'ie yün rime 藥): 虐 *ngjak*, etc., by the length of the vowel.

射  $d\acute{z}'ia' < -k'$ , alternative reading  $d\acute{z}'iak$  (with derivatives  
 謝  $z'ia' < -k'$  and 麝  $d\acute{z}'ia' < k'$ );  
 借  $ts'ia' < -k'$ , alternative reading  $ts'iak$  and with phon.  
 昔  $s'iak$ ;  
 夜  $ia' < -k'$  with phon. 亦  $iak$  and itself phonetic in 液  $iak$ ;  
 寫  $s'ia' < -k'$  with phon. 烏  $s'iak$  and itself phon. in 瀉  
 $s'ia' < -k'$ ;  
 蔗  $ts'ia' < -k'$  with phon. 庶  $\acute{s}iwo' < -k$  (庶 also phon. in 𪔐  
 $ts'iak$ ).

Out of these three types, (a), (b), and (c), which go to make up the finals -a,  $\acute{ia}$  (Ts'ie yün rime 麻) of Anc. Chin., the first one is immediately clear. The second and third types need further elucidation:—

(a) was simply Arch. -a(- $\acute{ia}$ ): 加  $ka$ , 也 (d) $\acute{ia}$ , etc.

(b) Maspero's proposal of an open  $\acute{o}$  is certainly justified, as we have seen that it goes together with -uo,  $\acute{i}wo$ —sometimes even with - $\acute{i}u$ —in both the compound characters and in the Shī king rimes. But we are hardly authorized to suppose an ordinary open  $\acute{o}$ , of the same kind as in rime - $\acute{i}wo$  (魚) as Maspero does, an  $\acute{o}$  something like Germ. Gott, kommen. For we have seen that in this special case the  $\acute{o}$  sound has developed into > Anc. Chin. -a, whereas - $\acute{i}wo$  has developed >  $\acute{i}u$  >  $\acute{u}$ . It is true it would be possible to admit:—

家 Arch.  $k\acute{o}$  > Anc.  $k\acute{a}$  > Mand.  $kia$ , but:

居 „  $k\acute{i}w\acute{o}$  > Anc.  $k\acute{i}wo$  > Mand.  $kü$ ,

where the conditions are not parallel because of the  $w$  (the existence of which Maspero, however, denies: “居  $k\acute{i}w\acute{o}$ ”!). But it would be quite unreasonable in cases like:—

瓜 Arch.  $k\acute{w}\acute{o}$  >  $kwa$ , but:

居 „  $k\acute{i}w\acute{o}$  (>  $k\acute{i}u$  >)  $kü$ .

Here the  $w$  exists in both cases, and to suppose that one - $w\acute{o}$  became - $wa$  and another - $w\acute{o}$  became  $u$  ( $\acute{u}$ ) is plainly impossible. There must have been some difference in quality between the two  $\acute{o}$  in 瓜 and 居.

Here we have reached our last difficulty in the matter, a



difficulty which appears quite serious. For if we suppose a gradual opening of the vowel:  $\hat{o} > \hat{a} > a$ , over “ $\hat{a}$  grave” to “ $a$  aigu” (e.g. 家 Arch.  $k\hat{o} > k\hat{a} > \text{Anc. } ka$ ), we shall be entirely at a loss to account for the fact that the other words with  $\hat{a}$ , words like 歌  $k\hat{a}$  (with original  $\hat{a}$ , see p. 782 above) have not participated in the evolution  $\hat{a} > a$ . That a 歌 has remained  $k\hat{a}$  the whole time while 家 from  $k\hat{o}$  over  $k\hat{a}$  has become  $ka$  is evidently out of the question. Therefore the formula  $\hat{o} > \hat{a} > a$  cannot be satisfactory. The solution of the problem is furnished by a parallel during T'ang time in another rime. The final in the Ts'ie yün rime 江  $k\hat{a}ng$ , with an  $o$  sound more open than Gott, kommen, something like Engl. *law*, popularly an intermediate between  $o$  and  $\hat{a}$ , has developed like this, as Maspero has cleverly shown<sup>1</sup>:—

江  $k\hat{a}ng > k\hat{a}ng > k\hat{a}ng > kang$ . In the closed syllable, with final *-ng*, this has taken place as late as in T'ang time. Now I propose to find exactly the same development in the open syllable 家  $k\hat{a}$ , 野  $i\hat{a}$  at a much earlier date: Arch.  $k\hat{a} > k\hat{a}\hat{a} > k\hat{a}a > \text{Anc. } ka$ .

The advantage of this solution is seen immediately. On the one hand it is natural that 家  $k\hat{a}$  rimes with 乎  $yuo$  and that 者  $t\hat{s}i\hat{a}$  rimes with 戶  $yuo$  and 楚  $t\hat{s}'iwo$  and is phonetic in 都  $tu$  and 諸  $t\hat{s}'iwo$ . On the other hand, it is easily conceivable that:—

瓜  $kwa$  has become  $kw\hat{a}\hat{a} > kwa$ , whereas:

居  $k'iu$  has become  $k'iu > k\hat{u}$ .

(c) The third group, the words with an Arch. final guttural, 敎  $\hat{s}i\hat{a}' < -k'$ , etc., needs an additional remark. Some of the words which the script indicates as belonging to this category, namely 射  $d\hat{z}'ia$ , 夜  $i\hat{a}$ , 寫  $s\hat{i}a$ , sometimes rime, in the Shī king, with words in *-uo*, *-iwo*, and even *-iu*, just as did the words of the category (b) (家 Arch.  $k\hat{a}$ , etc.), e.g. :—

射  $d\hat{z}'ia' < -k'$  riming with 御  $ng'iu$  (Legge, 131).

This seems very strange and needs elucidation.

<sup>1</sup> *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang*, p. 79.

In fact, the said three words in Anc. *-ia* < *-k* share the peculiarity of these rimes with some other words in Arch. *-k'*, namely some *-uo*' < *-k'*. I have found seventeen to my mind undeniable rimes of this kind (Legge, pp. 40, 59, 131, 134, 155, 175, 187, 258, 275, 366, 394 bis, 456, 472, 510, 518, 535):—

|                               |            |  |
|-------------------------------|------------|--|
| 射 <i>d'zia</i> ' < <i>-k'</i> | rimes with | 御 <i>ngiwo</i> , 譽 <i>iuo</i> ;  |
| 夜 <i>ia</i> ' < <i>-k'</i>    | “ “        | 圃 <i>puo</i> , 瞿 <i>k'iu</i> , 居 <i>k'wo</i> , 呼 <i>χuo</i> ;  |
| 寫 <i>sia</i> ' < <i>-k'</i>   | “ “        | 涓 <i>siwo</i> , 語 <i>ngiwo</i> , 處 <i>ts'iuo</i> ;   |
| 路 <i>luo</i> ' < <i>-k'</i>   | “ “        | 故 <i>kuo</i> , 据 <i>k'wo</i> , 固 <i>kuo</i> , 訐 <i>χiu</i> ;   |
| 露 <i>luo</i> ' < <i>-k'</i>   | “ “        | 故 <i>kuo</i> ;   |
| 莫 <i>muo</i> ' < <i>-k'</i>   | “ “        | 圃 <i>puo</i> , 瞿 <i>k'iu</i> , 除 <i>d'iuo</i> , 居 <i>k'wo</i> ,<br>顧 <i>kuo</i> , 怒 <i>nuo</i> , 故 <i>kuo</i> , 虞<br><i>ngiu</i> ; |
| 慙 <i>suo</i> ' < <i>-k'</i>   | “ “        | 茹 <i>n'ziwo</i> , 怒 <i>nuo</i> ;   |
| 庶 <i>siwo</i> ' < <i>-k'</i>  | “ “        | 固 <i>kuo</i> , 除 <i>d'iuo</i> , 顧 <i>kuo</i> , 怒 <i>nuo</i> ;  |
| 度 <i>d'uo</i> ' < <i>-k'</i>  | “ “        | 虞 <i>ngiu</i> .  |

We seem to be forced to conclude that *either* the words to the left, 射 *d'zia*, etc., had really no Arch. final guttural; *or* that they had and that the words to the right, 御 *ngiwo*, etc., also had it. The first alternative is out of the question; the script leaves no doubt as to their final guttural, nor does the Shī king, which in other places makes those words rime with *ju sheng* words, e.g. 夜 *ia*' < *-k'*: 夕 *ziäk*: 惡 *äk* (Legge, 329); 庶 *siwo*' < *-k'*: 炙 *tsiäk*: 客 *k'uk* (Legge, 374), etc. The other alternative would carry us very far, and force us to reconstruct Arch. final gutturals in large groups of words in *-uo*, *-iuo*, *-iu*, which seems very risky on the strength of less than a score of Shī king rimes. Fortunately we have a third possibility. There is a striking fact which points the way. It is true that the words to the right, 御 *ngiwo*, 呼 *χuo*, etc., sometimes rime with words of the type 夜 *ia*' < *-k* and 莫 *muo*' < *-k'*, but they *never* rime with words of the type 篤 Anc. *tuok*, what we call *ju sheng* words, i.e. words which have preserved their *-k* down to Anc. Chinese and to our times. This can be no mere chance,



and it clearly shows that already in Chou time the final guttural in words of the type 夜 *iak'*, 莫 *muok'* must have commenced to weaken (it soon dropped entirely): *iak'*, *muok'*. Hence, while rimes like 居 *kiwo*: 篤 *tuok* were inadmissible, some occasional rimes were possible like:

莫 *muok'*: 居 *kiwo*;  
 庶 *siwok'*: 顧 *kuo*;  
 夜 *iak'*: 居 *kiwo*, 呼 *χuo*.

This last one is after all such a poor hedge-rime (cases of this kind therefore are very rare), that it is tempting to propose that in words like 射, 夜 the Arch. final was not an *-iak'* but an *-iäk'*, and that after the loss of *-k* 夜 *\*iä* would have participated in the evolution *iä* > *iää* > *ia* of 野 above (p. 786). But this is unfavourable to the explanation of the script (亦 *iäk* phon. in 夜, etc.) and is hardly allowable from so frail premises.

\*            \*            \*            \*            \*

Just as this paper was ready for print—it formed the basis of a lecture in the School of Oriental Studies in London in January, 1928—I received an article by Dr. Walter Simon of Berlin,<sup>1</sup> in which this scholar touches upon several of our problems above and makes some highly interesting suggestions, which must be examined before the discussion can be said to be complete.

In my *Analytic Dictionary* I have strictly limited the cases, in which I reconstruct an Arch. final dental or guttural (lost before Anc. Chin.), to such where character composition gives clear proofs; cases like 列 *liät* phonetic in 例 *liäi* discussed above (pp. 773 ff.). Simon wants to show that such a loss of an Arch. final consonant has taken place in infinitely more numerous cases, and that enormous groups of words, which in Anc. Chin. (Ts'ie yün) end in vowel, have really terminated in some consonant at an

<sup>1</sup> "Zur Rekonstruktion der altchinesischen Endkonsonanten," *Mitteilungen des Seminars f. Orientalische Sprachen*, Bd. xxx, Abt. I, 21 pp.

earlier date, also in a great number of cases where the script does not reveal anything of the kind.

Be it first remarked that Simon is not satisfied with the *kind* of Arch. final consonants which I had earlier supposed : -*p*, -*t*, -*k* in ordinary *ju sheng* : 答 *táp*, 割 *kát*, 木 *muk*, and -*d*, -*g*, in cases like 例 Anc. *lǐdǐ*, 裕 Anc. *ǐu*. He proposes that the former were voiced explosives, -*b*, -*d*, -*g*, and the latter, *faute de mieux*, voiced fricatives : -*β*, -*δ*, -*γ* :—

答 *táb*, 割 *kád*, 木 *mug*,

例 *lǐāδ*, 裕 *ǐuγ* (*δ* as in Eng. *that*, *γ* as in North German *Wagen*).

For this amendment of my system he gives no valid reasons. He adduces, on the one hand, that in Anc. Tibetan, probably a cognate language, there are no -*p*, -*t*, -*k* but only -*b*, -*d*, -*g*, and therefore it would be likely that Arch. Chinese had also -*b*, -*d*, -*g*, which later lost their voice and became -*p*, -*t*, -*k* as in German (*Bad* pronounced *bat*). This is a mere guess. Why the Tibetan sounds (-*b*, -*d*, -*g*) should necessarily be the primary ones and the Chinese the secondary ones it is difficult to see. It is just as possible that Tibetan -*b*, -*d*, -*g* have originated through sonorization of -*p*, -*t*, -*k* in certain positions (sandhi) and then been generalized as final consonants. Or—still more likely—Tibetan may have had both -*b*, -*d*, -*g* and -*p*, -*t*, -*k* (as I think I can show Chinese had) and then the latter have changed into -*b*, -*d*, -*g* by analogy with the former, a generalization and simplification quite in accordance with the nature of the Sinitic languages. Of all this we can know nothing at present, and the conditions in Tibetan prove nothing about Chinese. On the other hand, Simon reminds of the fact, that the *ju sheng* -*t* (-*d* according to him) in ancient transcriptions serves for foreign *r* and is rendered by *l* in Sino-Korean (割 Anc. *kát*, S.K. *kal*). He thinks this proves the voiced nature (-*b*, -*d*, -*g*) in Archaic Chinese. But it certainly does not. It is true that in some part of Northern China 割 *kát* must have been *kád*,



etc., in T'ang time and even earlier, as on the one hand Sino-Korean (about A.D. 600), on the other hand Buddhistic transcriptions like 鞞摩 *kiät-muá* = *karma*, in which *š* transcribes *r*, plainly show. But this voiced final *-š* did evidently not exist in early Han time, for then foreign *-r* was transcribed differently, i.e. by Chinese *-n*, e.g. 安息 *ân-siək* = *Arsak*.<sup>1</sup>

That the transformation *-t* > *-š* was purely local (evidently some Northern dialect) and not general is proved by Sino-Japanese, both Go-on (fifth and sixth centuries A.D.) and Kan-on (seventh century). Both of them clearly show that their loan words were based on Chinese forms in *-p*, *-t*, *-k*, not in *-b*, *-d*, *-g*. This is proved by a parallel. Ancient Japanese had no final *-ng*, and therefore they reproduced Chinese 剛 *kāng* by *kagu* (> *kau* > *kō*). If the Japanese had heard a 各 *kág* they would decidedly have rendered this also by *kagu* and not by *kaku*. As, however, we find both Go-on and Kan-on 各 *kaku*, they must have heard a *kāk*, not a *kág*. The parallel indicates that the ancient Japanese heard also 割 *kāt* and 蛤 *kâp*, for if they had heard *kād* and *kâb* they would reasonably have rendered it by *kadu* (modern *kadzu*) and *kabu*, and not, as they did, in fact, by *katu* (modern *katsu*) and *kapu* (modern *kō*).

Thus Simon's reconstruction for *ju sheng* words 答 *táb*, 割 *kúd*, 木 *mug* hangs in the air. We must be careful not to draw any conclusions without positive proofs. We know the voiceless final values, *-p*, *-t*, *-k*, in the Chinese *ju sheng* words, because they still exist in the Southern dialects, and we know they were such in Anc. Chinese also by the testimony of Sino-Japanese (with the exception of the local Northern evolution *-t* > *-š* just mentioned). It needs very strong positive proofs before we should dare to put in other values for Arch. Chinese, and such proofs have not been furnished.

Still more unlikely is Simon's construction 例 *liái* < *liāš*,

<sup>1</sup> See F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, 1885, p. 139.

裕 *iu* < *iuγ*. His only reason for supposing fricative finals in words of this type is that no other consonants are at disposal. *-t*, *-k* he thinks would not do in these words, and *-n*, *-ng* exist in other word-groups—so no other sounds are left than *-δ*, *-γ*! As we shall see presently, Simon wants to reconstruct final *-γ* in large groups, thousands of words. That this very peculiar sound *-γ* (which generally appears in other languages only as a modification of *g*) should be one of the most common regular finals in Arch. Chin. is more than improbable. The difficulty is, in fact, solved by my proposal p. 774 above. Simon was forced to this artificial construction because he believed in my earlier axiom, that there must have been a different final consonant in 列 *liät* and in 例 *liäi'*. He made the same distinction as I did, though with different (and, in my opinion, untenable) values:—

Karlgren, 1923: 列 *liät*,      例 *liäi'* < *liäd*.

Simon, 1928: 列 *liäd*,      例 *liäi'* < *liäδ*.

Karlgren, 1928: 列 *liät*,      例 *liäi'* < *liät'*.

My new construction saves us from the difficulty of both 例 *\*liäd* and *\*liäδ*.

But, as already stated, Simon wants to apply the final dentals and gutturals (*-δ*, *-γ*, according to his system) not only to such cases where the character composition gives positive proof, but to other large word-groups as well. In order to do so, in the first place he condemns my theory (*Anal. Dict.*, p. 28) that the loss of the Arch. final consonants entailed the falling tone (Karlgren, 1923, 例 *liäd* > *liäi'*). As stated above (pp. 774 ff.), I think he is right to a certain extent. I believe I have inverted cause and effect, and that I should have said: the falling tone on the Arch. 例 *liät'* caused the evolution *liät'* > *liäd'* > *liäi'*. But Simon goes farther and too far: he denies that there is any connexion at all between the falling tone in words of the type 例 Anc. *liäi'*, 裕 *iu'* and their loss of final consonants. Some statistics



suffice to show that this is inadmissible. If we go to my *Analytic Dictionary* (containing about 6,000 common characters) and examine the cases where the loss of an Arch. final is proved by the character composition, we shall find that in *all* the cases where we can prove the loss of a dental (type 例 *liat' > liai'*) we have the falling tone—a great number of cases in forty-five different phonetic series. And the loss of a guttural final indicated by the script (type 裕 *iuk' > iu'*) is combined with the falling tone in a great number of cases in sixty-two different phonetic series. Against this Simon can put up only seventeen phonetic series, which offer cases of a loss of guttural (revealed by the script) with other tones (*p'ing sheng* and *shang sheng*). He makes the very interesting observation that in all these "exceptional" cases it is a question of a lost guttural, not of a dental.

The seventeen cases (many of them isolated words) collected by Simon (p. 3) are to be found in the following series in my *Dictionary*: 亥, 亞, 由, 告, 高, 敎, 菁, 覺, 麥, 覓, 莫, 包, 鳥, 肅, 是, 庶, 若, e.g. :—

亥 Anc. 'yǎi (phon. in 該 *kái*, etc.)—guttural final proved by the derivatives 刻 *k'ak*, 核 *γak*.

高 Anc. *káu* (phon. in 篙, 膏 *káu*, etc.)—guttural final proved by the derivatives 蒿 *γak*, 鄒, 謫 *xák*.

由 Anc. *iu* (phon. in 紬 *d'iu*, etc.)—guttural final proved by the derivatives 軸 *d'iuk*, 笛 *d'iek*.

Some more cases, besides those adduced by Simon, can be found, especially in the series 交, 毛 and also in some rarer characters (cf. p. 806 below).

Because of these cases Simon brushes aside the general rule—the connexion between the falling tone and the lost Arch. final revealed by the script—which, as far as the dentals are concerned, is absolute—and thinks he has his freedom to suppose the same final guttural as that in 裕 *iu'* (with the final guttural inferred from the phon. 谷 *kuk*), in many other words without regard to the tone, in

even and rising tone words, just as well as in falling tone words. This denial of the falling tone rule, however, is not allowable, and not even necessary for Simon's purposes. We shall simply explain the said exceptions to the general rule of character composition (亥, 高, 由, etc.), and we shall see that the general rule does not prevent us from supposing some kind of Arch. final guttural also in words in even and rising tones. The explanation demanded is easy to give after the results gained on pp. 774-8 above.

If cases with falling tone is the rule in character composition: 裕 *ju'* with phon. 谷 *kuk*, and cases with even or rising tone are rare: 高 *káu* phon. in 鄙 *χák*, it must be because the phonetic similarity between phonetic and derivate was greater in the former case than in the latter. Now we have assumed identical final consonant in the former: 裕 *ju'* < -*k'* (phon. 谷 *kuk*). We cannot accept identical final consonant in the latter, for if 高 were to be construed as an Arch. *kák* which became Anc. *káu*, it is impossible to explain why 各 *kák* has not become *káu* as well, but remains Anc. *kák*. It is therefore necessary to conclude that there was another kind of Arch. guttural in 高 Anc. *káu* than in 鄙 Anc. *χák* and in 裕 *ju'* < -*k'*. Various other gutturals may be imagined: 高 *kág*, *káχ*, *káy*. The most simple and natural is to write *kág*, thus letting -*g* stand as a symbol for a guttural which is not -*k* but for the rest is uncertain as to its exact nature. Then we get the following scheme:—

|              | Arch.         | Anc.         |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| Even tone    | 各 <i>kák</i>  | > <i>kák</i> |
| Falling tone | 裕 <i>juk'</i> | > <i>ju'</i> |
| Even tone    | 高 <i>kág</i>  | > <i>káu</i> |

This theory satisfactorily explains the "exceptions" to the general rule of character composition discussed above, cases like 亥 '*yái* < -*g*, phonetic in 刻 *k'ók*, 高 *káu* < -*g* phon. in 鄙 *χák*: they are independent of the falling tone,



because they were of a different phonetic type altogether (having Arch. -g) than the type 例 *liāi' < liāt', 裕 iu' < -k'* (having Arch. -t, -k); and they are comparatively rare—thus forming “exceptions” from the point of view of character composition—because of the poor phonetic similarity between phonetic and derivate: 高 *kāg*: 鄙 *xāk*. This same theory gives—in the way Simon wants—the explorer full liberty to look for a lost final consonant also in words *not* having the falling tone: only the lost final has to be, not a -k as in the numerous cases like 裕 *iu' < -k*, but a -g.

The first group of words in which Simon wishes to reconstruct an Arch. final guttural is formed by the words where both in character composition and in the Shī king rimes the Anc. Chin. finals -*ɣu*, *iɣu* (Ts'ie yün rimes 侯, 尤) go together with the Anc. Chin. finals -*uái*, -*wi* (Ts'ie yün rimes 灰, 脂), e.g. :—

有 Anc. *jɣu* phonetic in 賄 *xuái*, 洎 *jwi*;  
 九 „ *kɣu* „ „ 軌 *kjwi*;  
 畝 „ *mɣu* riming with 秬 *p'jwi* (Legge, 472);  
 丘 „ *k'ɣu* „ „ 媒 *muái* (Legge, 101).

In order to explain this curious phenomenon I had reconstructed, in my *Dictionary*, an Arch. final -*ɣ* after the -*u* in -*iɣu*: 有 *jɣu < g-uɣ* phonetic in 賄 *xuái* and 洎 *jwi*—following up, as a matter of fact, a suggestion made already in 1920 by Maspero (*Dial. de Tch'ang-ngan*, p. 86). Instead of this Simon makes the highly interesting proposal that both -*u* and -*i* in these words are vestiges of an Arch. final guttural (-*ɣ* according to him) vocalized in Anc. Chinese :—

有 Arch. *giɣɣ* phonetic in 賄 *xuáɣ*, etc.,

which according to our conclusions above has to be mended into :—

有 Arch. *giɣg* phonetic in 賄 *xuág*, etc.

Let us observe first that the mere possibility of explaining the phonetics and the Shī king rimes in question is not the same as a proof,<sup>1</sup> for Maspero's and my theory furnishes an equally plausible explanation. It is one theory out of two possible ones and nothing more.

To obtain binding force it must be proved.

In order to do so Simon adduces cases where an Anc. final *-pu*, *-i<sub>2</sub>pu* has undoubtedly had an Arch. guttural final, e.g. 祝 *tšipu'*, with alternative reading *tšik*; 繡 *si<sub>2</sub>pu'* with phon. 肅 *si<sub>2</sub>uk*; and 殼 *k<sub>2</sub>pu'* with 殼 *k'ák* as phonetic. Then, he says, if there are cases of Anc. *-(i)<sub>2</sub>pu* which can be proved to have had an Arch. final guttural, it is but natural to suppose such a guttural also in cases like 有 Anc. *γ<sub>2</sub>pu* (Simon Arch. *giəγ*) phonetic in 賄 *xuái* (Simon Arch. *xuáy*). This theory appears very tempting.

It must be borne in mind, however, that cases like 祝 *tšipu'* < *-k'* and 繡 *si<sub>2</sub>pu'* < *-k'* cannot prove the existence of an Arch. final guttural in cases like 有 *j<sub>2</sub>pu* by the mere fact that they have the same termination in the comparatively late Ancient Chinese (sixth century A.D.). To assume this is to commit an error of method. It is just the same as to say that because High German *auf* derives from an Anc. German *ūf*, H.G. *Kauf* must derive from a *\*kūf* and *Hauf* from a *\*hūf* (*Kauf* was an Anc. *kouf*, *Hauf* an Anc. *hūfo*). There is, of course, nothing to prove that all Anc. Chin. *-i<sub>2</sub>pu* have had one and the same Archaic origin. On the contrary, it is quite possible that several Arch. finals have coincided in Anc. *-i<sub>2</sub>pu*, just as I have shown above that Arch. *-a*, *-ā*, and *-ak'* have coincided in Anc. *-a*. Cases like 繡 *si<sub>2</sub>pu'* cannot be adduced as proofs for an Arch. final guttural in cases like 有 *j<sub>2</sub>pu*; they *may* have had a totally different origin. The only way of really proving an Arch. *-g* in words of the *-pu*, *-i<sub>2</sub>pu* : *-uái*, *-wi* series would be to show some points of contact—in the script or in the Shī king

<sup>1</sup> It is not a proof of the same binding order as the conclusion that *liái* has had a final dental because it has 列 *liái* for phonetic.



rimes—with words in undoubted Arch. and Anc. final guttural, i.e. with s.c. *ju sheng* words (木 *muk*, 篤 *tuok*, 肅 *siuk*, etc.).

Simon, of course, has been looking for cases where a word of the type 有 *jiu* (九, 某, etc., with alternation of *ju* : *i* in the series) serves as phonetic in some *ju sheng* word. He has not been very successful, having found only two cases.

The first is 有 *jiu*, which would be phonetic also in 郁 Anc. *ɨuk*. That is possible, but by no means certain. The initial in *ɨuk* shows that there was no Arch. initial consonant in 郁 as it was in 有; and it might be a logical compound ("the 邑 city which we 有 own"). The second example 九 *kiu* phonetic in 旭 *xiwok* "brightness" is equally doubtful. 九 may be phonetic, but it may just as well be ideographic: 九 nine 日 suns, as I have supposed in my *Dictionary*. The character may very well allude to the well-known myths of the nine suns which, according to Shan hai king, occupy the lower part of the Fu sang tree, and the nine suns (ravens) which, according to Huai-nan-tsi, I, the excellent archer, shot down.

One might argue that the phonetic series, in the script, with the alternation  $-(i)ju$  :  $-uɨ$ ,  $-wi$  are so few that the lack of such doubtless cases of final guttural inside the series is but natural; that, in fact, an argument *ex silentio* is not allowable in this case. That may be true; but the point is, that the positive proof which such examples could give has not been brought forward by Simon.

We must clearly realize, then, that the Simon theory about final guttural in words of the type 有, 賄 (with alternation  $-ju$  :  $-i$  in the series) has been only advanced but not proved by its originator. It is, therefore, all the more risky when Simon goes on and makes some sweeping generalizations. He says (p. 14): "Is it probable that only the series where  $-ju$  alternates with  $-uɨ$  and  $-wi$  ended in  $-\gamma$ ? Would that not be true, with the same right, of the series which have  $-ju$  all through? And still further, as  $-ju$  alternates with

-*âu*<sup>1</sup> in the phonetic series and also in the Shī king rimes, would it not be true also of the words in -*âu*? And finally would it not be true also of the words in -*ieu*, *ïâu*,<sup>1</sup> which alternate with -*âu* in phonetic series and rimes? The -*u* in all the words ending in -*au*, -*âu*, -*ieu*, -*ïâu*, -*əu*, -*ïəu* in Ts'ie yün time, originates, as we now must conclude, in an earlier -*γ*." All this is, of course, a mere guess. We are in no way entitled to draw such sweeping conclusions from the mere fact that these enormously large groups of words all ended in -*u* in Ancient Chinese, in the sixth century A.D. The author, however, is not even satisfied with this generalization. He applies his Arch. final guttural to yet a number of great word groups. As the Anc. finals -(i)əu and -iəu often go together in the phonetic series: 孚 *p'ieu* phon. in 浮 *p'ieu*, 儵 *t'əu* having the same phonetic as 輸 *šieu*, etc., he draws the conclusion (p. 15): "The diphthong -əu can be traced back, as we have seen, to an earlier -əγ. Consequently, the diphthong -iəu, which alternates with -əu, must also have been a -iəγ." And as certain phonetic series contain both -uo, -iəu and -əu, e.g. 補 *puo*, 甫 *p'iu*, 腐 *iəu*, he concludes, that the alternations -uo: -əu and -uo: -iəu are indications of Arch. final guttural. Moreover he goes through the Shī king and finds a number of cases where an Anc. -iəu rimes with Anc. -uo, -iwo, -a, -ia, e.g.:—

|                    |             |                              |
|--------------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| 杜 Anc. <i>d'uo</i> | riming with | 父 <i>b'ieu</i> (Legge, 182); |
| 女 <i>h'wo</i>      | „           | 舞 <i>m'iu</i> (Legge, 394);  |
| 下 <i>γa</i>        | „           | 羽 <i>j'iu</i> (Legge, 206);  |
| 野 <i>ia</i>        | „           | 武 <i>m'iu</i> (Legge, 129).  |

Here again he concludes that a rime correspondence of -iəu with -uo (*iwo*), -a (*ia*) reveal an Arch. -γ in all these finals, and so he obtains large groups of words in Anc. -o, -a, 土 *t'uo* (with derivatives), 女 *h'wo* (with derivatives, also group 如), 下 *γa*, 予 *iwo* (with derivatives, 野 *ia*, 舒 *š'wo*, etc.), and so

<sup>1</sup> E.g. 壽 *š'ieu*: 騫 *t'au*; 号 *x'au*: 楊 *xi'au*.



on, for all of which he reconstructs equally an Arch. final guttural.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen that by a series of methodically unallowable extensions Simon has gone much farther than the premises allow: because some words in Anc.  $-(i)ɣu$  (e.g. 緇  $s_{iɣu} < -k$ ) undoubtedly had an Arch. final guttural, and because on the other hand a final guttural would give one nice explanation of cases like 有  $j_{iɣu}$ : 賄  $xuāi$  (one of two possible explanations), he concludes that all words in Anc.  $-(i)ɣu$  had an Arch. final guttural; because some words in Anc.  $-āu$ ,  $-au$ ,  $-ieu$ ,  $-iāu$ , in the characters and in the Shī king go together with some words in Anc.  $-(i)ɣu$ , he concludes that all words in  $-āu$ ,  $-au$ ,  $-ieu$ ,  $-iāu$ , had that same final guttural (which he believes to have proved for all  $-ɣu$ ); because certain words in Anc.  $-uo$ ,  $-iwo$ ,  $-a$ ,  $-ia$  go together with certain words in  $-iū$ , and because certain words in  $-iū$  go together with certain words in  $-ɣu$ , he concludes that alternations like  $-uo$  ( $-iwo$ ):  $iū$ , and  $-a$  ( $-ia$ ):  $iū$  regularly indicate the same lost Arch. guttural in all the words of the series in question. Each successive link in this argumentation chain depends for its safety on the correctness of the preceding one; and as each separate conclusion is wider than the premises allow, the results become increasingly unreliable.

If thus I have to raise methodological objections to most of the conclusions drawn by Simon in the said article, I want to emphasize that I do not by any means consider his ideas as mere fancies. On the contrary, I think this scholar has shown a fine linguistic *flair*. One cannot but have the instinctive feeling that Simon is right in suspecting that

<sup>1</sup> One might imagine that his theory would help understanding why e.g. 乎 Anc.  $yuo$  and 家 Anc.  $kə$  rime in the Shī king (cf. p. 779 above); it would be an Arch. 乎  $yuoγ$  riming with an Arch. 家  $kəγ$ . This, however, is of no value, for just as well as  $-āng$  and  $-uōng$  do not rime in the Shī king, a presumed  $-uoy$  and a  $-ay$  would not rime. So the rime 乎: 家 does not find a satisfactory explanation by Simon's theory; its reason is given, p. 786 above.

many of the words, which in Anc. Chin. ended in diphthongs and triphthongs:  $-(i)əu$ ,  $-(u)ái$ ,  $-áu$ ,  $-iáu$ , etc., really had at an earlier stage final consonants of some sort, and that the numerous  $-u$  and  $-i$  are, in fact, due to vocalization of such finals. His theory is certainly ingenious, and deserves testing. We shall see if we can furnish any proofs for it at all, and, if so, how far we can follow Simon in his suppositions.

(1) Let us start our investigation with the word groups, where  $-əu$  and  $-i$  go together both in the script and in the Shī king rimes. The compound characters furnish us with the following series (see Simon, p. 12):—

|                                |                          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 不 Anc. $p'ieu$ (: 丕 $p'jwi$ ); | 否 $p'ieu$ (: 梧 $puái$ ); |
| 又 $jieu$ (: 灰 $xuái$ );        | 有 $jieu$ (: 賄 $xuái$ );  |
| 九 $kieu$ (: 軌 $kjwi$ );        | 咎 $g'ieu$ (暑 $kjwi$ );   |
| 龜 $kjwi$ (: 闕 $kieu$ );        | 某 $məu$ (媒 $muái$ );     |
| 音 $p'əu$ (: 倍 $puái$ );        | 佳 $təwi$ (售 $zieu$ ).    |

So far, we have only had the alternation  $-ieu$ ,  $-əu$ :  $-uái$ ,  $-wi$ . But if we go to the Shī king rimes we get also  $-i$ ,  $-ái$ ,  $-ai$ , e.g.:—

|   |
|---|
| 采 Anc. $ts'ai$ : 已 $i$ : 右 $jieu$ : 汜 $təi$ (Legge, 192); |
| 李 $li$ : 子 $təi$ : 母 $məu$ (Legge, 273);                  |
| 海 $xái$ : 止 $təi$ : 友 $jieu$ : 母 $məu$ (Legge, 292);      |
| 載 $tsái$ : 喜 $xji$ : 右 $jieu$ (Legge, 279);               |
| 否 $p'ieu$ : 史 $si$ : 恥 $t'i$ : 怠 $d'ai$ (Legge, 400);     |
| 戒 $kai$ : 事 $dzi$ : 敵 $məu$ (Legge, 382);                 |
| 梅 $muái$ : 尤 $jieu$ (Legge, 359), etc.                    |

Simon, of course, has observed this, and quite consistently concludes that all these words in  $-i$ ,  $-ái$  also had an Arch. final guttural. He has only given a few examples (p. 13) of  $-i$  and  $-ái$  (and not observed the 戒  $-ai$ ), but we had better collect the whole group of words brought into the question by the Shī king rimes:—

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Words in Anc. $-i$ , each of<br>which rimes with one or | Words in Anc. $-əu$ , each of<br>which rimes with one or |
|---|--|



several of the words to the right:—

期, 基, 箕, 姬, 紀 Anc. *kji*,  
杞, 岬, 芑 *k'ji*, 祺, 駢 *g'ji*, 薺  
*ngji*, 喜 *xji*, 矣 *ji*, 以, 已,  
苴, 飴 *i*; 恥, 祉 *t'i*, 治 *d'i*,  
之, 止, 沚, 趾 *tši*, 蚩, 齒 *ts'i*,  
士, 仕, 事, 浹, 俟 *dz'i*, 史,  
使 *si*, 詩, 始 *ši*, 時, 特 *tši*;  
李, 里, 狸, 鯉, 裏, 理 *li*, 耳  
*ni*; 子, 梓, 籽, 茲, 蕭 *tsi*,  
絲, 思 *si*, 耜, 似, 祀 *zi*.

海 *xái*, 來, 萊 *lái*, 哉, 載, 宰  
*tsái*, 采 *ts'ai*, 在 *dz'ai*, 怠, 殆  
*d'ai*.

戒 *kai*.

龜 *kjwi*, 逵 *k'jwi*, 杯 *p'jwi*,  
備 *b'jwi*.

晦 *xuái*, 媒, 梅 *muái*.

several of the words to the left:—

母, 畝 *məu*.

久, 玖, 疚 *kjəu*, 丘 *k'jəu*, 裘,  
俅, 仇, 舊 *g'jəu*, 牛 *ngjəu*,  
又, 友, 有, 侑, 尤, 訖, 右  
*jəu*, 否, 紆 *piəu*, 負, 婦 *b'jəu*,  
謀 *miəu*.

If Simon is right in his main idea: Arch. final gutturals in all those words, we should have to suppose, e.g.: Arch. 基 *kjig*, 采 *ts'âg*, 戒 *kag*, 媒 *muâg*, 龜 *kjwig*, and Arch. 久 *kjag*, 母 *məg*, the *-g* being vocalized into *-i* in the former series into *-u* in the latter. That in such a case it cannot have been a *-k*, but must have been a *-g* (i.e. guttural of uncertain kind, other than *k*), just as in the cases 高, 由, etc. above (p. 793), is clear from the fact that the script inventors as a rule did not combine the *-i* and *-əu* groups with words in *ju sheng* (Anc. *-k*).

The only positively binding proofs—apart from Sinitic comparative researches—that could be adduced for an Arch. final guttural in these large groups of words would be, on the one hand, if in the *Shi king*<sup>1</sup> they were riming to a con-

<sup>1</sup> I limit the investigation here to the *Shi king*, as being the oldest collection of poetry. Supporting materials can be found in *Ch'u ts'i*, *Chuang-ts'i*, etc.

siderable extent with words in old *-k*, and, on the other hand, if the script could offer a number of cases in which, contrary to the general rule, a word out of these groups (a 有, a 以, etc.), served as phonetic in *ju sheng* words (Arch. and Anc. final *-k*).

It may seem unreasonable to demand Shī king rimes of the said kind, because an *-āg : āk* will always be a poor rime. Therefore we cannot expect a great number, and the rare ones which we find, thanks to the *licentia poetica* of the Shī king, are all the more telling.

In the first place it would be tempting to adduce rimes like these:—

止 *tái* : 試 *śi'* < *-k'* (Legge, 288),

載 *tsái* : 意 *i'* < *-k'* (Legge, 320),

究 *kīu* : 詵 *tśīu'* < *-k'* (Legge, 510),

for that 試 *śi'* was an Arch. *śik'* and 意 *i'* was an Arch. *ik'* (in which the *-k*'s were dropped before Anc. Chin. because of the falling tone, see p. 774 above), follows from the compound characters (式 Anc. *śiak* phon. in 試, 僣 *iək* with phon. 意), and that 詵 *tśīu'* had an Arch. *-k* is shown by the second reading *tśīuk* of the same character.

But these cases are not conclusive for the cause said on p. 788 above. There is reason to believe that these *-k'* in the falling tone were weakened already at an early date (they were soon lost entirely), and it is obvious that rimes like

止 *tái* : 試 *śik*

載 *tsái* : 意 *ik*

究 *kīu* : 詵 *tśīuk*

could do as hedge-rimes in a primitive poetry not too particular as to its rimes. Far more conclusive are the cases of rimes with *ju sheng* words, i.e. words which (not having a falling tone) have preserved their *-k* unweakened down to Anc. Chinese—and to this day in the Southern dialects:—



- 戒 *kai* rimes with 翼 *jak*, 服 *pjūk*, 棘 *kjak* (Legge, 262);  
 來 *lái* and 載 *tsái* rime with 牧 *mjuk*, 棘 *kjak* (Legge, 265);  
 載 *tsái* rimes with 幅 *pjūk* (Legge, 320);  
 又 *jīu* „ 克 *k'ək* (Legge, 336);  
 載 *tsái* „ 息 *sjək* (Legge, 357);  
 來 *lái* „ 服 *pjūk* (Legge, 357);  
 祀 *zi* and 侑 *jīu* rime with 棘 *kjak*, 稷 *tsjak*, 翼 *jak*, 億 *jak*,  
     食 *dz'jak*, 福 *pjūk* (Legge, 373);  
 祀 *zi* rimes with 食 *dz'jak*, 福 *pjūk*, 式 *sjək*, 稷 *tsjak*, etc.  
     (Legge, 374);  
 祀 *zi* rimes with 黑 *χək*, 稷 *tsjak*, 福 *pjūk* (Legge, 382);  
 又 *jīu* „ 識 *sjək* (Legge, 400);  
 載 *tsái* „ 直 *d'jak*, 翼 *jak* (Legge, 442);  
 載 *tsái*, 祀 *zi*, and 備 *b'jwei* rime with 福 *pjūk* (Legge, 446);  
 來 *lái* rimes with 頤 *kjak* (Legge, 458);  
 字 *dz'i* „ 翼 *jak* (Legge, 472);  
 子 *tsi* „ 德 *tək* (Legge, 483);  
 止 *tši* and 晦 *χuái* rime with 式 *sjək* (Legge, 510);  
 事 *dz'i* rimes with 式 *sjək* (Legge, 540);  
 戒 *kai* „ 國 *kwək* (Legge, 559);  
 來 *lái* „ 塞 *sək* (Legge, 559);  
 鯉 *li* and 祀 *zi* rime with 福 *pjūk* (Legge, 589).

Two more cases which to my mind are obvious rimes, though not registered as such by Legge, are:—

- 事 *dz'i* and 倍 *puái* rime with 忒 *t'ək*, 背 *puái* < -k', 匿  
     *njak*, 識 *sjək*, 織 *tsjak* (Legge, 564);  
 士 *dz'i* rimes with 戮 *jak* (Legge, 448).

Finally, there are two rimes which are particularly interesting, because they are nicely explained<sup>1</sup> by the fact that it is a final -g and not a -k which we try to reconstruct:—

- 來 *lái* rimes with 贈 *dz'əng* (Legge, 136);  
 又 *jīu* „ 能 *nəng* (Legge, 400).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Observe that 能 *nəng* in another sense has the reading *nái*. Also that 等 has two readings, *təng* and *tái*, and that it may have the same stem as 待 *d'ai*, as Simon cleverly remarks (p. 13).

Some of the rimes recorded here might be explained away as imaginations of Ku Yen-wu and Tuan Yü-ts'ai. But the fact remains that most of them are quite certain, and here we have an undeniable testimony to the phonetic connexion between the word group with the alternation *-ɣu* : *-i* and words with a vigorous Arch. and Anc. final *-k*. This is the first real proof brought forward so far (apart from the dubious cases 郁, 旭) for the Arch. final guttural in those *-ɣu* : *-i* words. I confess that even after finding all these suggestive Shī king rimes I hesitated to draw the conclusion that my earlier theory (有 *jīɣu* < *-u*<sub>1</sub>, etc.) was wrong, and that all the words in the tables on p. 800 above had really an Arch. *-g*. But my hesitation had to give way in face of a very curious and important discovery.

In Middle Chinese (Sung time) enormous groups of words all ended in *-i*. These had various origins: in Ancient Chinese (sixth century A.D., language of the Ts'ie yün) there were four different rimes:—

- |     |   |   |                        |      |
|-----|---|---|------------------------|------|
| (α) | 微 | ( <i>p'ing sheng</i> ; <i>shang sheng</i> | 尾, <i>k'ü sheng</i>    | 未) ; |
| (β) | 脂 | (        "        "                       | 旨        "        至) ; |      |
| (γ) | 支 | (        "        "                       | 紙        "        寘) ; |      |
| (δ) | 之 | (        "        "                       | 止        "        志).  |      |

I have been able to determine rime α as an Anc. *-ɕi*, rime γ as an Anc. *-iɕ* (< *-iɕ*), but for both β and δ I had to reconstruct Anc. *-i*, for no single source indicated anything but a plain *-i*. In my *Etudes sur la Phonologie Chinoise*, p. 467, I suggested that the difference between them may have had something to do with the length of the *-i*, but I added that this was a mere guess.

Now, if we examine the words in *-i* which in the Shī king rimes go together with words in final *-k* (see p. 802 above), and all the words in *-i* in the table, p. 800 above: 基, 期, 以, 己, 喜, 之, 治, 止, 士, 子, 里, etc. (i.e. those which alternate with *-ɣu*, *-iɣu*), we shall find that they all belong to the rime δ, 之 (止, 志) in Ancient



Chinese, and none of them belong to rime  $\beta$  脂 (旨, 至). The fact that they form a phonological group of their own in Arch. Chinese — with strong suspicion of a final  $-g$  — has its parallel in the fact that they form a group of their own even as late as in Anc. Chinese. This can be no simple chance, but clearly shows us that we are on the right track. The supposition of an Arch.  $-g$  helps us to unravel the secret of those two mysterious rimes in Anc. Chinese. Whereas the words of rime 脂, e.g. 肌 Anc. *kji*, 夷 *i*, 師 *si*, 私 *si*, have had an original  $-i$  and have never had any final consonant—at least, not a guttural—the above-mentioned words of rime 之, e.g. 基 *kji*, 之 *tši*, 思 *si*, have had an Arch. final  $-g$ : 基 *kjig*, 之 *tšig*, 思 *sig*, which explains their riming with 久 *kju* < Arch. *kjog* on the one hand, with 食 *dz'io̯k*, 式 *šio̯k*, 福 *piuk* on the other. And while 肌 *kji* (rime  $\beta$ ) has been preserved as such, 基 *kjig* (rime  $\delta$ ) has lost its  $-g$  by vocalization of  $-g$  into  $-i$  (just as 來 *lāg* has become *lāi* and — by vocalization  $-g > -u$  — 久 *kjog* has become *kju*) and consequently has become Anc. 基 *kji*. We thus obtain a simple and satisfactory solution of the conundrum of the two rimes  $\beta$  脂 and  $\delta$  之 in Anc. Chin., for which all dialects and ancient sources indicate simply an  $-i$ :  $\beta$  脂 was  $-i$  and  $\delta$  之 was  $-ii$ , and my guess about their difference in length is confirmed.<sup>1</sup>

This construction of an Arch. 基 *kjig*, etc., in accordance with Simon's main idea, helps us further to understand why words of rime  $\beta$  in Ts'ie yün: 肌 Anc. *kji*, etc., never rime in the Shī king with words of rime  $\delta$ : 基 Anc. *kji*, etc.,

<sup>1</sup> In the category 合 □, i.e. words with medial  $w$ , there is only one rime 脂 for  $\beta$  and  $\delta$  in Anc. Chin. We can now easily see the reason for this: 肌 Arch. *kji* became > Anc. *kji* and 基 *kjig* became > *kji*; but after  $w$  which made the syllable longer, this difference in length was not kept up: 龜 Arch. *kjuwig* > *kjuwi* was therefore contracted into *kjwi* and thus coincided with 規 Anc. *kjwi* < Arch. *kjwi* (rime  $\beta$ ). So rime  $\delta$  in *ho k'ou* did no longer exist, but all the words were ranged under rime  $\beta$  脂: 規 (Arch. *kjwi*) and 龜 (Arch. *kjuwig*), etc.

whereas these 基 *kji*, etc., freely rime with such phonetically divergent words as 來 Anc. *lái*, 久 Anc. *kju*, 福 *pju*: it was all because of the final *-g* in Arch. 基 *kji*, 來 *lái*, 久 *kju*.

We have seen that the Shī king rimes have given us the proof wanted for the final guttural, in so far as words with *-i*:*-ju* alternation are concerned. Does really character composition leave us without any additional proofs, except the dubious cases 郁, 旭 adduced by Simon (cf. p. 796 above)? Not quite; there are some valuable cases, though very few:—

有 Anc. *jju*, 囿 (*jju* and) *jju*—phon. 有 *jju* of the category in question;

踏 *t'ju*—phon. 齒 *t'ji* of the category in question;

惡 *nju* or *nju*—phon. 而 *nji* of rime *δ*, 之.

疑 *ngju*—phon. 疑 *ngji* of the category in question;

疑 *ngju* — “ “ “ “ “<sup>1</sup>

特 *t'ju* “ 寺 (*d*)*ji* “ “ “<sup>1</sup>

每 *mju* “ 每 *mju* “ “ “

踏, 菩 *b'ju* “ 音 *p'ju* “ “ “

戒, 東戒 *kai* “ 戒 *kai* “ “ “

By these additional proofs the theory may be said to be definitely proved.

(2) So far we have discussed only the words in Anc. *-ju*, *-ju* which go together with Anc. *-i* (*-wi*, *-ji*, *-ui*, *-ai*) in the script and in the Shī king rimes. We now have to pass on to the great number of words in Anc. *-ju*, *-ju*, which have no such connexions, and at the same time we have to take up the words in Anc. *-ju*, *-ju*, because they very frequently rime with the former in the Shī king and appear together with them in the phonetic series of the script, e.g.:—

舟 Anc. *tju* riming with 刀 *tju* and 瑤 *jau* (Legge, 489);

周 *tju* phonetic in 調 *d'ieu*, etc.

As already stated (p. 797), Simon's conclusion, that because

<sup>1</sup> The cases 疑, 特 proposed already by Simon, p. 13.



in Ancient Chinese (sixth century A.D.) words like 舟, 周 *tšiu* had the same final as words like 有 *jü* (< -g), they must all have had an Arch. guttural, and that consequently also words like 刀 *täu* and 瑤 *jäu* and 調 *d'ieu* and straight off all words in Anc. -*ü*, -*jü*, -*äu*, -*au*, -*jäu*, -*ieu* must have had that same final guttural, is unallowable. We have to go slowly and carefully and examine *if* and *how far* we can find indications of some final guttural in these word groups.

(a) It has already been said (p. 792 above) that e.g. the series 高, 由, 告, 包, 蔣, 蕭 contain words which must have had a final guttural, in spite of not having the falling tone, and therefore a -g rather than a -k: 高 *käu* < -g, 由 *jü* < -g, 皓 *'yäu* < -g, 包 *pau* < -g, 溝 *käu* < -g, 蕭 *sieu* < -g, because those series contain *ju sheng* words: 鄒 *xäk*, 軸 *d'üuk*, 告 *käu* and *kuok*, 苞 *b'äk*, 講 *käng*, 蕭 *süuk*, etc. This has been indicated already in my *Dictionary*. To the series mentioned, p. 792, above, may be added:—

Series 毛 *mäu* < -g because of cases like 髦 *muk* and *mäk*—confirmed by the rimes 茅 *mäu*: 樂 *lák* (Legge, 5), and 毫 *mäu*: 虐 *ngiak* (Legge, 504);

Series 交 *kau* < -g because of cases like 較 *kau* and *käk*, riming as *käk* with 虐 *ngiak* (Legge, 93);

Series 喬 *g'jäu* < -g because of cases like 蹻 read *k'jäu*, *g'jäu* and *kjak*, *gjak*, riming as *kjak* with 虐 *ngiak* (Legge, 504);

Series 攸 *jü* < -g because of cases like 攸 (pointed out by Simon, p. 10), 條, 條 *süuk*—confirmed by the rime 修 *süu*: 淑 *züuk* (Legge, 118).

(b) There are some more cases revealed by the script, which are not supported by Shī king rimes:—

Series 羔 *käu*—[羔 read *kuok* in the Kuang yün (later and augmented edition of the Ts'ie yün);

Series 就 *dzjü*—蹴, 就 read *ts'üuk*, 蛻, 就 read *tsüuk* in the Kuang yün;

Series 丑 *t'ieu*—鈕 read *hiuk* and 紐, 紐, 紐, 紐 read *hiuk* in the Kuang yün ;

Series 壽 *siu*—壽 read *siuk* in the Kuang yün.

(c) Shī king gives us some more hints, unsupported in these cases by the script :—

|                              |              |  |
|------------------------------|--------------|--|
| 響 <i>xiu</i>                 | —riming with | 儵 <i>xiuk</i> (Legge, 59) ;                  |
| 到 <i>táu</i>                 | —            | 樂 <i>lák</i> (Legge, 552) ;                  |
| 好 <i>háu</i> , 陶 <i>d'áu</i> | —            | 軸 <i>d'hiuk</i> (Legge, 132) ;               |
| 炤 <i>tsiáu</i>               | —            | 虐 <i>ngiak</i> , 樂 <i>lák</i> (Legge, 320) ; |
| 沼 <i>'tsiáu</i>              | —            | 濯 <i>d'ák</i> , 躍 <i>iak</i> (Legge, 458) ;  |
| 孝 <i>xau</i>                 | —            | 欲 <i>iwok</i> (Legge, 464) ;                 |
| 秦 <i>ts'iu</i>               | —            | 祿 <i>luk</i> (Legge, 374) ;                  |
| 後 <i>'yau</i>                | —            | 鞏 <i>k'iwong</i> (Legge, 564) ;              |
| 垢 <i>'kau</i>                | —            | 谷 <i>kuk</i> , 穀 <i>kuk</i> (Legge, 528).    |

To these I add two cases, which to my mind are obvious rimes, though not given as such by Legge :—

后 *'yau*—riming with 嶽 *ngák* (Legge, 577) ;

牟 *miu*—riming with 育 *hiuk* (Legge, 580).

If in the cases 好, 陶, 沼, it does not seem absolutely certain that rimes are intended, the other examples seem perfectly safe. (I have deliberately left out two cases given as rimes by Legge: 木:附:猷:屬, 407, where I suspect the rime pattern a : b : b : a, and 昭:樂:教:虐, 518, where I suspect the pattern a : b : a : b.)

In all the three groups treated so far (a, b, c) the important feature was a connexion, in the script or in the rimes, with words having a strong Arch. final guttural preserved down to our times (*ju sheng* words). There can be no doubt therefore that group (a) had really a final guttural in Arch. Chinese, just as well as the category (1) discussed above, and it is very probable that the same is true of groups (b) and (c).

(d) We now come to words in Anc. -*yu*, -*ieu*, -*áu*, -*au*, -*iau*, -*ieu* which have no such direct connexion with *ju sheng* words, but which rime in the Shī king with words for which we have reconstructed an Arch. final guttural,



either a  $-k'$  with falling tone, e.g. 冒  $máu' < -k'$  or a  $-g$ , e.g. 仇  $g'ieu < -g$ , 高  $káu < -g$ . It would be tempting to follow the rule: if  $a = b$  and  $b = c$ , then  $a = c$ , and say that all those rime words as well must have had a final guttural, e.g.:—

|         |             |                |                    |
|---------|-------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 報 $páu$ | riming with | 冒 $máu' < -k$  | (Legge, 46);       |
| 憂 $ieu$ | "           | 繡 $sieu' < -k$ | (Legge, 178);      |
| 休 $xiu$ | "           | 仇 $g'ieu < -g$ | (Legge, 14);       |
| 勞 $lâu$ | "           | 高 $káu < -g$   | (Legge, 422), etc. |

That would, in fact, mean that the great majority of all the words in Anc.  $-u$ ,  $-ieu$ ,  $-áu$ ,  $-au$ ,  $-jáu$ ,  $-ieu$  would have an Arch. final guttural, and Simon would have his way here again. But I am afraid that the premises are not solid enough. For we must remember what has already been said before: the final  $-k'$  was in all probability fairly weak already at an early date (we conclude this from the reason given p. 787 above), and well on its way towards  $-u$  (the evolution  $māk' > māk > 'māw > mǎu'$ ), and it stands to reason that the same was the case with final  $-g$ , which was certainly lost long before Anc. Chin. Consequently there would be nothing astonishing in rimes—slightly faulty it must be conceded—like:—

|              |                       |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| (冒 $māk'$ )  | 冒 $māk$ : 報 $páu$ ;   |
| (繡 $siek'$ ) | 繡 $siek$ : 憂 $ieu$ ;  |
| (仇 $g'ieg$ ) | 仇 $g'ieg$ : 休 $xiu$ ; |
| (高 $kág$ )   | 高 $kág$ : 勞 $lâu$ .   |

I am therefore of the opinion that whereas the Arch. final guttural in the categories (1) and (2a, b, c) is sufficiently established, being founded on connexions with *ju sheng* words, the final guttural in the category (d) here can by no means be said to be proved. This does not imply that I consider a guttural also in these cases impossible or even improbable; but to my mind the Shī king rimes gives us no sufficient *point of appui* for such a reconstruction. Sinitic comparisons will have to give us the

answer which of all these words in Anc. *-ɕu*, *-iɕu*, *-áu*, *-au*, *iáu*, *-ieu*, not treated in the paragraphs (1) and (2a, b, c) above had really an Arch. guttural and which had not.

(3) In regard to category (1) (words with the alternation *-ɕu* : *-i*) we have been able fully to confirm Simon's supposition of an Arch. final guttural, and in regard to category (2) (other words in *-ɕu*, *-iɕu*, and words in *-áu*, *-au*, *iáu*, *-ieu*) we have done so at least for some of the words concerned. We now pass on to his other groups : words in *-iɕu*, *-o*, *-a* ; but here our results will be negative.

That certain words ending in *-iɕu*, *-uo*, *-iwo*, *-a*, *-ia* have had an Arch. final guttural is clearly shown by character composition, and I have indicated some such cases in my *Analytical Dictionary*, e.g. :—

- 裕 *iú* < *k* with phonetic 谷 *kuk* ;  
 惡 *uo* < *k* alternative reading *ák* ;  
 亞 *a* < *k* phonetic in 惡 *ák* ; etc.<sup>1</sup>

It has been pointed out that Simon's conclusion, that all Anc. *-iɕu* alternating with *-ɕu* had an Arch. final guttural, and that moreover those words in *-uo*, *-iwo*, *-a*, *-ia*, which rime with *-ɕu*, *-iɕu* in the Shī king, also had it, widely passes his premises. Here, as in the preceding categories (1), (2), we shall have to examine the words individually and see if we can find any indications of an Arch. guttural. The materials supplementing the script here again have to be the Shī king rimes. We have seen that in groups where there was really an Arch. final guttural, the Shī king has a considerable number of rimes with *ju sheng* words (in Arch. and Anc. *-k*). If there was any considerable group of words

<sup>1</sup> Simon has added an interesting example: 康 *kíwo* "wild boar, to fight". I had supposed, *Dict.*, p. 163, that 庀 *xuo* was phonetic and that 劇 *g'jak* "sport" was a logical compound: 康 "fight with 刀 sword". Simon proposes that 康 had an Arch. guttural, and was simply phonetic in 劇. I believe he is right, for there is a parallel 康 *g'jak* (riming with 席 *ziák* in Shī king, p. 476). This entails *kíwo* < *-k* also in the derivatives 據, 逮.



in Anc. *-iü*, *-uo*, *-iwo*, *-a*, *-ia* which had Arch. *-g*, it would be sure to be revealed by such *ju sheng* rimes in the Shī king, here just as well as in the categories (1) and (2). But we find practically nothing of the kind. I have come across only one sure case<sup>1</sup>:—

茹 Anc. *hziwo*: 穫 *ywák* (Legge, 285).

This would seem to indicate a final guttural in the group 如,<sup>2</sup> and this testimony is worth remembering; but one cannot call an isolated rime like that conclusive, for there are plenty of imperfect or even misshapen rimes in the Shī king, e.g. 急 *kjəp*: 國 *kwək* (Legge, 284).<sup>3</sup>

We thus simply have to state, that on the whole the Shī king rimes do not at all confirm Simon's supposition of an Arch. final guttural in large groups of *-iü*, *-uo*, *-iwo*, *-a*, *-ia* words. If some of them have had it, this will have to be proved by other means. At present we know of nothing of the kind.

Summing up, we may say that Simon's theory, once it has been tested and supplied with real proofs and reduced so as to apply only to words for which it can be proved, has turned out to be not only interesting but also highly important. It stands to reason that when it some day comes to Sinitic comparisons, the reconstruction of "fuller word

<sup>1</sup> I do not count then 夫:夜:夕:惡 (Legge, p. 329), where 夫, contrary to Legge's indication, obviously does not belong to the rime; nor 木:附:猷:屬, which I take for a rime pattern *a:b:b:a*.

<sup>2</sup> Which would be highly interesting, for then 如 *hziwo* < *-g* and 若 *hziak* could be suspected to be two phases of the same stem.

<sup>3</sup> This is a bad rime, for the *-p* and *-k* of these words are attested in all kinds of sources and in still living dialects. But sometimes Shī king throws an unexpected light on phonetic problems otherwise obscure. There is 卽 Anc. *tsjək*, the final *-k* of which seems strange because it has 卽 *tsiet* as phonetic and is itself phonetic in 卽 *tsiet*. Shī king shows a *-t* instead of the traditional *-k*: rimes 栗 *hziət*: 室 *hziət*: 卽 (Legge, 142): 密 *miət*: 卽 (Legge, 489).

bodies" like 子 *tsig*, 有 *giəg*, etc., will facilitate matters very considerably.

\*       \*       \*       \*       \*

In this article I have been using certain notations which deviate from those used in my *Analytic Dictionary*.

(a) Instead of  $t's$ ,  $t's'$ ,  $d'z'$  I write  $t\acute{s}$ ,  $t\acute{s}'$ ,  $d\acute{z}'$ .

,,     $t\grave{s}$ ,  $t\grave{s}'$ ,  $d\grave{z}'$     ,,     $t\grave{s}$ ,  $t\grave{s}'$ ,  $d\grave{z}'$ .

This is a mere typographical simplification. The palatal nature ( $t'$ ) of the first element in  $t\acute{s}$  has to be inferred from the palatal value of the second ( $\acute{s}$ ) element in this  $t\acute{s}$ , which is really a homogeneous sound, an affricate. A similar typographical simplification occurs, e.g., in the system of the International Phonetic Association. I have gone over to the  $t\acute{s}$ ,  $t\grave{s}$ , etc., less correct and less logical than  $t's$ ,  $t\grave{s}$ , because my readers complain of "those awful strokes and dots which make the transcribed forms look more difficult than the Chinese characters themselves"!

(b) Instead of  $k^{wan}$ ,  $k_i^{w\grave{a}n}$ ,  $k_i^{wen}$  I write *kwan*, *k<sub>i</sub>wān*, *kiwen*.

This is partly due to the same wish to simplify the writing and printing of the syllables. But there is another and more important reason.

Ancient Chinese had an important distinction between cases like 官 *kuān* (Cant. *kūn*) with strong, vocalic *u*, and 關 *kuan* (Cant. *kwan*) with subordinate, weak *w*. The different letters *u* : *w* are in themselves sufficient to express this distinction. That I placed the *w* above the line in  $k^{wan}$  was due to analogy with cases like  $k_i^{w\grave{a}n}$ , where the raising of the *w* had a special reason. The reconstruction methods allowed us to fix for a word like 捲 the Anc. final *-ān*, the medial  $\acute{i}$  and the medial *w*, but the difficulty was to know the combination mode. Was it a sequel  $k-\acute{i}-w-\grave{a}n$  or  $k-w-\acute{i}-\grave{a}n$ , or were  $\acute{i}$  and *w* pronounced simultaneously, which really would mean a *k<sub>i</sub>wān*? Not being able to determine this, I wrote  $k_i^{w\grave{a}n}$ , intimating that *w* possibly was a



mere labial quality in *i*, possibly also an independent sound following *i*. Professor Maspero, on the contrary, believes that *w* (which he writes *u*) preceded the medial *i*, and hence he writes (in *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan*, B.E.F.E.O., xx) *kuien*, etc.

I think there is after all a means of proving a real sequel of the elements, viz. the sequel *k-i-w-ân*, in Anc. Chinese.

What made Maspero decide in favour of the contrary *k-u-i-en* was probably the Sino-Annamite forms. In them this sequel comes out quite clear in cases like 員 (Anc. *jîwân*), S.A. *vien*, with the labial before the *i*. But this, I think, is hardly a safe landmark. On the one hand Sino-Annamite is comparatively late—end of the T'ang epoch—and does not give reliable information about the language of the sixth century. On the other hand, *vien* can be explained as a phonetically very natural secondary evolution. After guttural, e.g. there is the diphthong *üen*: 捲 *küen*, and it seems likely that 員 was originally a S.A. *üen*, which then, through anticipation of the delabialization of *e* during the latest moments of *ü*, was exposed to "Brechtung": *üen* > *üien* > *vien*.

A better point of *appui* is Sino-Korean. If we go to words of the type 均 we get: Maspero Anc. *k'uiën*, Karlgren Anc. *kiuën*, S.-Kor. *kiun*. It is easily seen that my reconstruction explains the S.-Kor. form better. But the case is not a binding proof, for it is an established fact that the initial *k*- in cases like this was yodized (*k<sup>y</sup>*, *kj*), and one might say that the *i* of S.-Kor. *kiun* represents the *mouillure* of the initial. But this objection cannot be made in cases like 尤, 勻. They are placed in the rime tables in the "fourth division", i.e. the category with hard, not yodized initials, and are spelled in the fan-ts'ie so as to show lack of *mouillure*. We thus get:—

尤, 勻 Maspero's system *uiën*, Karlgren *iuën*, S.-Kor. *iun*.  
Sino-Korean decides in my favour.

The same is true in another rime group.

圭, 閏, 桂 Maspero's system *kuiei*, Karlgren *kiwei* (*ki<sup>w</sup>ei*), S.-Kor. *kiu*.

奎 Maspero's system *k'ui*, Karlgren *k'uiwei* (*k'i<sup>w</sup>ei*), S. Kor. *k'iu*.

Here the case is absolutely and bindingly clear. The initial is *hard*, not yodicized (fourth division, spelled 古 and 苦 in Kuang yün), and the *i* in Kor. *iu* cannot be explained by any *mouillure* in the initial. The S.-Kor. form *kiu* can only be explained if we suppose the vocalic medial *i* (in the corresponding *k'ai k'ou* we have *kiei*) to have been pronounced *before* the *w*: *ki-w-ei*, *not* after it: *k-u-i-ei*, nor *simultaneously* with it, *ki<sup>w</sup>ei*. Thus we get a clear sequel *k-i-w-ei*, and have no longer any reason to raise the *w* above the line. Sino-Korean is so much the more decisive, as it is contemporaneous with the Ts'ie yün and is directly based on the Northern Chinese embodied in this dictionary (see *T'oung Pao*, 1922, p. 6 ff.).





## The Buddha's *cūḍā*, Hair, *uṣṇiṣa*, and Crown

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D.Sc.

(PLATES IV AND V)

A MODERN student of Buddhism, unfamiliar with Buddhist art, and accustomed to think of the Buddha only as a human and historical figure, would naturally expect to find the Śākya sage represented in art like any other Buddhist friar, with a shaven (*munda*) head ; and to suppose that such representations could only have existed as memorials, and not as objects of a cult. As a matter of fact, however, the Buddha is always represented, although not in royal garb, as a deity, with a nimbus, lotus or lion throne, and certain physical peculiarities proper to the conception of a Mahā-Puruṣa and Cakravartin or King of the World. But crowned and otherwise ornamented Buddhas are not unknown, and again, the earliest Indian type differs in several respects from the established formula of the Gupta and later periods. Thus the Buddha iconography presents a number of difficult problems ; and amongst these are those referred to in the title of this paper.

Texts implying the deification of the Buddha, and in which he is spoken of as possessing all the characteristic marks or a (or the) Mahā-Puruṣa (Great Male, also a designation of Nārāyaṇa) and Cakravartin (Universal Emperor, or King of the World) are certainly older than the oldest images, which may be assigned to the first century A.D., if we take the year of accession of Kaniṣka as A.D. 120. Thus we are quite at liberty to suppose that the images are intended to be visual realizations of literary descriptions, as is normally the case in Indian iconography.<sup>1</sup> It is true that images of the greater Hindu deities had certainly become familiar in the last centuries preceding the beginning of the Christian era, and

<sup>1</sup> I have not thought it necessary to discuss here the apocryphal accounts of earlier images of the Buddha.



images of Yakṣas and Nāgas still earlier; and true also that the early Buddha and Bodhisattva figures are demonstrably closely related to those of these other deities.<sup>1</sup> But there is no real contradiction in these statements; for the same literary ideas, the same racial conceptions of ideal form, expressed in terms of physiognomy, which we find in the Buddhist works referred to below, are not so much of Buddhist as of Brāhmanical (and ultimately of popular) origin.

It is a familiar fact that in India styles of art and fashions in iconography are not sectarian, but characteristic of period or place; images of quite different deities are sometimes distinguished only by minor iconographic peculiarities, and mistakes in identification may be made by those who are not expert iconographers. It is even not unusual in India to meet with cases of old Buddhist figures or figures of Yakṣas now worshipped under other names as orthodox Hindu divinities. In truth, the distinction between a seated Buddha, a seated Jina, and Maheśvara as Mahāyogī, are not apparent at first glance. A general similarity of types was even more noticeable in and before the Kuṣāna period, before the use of additional arms, bearing identifying attributes, became general. Here the fundamental formula is that of a standing figure, often colossal, in royal garb (ascetic costume only in the cases of the Buddha and Śiva) with the right hand raised in a gesture of assurance, the left beside, or on, the hip, sometimes holding a part of the drapery, or some object or attribute. The standing Buddha and Bodhisattva figures are of this kind, but the Buddha is almost always in ascetic garb. The distinction between a Buddha and Bodhisattva figure is not always as evident as might be expected.<sup>2</sup> In any case it

<sup>1</sup> See my "Origin of the Buddha Image", *Art Bulletin*, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, Friar Bala's figure at Sārnāth, and the Ketrā Mound figure, Mathurā (*H.I.I.A.*, figs. 83, 84) are described in the inscriptions as Bodhisattvas, though entirely without ornaments, while the similar figure from Anyor, Mathurā, is called a Buddha; see Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus., Mathura*, p. 40 and pl. viii. All three undoubtedly represent Gautama.

A similar problem is rarely met with in the literature. But in *Sutta-*

is important to realize that iconographic questions in connexion with the Buddha figure cannot be isolated, but must be approached as parts of the general problem of Indian iconographic history, though always with special reference to the minor details of sectarian differentiation and variations characteristic of place and period.

From the point of view of the problems posed in our title Buddha figures (Jinas included in groups 1 and 3) may be classified as follows: (1) The head smooth, with a conical, spirally twisted projection on the crown of the head (Pl. IV, Fig. 1). Let us not take it for granted that the head is shaved, or that the projection is an *uṣṇīṣa*. This is the early Kuṣāna type, rarely seen after the second century, and never after the fifth. As both the oldest Indian type, and evolved in what was probably the most important Buddhist centre in and before the Kuṣāna period, this type may be regarded as having most authority.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The early Gandhāran type, with long flowing locks gathered together on top of the head to form a top-knot; often with a moustache.<sup>2</sup> In the main contemporary with the last, later replaced by

(3) Type with a definite cranial protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa* in this sense), the whole head together with the protuberance *Nipāta*, v. 48 (*Dialogues*, ii, 2), in the story of the meeting of Gautama and Bimbisāra, the former is called Buddha, although the event took place seven years before the Enlightenment, i.e. "before he had become a Buddha in the later technical sense".

In general, and always in Gandhāra, Gautama is represented as a Buddha from the Great Renunciation onwards, and not merely after the attainment of Buddhahood.

A marked divergence between the texts and the art is to be observed in the fact that the former almost always speak of the Bodhi tree as a *nyagrodha*, the latter represent it as a *pippala*.

<sup>1</sup> For (1) see *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 79, 83-6, and 96; Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathura*, pl. ci, 2; Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus., Mathura*, pls. iiii and vii; Scherman, in *Pantheon*, 1928, Heft 3. The spiral conical projection is often broken away.

<sup>2</sup> For the Gandhāra type, see Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, passim; *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 89, 90, 94; and countless other published examples.



being covered by small short curls. This type appears about the middle of the second century A.D., and rapidly becomes the general rule both in Mathurā and in Gandhāra, spreading from both areas through Khotān and Kuca to the Far East, and through Veṅgī (Amarāvati, etc.) to the south-east of Asia. The vast majority of extant Buddha figures belong to this type. In a comparatively late form, commonest in Siam, but not unknown in Southern India and Ceylon, the *uṣṇīṣa* is surmounted by a pointed flame.<sup>1</sup>

(4) Buddha figures with a crown (rarely a turban), and sometimes other ornaments. Rare in the Kuṣāna period (Pl. V, Fig. 8); one at Bodh-Gayā; common in the Pāla art of Bihār and Bengal, still commoner in Indo-China.<sup>2</sup> The type is of course appropriate for Bodhisattvas and in representations of Gautama's First Meditation; it presents a problem only when the personage represented is undoubtedly Gautama subsequent to the Great Renunciation.

Before proceeding further it will be necessary to discuss the history and terminology of the royal headdress.

Literary sources establish the fact that the turban constituted a distinctive mark of royal birth or royal or divine dignity. Thus, in Vedic usage a turban is specified as worn by the king on the occasion of Vājapeya, and Rājasūya (coronation) ceremonies, and by Brahman students at the completion of their studies, though not subsequently in daily life.<sup>3</sup> In the *Mahābhārata* (I, 170, 13) a particular friend of Kuvera

<sup>1</sup> For (3) *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 98, 100, 101, and 158-61 are typical. Thousands of examples could be cited.

<sup>2</sup> For the crowned type see references in Majumdar, *Adi-Buddha in the Eastern School of Art*, in Varendra Research Soc., *Ann. Rep.*, 1926-7, together with Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 236, Sahni in *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1915-16, p. 60, and *M.F.A.*, *Bulletin* No. 132, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The modern turban (*pagri*) is still in eastern seminaries the symbol of graduation: "the disciple is *in statu pupillari* until the dignity of a Pagri is conferred on him by the hands of his master." Further, "The Pagri is tied as a symbol of succession when the head of a religious brotherhood dies and another is elected or nominated in his place" (Yusuf Ali, *Monograph on the silk fabrics of the N.W.P. and Oudh*, 1900, p. 77). See also *Agnī Purāṇa*, ch. x.

is called "the turban upon the head of Kuvera", i.e. as dear to him as the kingship itself. In the *Nidānakathā* (Fausboll, *Jātaka*, I. 60), when Prince Siddhattha is for the last time clad in royal splendour, the ceremony being performed at Indra's behest by Vissakamma himself, great stress is laid on the winding of the turban, while the other garments and ornaments are taken for granted.

In very early terracottas and in the oldest reliefs of Bhājā enormous turbans are represented. Those of the Śuṅga period (e.g. Bharhut) are similar, but slightly smaller; they seem to be made of flowered muslin, and are always arranged to show a large round ball of the same material in front, above the forehead, like a crest; the muslin is bound up with the hair, of which a good deal can be seen. At Sāncī the type persists, but the folds of the turban proper cross above the forehead more symmetrically, as in Southern India at the present day; less of the hair can be seen. In the Kuṣāna period the turban is again a little smaller; it has the same symmetrical folds, but the ball in front is replaced by an ornamented, slightly convex disc, through the centre of which the ends of the turban material seem to be knotted (Pl. IV, Fig. 4; Pl. V, Figs. 6 and 7); the hair is only seen immediately above the forehead.<sup>1</sup> So far it does not appear that the royal head was ever shaven, in whole or part; as a rule the hair is visible under the edge of the turban on the forehead and in the same way at the sides; there are no locks falling on the shoulder, and it must be assumed that the mass of the hair is coiled

<sup>1</sup> To judge from some of the sculptures (Pl. V, Fig. 7, and Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathura*, pl. ci, 1), the ornamented disc, as it appears in front view, could be regarded as the front part of a sort of helmet covering the top of the head, and placed in position before the folds of the material were wound on; but this appearance is merely the result of a technical exigency, as a thin metal plaque could not be represented in stone without solid material behind to support it. In a few cases only the crest of the Kuṣāna turban is placed at the side of the forehead, and there are no folds crossing above the forehead, but the turban material covers the top of the head (Smith, loc. cit., pl. lxxxvi, 1); but this is exceptional.



on the top of the head within the folds of the turban. So far, too, no kind of crown is represented<sup>1</sup>; but the fan-shaped crest or disc of the Kuṣāna turban is evidently made of metal, doubtless of gold. Nothing like a gem (stone) can be recognized; we must either accept a divergence of texts and art on this point or suppose that the *maṇi* or *maṇi-ratana* of the former refers to this plaque, which may have been jewelled.<sup>2</sup> In any case this Kuṣāna turban with the disc is of chief importance from our point of view, not only because it is the one in general use at the time of the development of the Buddha image, but also contemporary with most of the texts in which the *cūdā-chedana* is described. Further, the form is widely distributed, occurring not only in Mathurā, but also in Amarāvati and Ceylon.

Now as regards the accounts and nomenclature of the texts. Those in question are (1) the *Mahāvastu*, (2) the *Lalita Vistara*, (3) *a*, the *Buddha-carita*, Sanskrit, and *b*, the same, Chinese version, and (4) the *Nidānakathā* (Jātaka commentary); ranging in all from perhaps the second or first century B.C. to the fifth A.D. We cannot rely on the published translations, as they do not always consistently render the same word in the same way, and were not made with the present

<sup>1</sup> The word *mukuta*, indeed, is used in the *Buddha-Carita* account, but *Makuta-bandhana*, the name of the shrine at which the cremation of the Buddha's body took place (*Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta*), suggests that *makuta* may in some cases imply a turban rather than a crown. *Mukuta* is also used of a woman's headdress: *Lalita Vistara*, episode of the sleeping women, ch. xv, Lefmann, p. 206.

Nothing like a crown appears in the art before the Gupta period, except in connexion with Indra, whose crown (*kirita*) is evidently of metal (see my article on Indra in *Eastern Art*, vol. i, No. 1).

<sup>2</sup> In another connexion, where a jewelled turban is cited as typical of a rich layman's costume, we find *maṇi-kanaka-vicitta-molibaddha* "gem and gold decorated head-binding"; and *maṇi-muttā-kañcana-vicitta-molibaddha*, "gem and pearl and gold decorated head-binding" (*Milinda-paṇḥa*, iv, 16, 8, and vi, 2 = Trenckner, pp. 243, 348). These terms suggest the typical Kuṣāna turban with its jewelled crest. In *Jātaka* 546 (Cowell, p. 369) the *maṇi* is stolen from the royal *cūḍā*; here *cūḍā* cannot mean hair alone, but the turban or crest of the turban, while *maṇi* may be a single gem. For *molibaddha* = *maudabaddha*, see Appendix.

problem in view;<sup>1</sup> the same applies to the Dictionaries, which, perhaps rightly, give alternative meanings ("hair", and "headdress") for the most important terms. Only the context can supply the meaning; and it must be confessed it is not always quite clear, nor always in agreement with the reliefs.

In the *Mahāvastu*<sup>2</sup> we find: "'How can I retain this *cūḍā*?' And the Bodhisattva having cut off the *cūḍā* with his sword, it was received and worshipped (*pūjyati*) by Śakra, chief of the gods. And it is called *cūḍāmaha*."

In the *Lalitā-Vistara*<sup>3</sup> we have: "'How can I retain this *cūḍā*?' And, cutting off with his sword the *cūḍā*, he cast it to the winds. It was received by the gods of the Trāyastriṃśa heavens, with intent to worship it (*pūjyārtham*), and even to this day the *cūḍāmaha* is honoured by the Trāyastriṃśa gods. There, too, a temple (*caitya*) was built. And even to this day it is known as that of the Reception of the Crest-relic (*cūḍāpratigrahaṇam*)."

In both cases Foucher renders *cūḍā* by "mèche"<sup>4</sup>; in the case of the *Lalitā-Vistara*, Foucaux by "touffe de cheveux".<sup>5</sup> Both renderings are insufficient, for even though the hair be with it (*molinā-saddhiṃ cūḷa* of the *Nidānakathā*), it is by no means the most conspicuous part of the *cūḍāmaha*; except at Bharhut (Fig. A) the hair cannot be distinguished in the sculptured representations. *Cūḍā*, as will further appear below, is used to designate the whole turban together with the hair within it, and this is the *Cūḍāmahā* of the texts and the Bharhut inscription: I translate "Crest-relic", rather than "Hair-relic" on the one hand, or "Turban-relic" on the other, in order to avoid a too precise limitation of the meaning. In any case all the terms for "headdress" must be understood with reference to contemporary fashions.

<sup>1</sup> Most of the translations lay too much stress on the hair.

<sup>2</sup> Senart, *Mahāvastu*, ii, pp. 165, 166.

<sup>3</sup> Leumann, *Lalitā-Vistara*, i, 225, 21 (ch. xv).

<sup>4</sup> *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, p. 363.  
*Lalitā-Vistara*, p. 197.



The *Buddha-carita*, Sanskrit version<sup>1</sup> has "with his sword he cut off the decorated turban together with the hair and tossed it with its trailing strands into the air, like a beauteous (flying) goose"; in the text . . . *citram mukuṭam sakeśam, vikīryamāṇāmsukam antarikṣe cikṣepa cainam saraśīva haṁsam*. Here the reference to the trailing strands (*amśuka*) shows clearly that the *mukuṭa* is a turban, and not a crown or tiara; the whole description suggests a Śuṅga rather than a Kuṣāna headdress. In the following verse the turban is received by the gods, with intent to worship it, *pūjābhūṣana*.

In the Chinese version of the *Buddha-carita* (= No. 1351 of Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*) we find a precise and definite phrasing which evidently follows closely the Indian original.<sup>2</sup> The Chinese text has *pao kuan lung hsiun fa ho ti* "jewelled crown enclosing black hair together shaved". *Pao kuan* is evidently *citram mukuṭam*; and if *kuan*, which is used only for headgear worn by men of high rank, means crown rather than turban, this may be due either to the exigencies of translation, or to the use of *mukuṭam* in the original, or finally to the fact that crowns had come into use by the time of Dharmarakṣa's translation, made in the fifth century A.D. It would also be possible to render *pao kuan* more vaguely as "precious headdress". The next word *lung* means a basket, but is used as a verb, "enclosing"; it renders the *sa* of *sakeśam*, but is more specific. In the following verses, where the gods receive the headdress, only the word *fa* "hair", is used, where we should expect *kuan*; but this is the only indication afforded by any of the texts of special importance attached to the hair itself. There is no word in the original Sanskrit for *hsiun*, "black," but allusions to the blackness of the Bodhisattva's hair are not uncommon in the texts elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> Cowell, *Buddha-carita*, vi, 57.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to my colleague, Miss Chie Hirano, for looking up this source with me. Beal's version in *S.B.E.*, 45, "hair with its jewelled stud," is altogether unsatisfactory.

The *Nidānakathā* is most informative.<sup>1</sup> In the *alamkāraṇa* scene, where Vissakamma himself winds the turban (*veṭhana*), when the Bodhisattva is for the last time adorned in regal splendour (it is therefore this very turban that becomes the Crest-relic), its folds are apparently multiplied a thousand-fold by reason of the brightness "of the *maṇi-ratana* on the *sīsa-moliya*". *Maṇiratana* referring to the Kuṣāna turban can only mean the fan-shaped jewelled crest, which was evidently held in place while the folds of the turban were laid on, as its effects appear from the time when the first fold is made, and continue until the tenth and last is completed; we must accordingly understand the brightness "of the jewelled crest on the topknot". Proceeding to the *cūḍāchedana* scene, we have the words *keṣa*, hair in the general sense of the word, and *veṭhana*, turban, requiring no comment. Then we find that the Bodhisattva, "grasping the *cūḷa* together with the *moli* (*moliyā saddhim cūḷam*)"<sup>2</sup> in his left hand,

<sup>1</sup> Fansboll, *Jātaka*, i, pp. 60, 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Saddhim*, of course, governs the word preceding it. The *Buddha-carita* has *sa-keṣam*. As regards *moli*: per se, it is "head" or "hair", and might perhaps be rendered best by "head of hair". I have retained the "topknot" of former authors, although we do not really know for certain that the Bodhisattva's long hair was tied in a topknot.

In the *Parīṣiṭṭapavāṇa*, Story of Aṅgaḍadatta, 101 (Meyer, p. 251) a Brāhmanical ascetic is described as *muṇḍiyasirakucasaṅcūla*, rendered by Meyer "who wore a sheaf of hair on his bald head by way of a crown-tuft"; and in a footnote more literally "crown-tufted by means of a bunch of hair on his shaven head", adding that *cūḍā* means a single lock of hair left on the crown of a shaven head. The fact is *cūḍā* means crest or both together crownpiece or anything of that sort, and so may mean "lock" or "turban" according to circumstances; we have seen that the same holds good for *moli*, *mauḍa*. But when we find, as above, *moliyā saddhim cūḷam* as the equivalent of *mukutaṃ sakeṣam*, it is obvious that *cūḷam* corresponds to *mukutaṃ* and means the headdress on the hair, not the hair alone.

It is therefore natural to equate *moli* with *keṣa*, and this may be legitimate. But it should be borne in mind that the usual meaning of *mauli*, *mauḍa*, etc. is simply "headdress" (turban or crown as the case may be), and so perhaps we ought really to render "grasping crest and turban together". In *Buddha-carita*, viii, 52, the hair (*mūrdhajā*) is said to have been worthy to be covered by (*pariveṣṭanakaṣamāḥ*) a royal *mauli*, which is therefore certainly not the hair, but the turban.



cuts them off with the sword in his right ; I render " grasping the turban together with the topknot ". The product, *molīnā cūḷam* " topknot and turban ", he casts into the air, where, as it floats, it is called *cūḷamaṇi-veṭhanaṇi* " Jewel-crested Turban ". It is received by Sakka, and enshrined in the Tāvātimsa heaven, in the Cūḷamaṇi-cetiya,<sup>1</sup> " Shrine of the Jewel-crest(-ed Turban)," or " Shrine of the Precious Turban ".<sup>2</sup>

It will be observed that *cūḷa* (or *cūḷā*) = *cūḷamaṇi* = *cūḷamaṇi-veṭhana* ; other examples of the short forms may be cited in the well-known Bharhut inscription *Bhagavato Cūḍāmaha* and in the name of a Coḷa Buddhist temple at Negapatam, viz. the Cūḷamaṇi-vihāra.

The Hair-relic (*keśa-dhātu*) of the Buddha is quite another story.<sup>3</sup> It consisted of hairs plucked from his head and given by the Buddha to the travelling merchants from whom he received the food offering in the quadruple bowl. It is evident that this relic must have consisted of hairs two inches



FIG. A.—*Cūḍāmaha*, Bharhut.

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the many cases in which the word *cetiya* does not mean a stūpa. The first Buddhist stūpa was erected for the *keśadhātu*, the Hair relic properly so-called ; this was subsequent to the attainment of Buddhahood, and for this first Buddhist dagaba the Buddha himself prepared the model (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i, p. 47).

Both at Bharhut and at Sāñci the *Cūḍāmaha* is shown upon an altar within a temple, and in full view.

<sup>2</sup> Very possibly *maṇi*, in the combination *cūḷamaṇi*, should not always be taken as equivalent to *maṇi-vicitta*-, but simply as " precious treasure " ; cf. *śrīratna*, etc., amongst the Seven Treasures of Kings, and *maṇḍa rayana* in the *Paṭiṣṭaparvan*, rendered " pearl of a diadem " not " pearl-diadem " in Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 139 (= Jacobi, p. 39).

In a Sinhalese lithic inscription of the twelfth century we find *śikāmaṇi* instead of *cūḷamaṇi* (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, ii, p. 252 ; here, p. 254, for " crest gems " read " Crest Gem " or " Precious Headdress ").

<sup>3</sup> Fausboll, *Jātaka*, i, 81. These hairs were enshrined in a stūpa (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i, p. 47).

in length, as according to our text, in the *cūdā-chedana* scene, once shorn, so it ever after remained.

We possess a number of representations of the Crest-relic in the art; at Bharhut (Fig. A) and Sāñcī, it is represented as resting on an altar in a shrine, which we know from the Bharhut inscription represents the Sudhammā-Sabhā of Indra's paradise.<sup>1</sup> Here, in accordance with contemporary fashion, the hair is visible, and even conspicuous. Two later representations show the Turban-relic on an altar as an object of worship; one on a Kuṣāna pediment from Mathurā (Pl. IV, Fig. 2),<sup>2</sup> another Gandhāran (Pl. IV, Fig. 3).<sup>3</sup> In both cases the regular Kuṣāna turban is unmistakable. Nothing is now seen of the hair, and this is quite natural, for it would all be inside the turban.

That the Bhagavato Cūdāmaha was thought of as essentially a Turban-relic, and only incidentally a hair-relic too,<sup>4</sup> can equally be demonstrated from the texts. When the Bodhisattva reflects that the *cūdā* is inappropriate for an ascetic, it is because a turban is the most distinctive mark of secular costume (cf. *Milindapañha*, cited above). True, he later established an order in which tonsure was compulsory; but it was not compulsory for all or any ascetics, and we know both from the old reliefs and from the statement in *Gautama Dharmaśāstra*, iii, 22, "A monk may either shave or wear a lock on the crown of his head," that in some orders the hair was worn long.<sup>5</sup> In all the early Buddhist reliefs,

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. 16, or *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 43; Marshall, *Guide to Sanchī*, pl. vi, a.

<sup>2</sup> And Vogel, *Mathura School of Sculpture*, A.S.I., A.R., 1906-7, pl. lvi; *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathura*, No. J 1. Another example may be seen, ib., pl. vi (= H 11), in the niche above the Indra-sāla-gubhā.

<sup>3</sup> Also Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, fig. 186; Griggs, *Historical Buildings in India*, pl. 90.

<sup>4</sup> Gautami, in *Buddha-carita*, viii, 52, even thinks of the Bodhisattva's long hair as having been cast away on the ground (*praceritāste bhuvī*).

<sup>5</sup> Similarly, *Apastambha*, 1, 1, 2, <sup>11-12</sup>, with reference to students. Cf. Chandaka's description of ascetics in general terms, *Lalitā-Vistara*, ch. xv, Lefmann, p. 210: they are *jaṭamakuṭa* and *dirghanakhaṭṭha* "their matted hair is their crown, and their nails and hair are long".

Brahmā, always represented as an ascetic, is represented with long coiled



Brahmanical ascetics (Jātilas and others) are represented with long coiled hair; the Bodhisattva in the same way, in the Vessantara Jātaka at Sāncī. But now the Bodhisattva has in mind the tonsured friar whom he had seen in the city as the Fourth Sign; and this is why he speaks of the hair (in the *Nidānakthā*) as unsuited to a *samaṇa*, and has to use his sword to cut off hair and turban together. Because the emphasis is on the turban, nevertheless, we find "the turban together with the hair", and not "the hair together with the turban".

It is hardly necessary to account for the great value set upon the Turban-relic. Throughout the East the headdress is highly honoured, and its various forms are distinctive signs of rank. In India, particularly so; the turban, indeed, may even represent an absent person, for example, in some cases of *satī*, where the husband has been slain in battle, and the body lost, he is represented on the pyre by the turban, with which the widow dies.

## 2. THE HAIR

We must next take into account the reliefs which represent the Bodhisattva in the act of *cūḍā-chedana*. Here we find an immediate disagreement with the texts; for he is represented as holding a long tress of hair in one hand, and cutting it with the sword in the other, and it is clear that the turban has already been removed. Probably the oldest of these is the Gandhāran fragment found in Turkestan;<sup>1</sup> there is nothing more of the sort till we come to the Sārnāth relief,<sup>2</sup> then to that of Boro-budūr,<sup>3</sup> and finally to that of the Ānanda temple

hair, whence his epithet Śikhin. So too, Śiva, as a yogi, is not *munda*, but wears a *jaṭāmukuta*, a crown of matted locks. Thus long hair cannot be called a distinctive mark of the layman as contrasted with the religious.

In the *Appika Jātaka* (No. 129) a tonsure leaving a scalp lock is indicated for ascetics. Cowell, i, p. 283, has a footnote erroneously stating that Buddhist monks practise this tonsure.

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 209, 220, and pl. xlvii; cf. *Serindia*, p. 858, n.

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Krom, *The Life of Buddha*, pp. 75, 76 (with discussion and nearly exhaustive references).

in Paḡān.<sup>1</sup> The last is peculiar only in that the hair sticks up straight like a tube, and has some sort of ornament at the top of the "tube". A complication sometimes arises, inasmuch as Kaṇṭhaka in certain cases is made to receive and carry home the headdress; at Borobudūr, for example, he receives what has now become, not a turban, but an elaborate crown (in accordance with contemporary fashion), while the gods receive the hair. But this is an exception; and the question, whether the relic was to be enshrined on earth or in heaven does not bear directly on our problem.

The really important point is that according to the plastic tradition the whole of the hair was grasped in a single tress in the left hand, and cut off with a single stroke; and even according to the literary tradition, in which the hair is cut while still covered by the turban, this effectively held good. In any case the *Nidānakathā* tells us that "the hair was reduced to two inches in length, and curling from the right, lay close to the head, remaining of that length as long as he lived". The most natural thing, then, would be to represent the single thick tress as reduced to a single thick short curl (*āvatta*). This is just how we find it represented in the early Kuṣāṇa Buddha type, the first in the list of four types given above; that the remainder of the head is smooth does not mean that it is shaved,<sup>2</sup> but simply that all the long hair was drawn up close and tight over the scalp into the single tress. The thickness of this smooth hair is always clearly indicated in the sculptures. This type is perfectly exemplified in the well-known Bodhisattva from the Kaṭṭhā mound (Pl. IV, Fig. 1); but many other examples are known,

<sup>1</sup> Cohn, *Buddha in die Kunst des Ostens*, pl. 73. Seidenstücker, *Die Buddha-legenden in den Skulpturen des Ananda-Tempels zu Paḡān*, Hamburg, 1916, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> It could be argued that perhaps the head had been partly shaved in secular life, leaving only a scalp-lock. But there is no evidence of any such custom to be found in the early art; and in the *Buddha-carita*, viii, 52, we find Gautamī speaks regretfully of the Bodhisattva's hair as having been before the tonsure, "beautiful, soft, black, and all in great waves."



both Buddhist and Jaina.<sup>1</sup> Very often, of course, the projecting curl is broken away, leaving a scar, but even then the smooth surface of the head clearly distinguishes the type from the later one in which the whole head is covered with many small curls.

This new type with many curls appears certainly before the end of the Kuṣāna period and probably about the middle of the second century, becoming almost universal, in Mathurā, in Gandhāra, and in later art throughout the East. The tradition preserved in the *Nidānakathā* would still account for the length and curling of the hair; but it must have come to be believed that the hair, instead of being cut off at a single stroke, had been shorn by a succession of strokes, leaving the hair of equal length all over the head, as would seem to have been inevitable if turban and hair were removed together, in accordance with the literary tradition. In other words, the representation of many curls would seem to bring the formula into closer correspondence with the literary tradition; but, further than this, we cannot say just why the change was made in the plastic representations, especially as the actual tonsure continued to be, and is always represented as, the cutting of a single tress. But, whatever the reasons for the change may have been, and wherever it was first made, it is clear that the literary and plastic traditions together provide a rational and sufficient explanation for the representation of the Buddha's hair either in one curl or in many curls.

<sup>1</sup> For a very fine example of the Katrā mound type, now in Munich, see Scherman, L., in *Pantheon*, 1928, Heft 3, illustration on p. 149.

For Jaina examples representing Mahāvira, see Smith, *Jaina Stupa of Mathura*, pls. xvii, 1, and ci, 2.

In *Aupapātika-Sūtra*, § 16, describing the appearance of Mahāvira, we find *piṇḍiy'-appa-sīrac* "with a projection on the top of his head". This is again ambiguous, for it equally describes the early type with the spiral lock, and the later "*uṣṇīṣa*". Cf. Leumann, in *Abh. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, viii, 2, 1883, p. 139 (glossary, s.v. *piṇḍiyā*). The tonsure of Mahāvira is supposed to have been performed by the tearing out of the hair, as related in the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, and represented in the corresponding illustrations (*Cat. Indian Coll.*, Boston, iv, pl. 2).

A few words more on the subject of the first type, with a single curl; I propose to call this the "Kapardin type". For it may be explained, not only by Buddhist tradition as above, but as representing a current type of ascetic coiffure, both Brāhmanical and Jaina. Max Müller (*S.B.E.*, xxxii, p. 424) has the following note on the epithet "kapardin":—

"*Kapardin* is an epithet not only of Rudra but also of Pūṣan (vi, 55, 2; ix, 67, 11), and of a Vedic clan, the Trtsus or Vasiṣṭhas (viii, 83, 8); see Roth, *Zur Lit. und Geschichte des Weda*, pp. 94, seq.; Oldenberg, *Z.D.M.G.*, xlii, p. 207. *Kaparda* is the name of a shell, and the hair twisted together in the form of a shell seems to have suggested the name of *Kapardin*."

Śiva is several times called Kapardin in the *Mahābhārata* (Drona Parva). A Yakṣa Kapardin is mentioned in the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*.<sup>1</sup> In any case, the known *kapardin* type of ascetic coiffure may have had something to do with the determination of the earliest Mathurā Buddha type. It should not be overlooked, however, that the hair of the true Kapardin is long; the single curl as represented in Pl. IV, Fig. 1, represents the Kapardin coiffure only in miniature, and is not to be regarded as a *jaṭāmukuta*.

### 3. THE *uṣṇīṣa* PROBLEM

The earliest text that bears on the problem is the *Mahapadāna-Sutta*<sup>2</sup>; there the last in the list of the thirty-two *lakkhaṇas* proper to a (or the) Mahā-Puruṣa<sup>3</sup> (Great Male) destined to become a Cakravartin (Universal Emperor, or King of The World), or a Buddha, is this: *Deva-kumāra uṇhīso-sīso*, "the divine young prince has a turbaned head

<sup>1</sup> Tawney, translation, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> S.B.B. iii (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, 2, 1910). Most authors agree on a date between the third and first centuries B.C.

<sup>3</sup> The Mahā-Puruṣa from a Brāhmanical point of view is Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu). Waddell has interpreted the *uṣṇīṣa* in this connexion (*The Buddha's Diadem . . . or Uṣṇīṣa . . .*, O.Z., iii, 1915); cf. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 29. Buddha, in the *Mahābhārata*, is already an avatār of Viṣṇu.



(or simply, 'turban-head').” Similarly in the *Mahāvastu*, *uṣṇīṣasirṣaṃ* (the passage is probably interpolated, see Senart, ii, p. vi); and *Lalitā-Vistara*, ch. vii, *uṣṇīṣo-ṣīṣo maharāja-sarvārthasiddha-kumāraḥ*<sup>1</sup> to the same effect.

Now what is an *uṣṇīṣa* (Pāli, *uṇhīsa*)? Later tradition, both literary and plastic, makes it a bony protuberance on the top of the Buddha's skull. Let us ignore for the present this interpretation, and observe the meaning and usage of the word before the creation of Buddha images. Etymologically the word means a "protection from the sun, sunshade". In Brāhmanical usage generally it meant a turban, always an honourable, and often specifically a royal headdress; it is specified as worn by the king in the Rājasiṃha (coronation) and Vājapeya ceremonies, and by Brāhman students at the completion of Vedic studies; also by Vratyas (*Atharva Veda*, xv, 2). The term may also have been applied to the royal umbrella; in the *Mahābhārata* we find *chattrākoti-śirṣa*, instead of *uṣṇīṣa-śirṣa* and the Chinese text cited by Watters<sup>2</sup> has as one of the *lakṣaṇas* that there is "on the top of his head the *uṣṇīṣa* like a deva sunshade." Beside this the word is used to designate the coping of a stone railing. Later we find *uṣṇīṣa-bhūṣaṇa*, diadem or coronet. In the *Milindapañha*, v, 3, *uṇhīsa* is used in the regular sense of turban, as one of the five insignia of royalty; Siva is called *uṣṇīṣin* in the *Mahābhārata*, probably in the sense given by Watters (loc. cit., i, 196) as having "the hair done up into a coil on the top of the head; some Brāhmanical ascetics in ancient reliefs, as remarked above, do, in fact, wear their long hair coiled turban-like about the head.

So far we have found no literary evidence whatever to suggest that the word *uṣṇīṣa*, *uṇhīsa*, ever referred to any

<sup>1</sup> Foucaux renders, "la tête couronnée par un protubérance du crâne"; but he is evidently relying on later commentators; actually there is no word for "couronnée" and no contemporary authority for *protubérance du crâne*.

<sup>2</sup> On *Yuan Chwang*.

physical peculiarity, such as a bony protuberance.<sup>1</sup> Nor is any such peculiarity represented in the art before the middle of the second century A.D.

What then is to be understood by the *Mahapadāna-Sutta* passage? Another of the *lakkhaṇas* gives the Bodhisattva forty teeth; here the peculiarity in view seems to me much rather connected with the abnormal number of teeth, than with their precocious advent. In any case it is hard to believe that it was originally meant that the child was born with a turban on its head or with fully developed teeth. A very simple explanation can be suggested, however: the thirty-two *lakkhaṇas* were borrowed in their entirety from Brāhmanical sources,<sup>2</sup> and are really the characteristics of an adult Cakravartin and Mahā-Puruṣa and as such and without modification were applied to the infant Bodhisattva, when the Cakravartin concept came into prominence.<sup>3</sup> The result is a description altogether too "previous"; and, if we try to rationalise it (and this was probably not attempted or felt to be necessary at first, the main point being the magnification of the Buddha), we can only interpret the *lakkhaṇas* in question as (1) "destined to wear a turban" (just as we speak of a child born with a silver spoon in its mouth), and (2) as "destined to have forty teeth".

Further allusions to or citations of the *lakkhaṇas* in relatively

<sup>1</sup> Stede and Rhys Davids, *Pali Dictionary*, give "turban" as the only meaning of *uṇhisa*, with the following references: DN. i, 7, ii, 19 = iii, 145 (cf. Dial., ii, 16); Jā. ii, 88; Miln. 330; DA. i, 89; DhāA. i, 98. In *Majjhima Nikāya*, 89 (ii, 119) King Pasenadi lays down his sword and *uṇhisa* before approaching the Buddha, and here, too, *uṇhisa* can only mean "turban".

<sup>2</sup> The texts consistently inform us that the *lakkhaṇas* were recognized in the infant Bodhisattva by Brāhman soothsayers (*naimittika*). Divination of this sort is expressly forbidden to good Buddhists; whereas "... the business of Brāhmins is concerned ... with the knowledge of lucky, marks (*lakkhaṇam*)" (*Milindapañha*, iv, 3, 26). Somewhat mysteriously and exceptionally, Saṃ. Nik. 1022 attributes the *Mahāpuruṣa-lakkhaṇa* to Bāveri, "the Babylonian."

<sup>3</sup> The Cakravartin concept, as remarked by Przyluski, *Aṣokāvādana*, pp. 102, 113, seems to have come into prominence at the same time that the Aśoka legend was elaborated, thus probably in the second or first century B.C.



early texts give us no further information.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Early Indian images do indeed exhibit certain of the *lakṣaṇas*, such as the *ūrṇā*, and the wheel-marks on the palms of the hands and soles of the feet; but they do not attempt to represent an *uṣṇīṣa*, either as a turban, or, until later, as a bony protuberance. The forty teeth, not being visible, never presented any iconographic problem.

M. Foucher's theory of the origin of the *uṣṇīṣa* as a bony protuberance I understand to be as follows: Gandhāran sculptors made the first Buddha images, and represented the hair in flowing tresses gathered together into a topknot, in Indian fashion, avoiding the representation of a protuberance for aesthetic reasons. Indian imitators, dissatisfied with so obvious a departure from the facts as they must have been, for all are agreed that the Bodhisattva cut off his hair, interpreted the Gandhāra chignon as covering a cranial bump and supposed that this bump was what had been referred to in the phrase *uṇhīso-sīso* of the *Mahapadāna Sutta*; they replaced the long hair with short curls (more or less in accordance with the tradition preserved in the *Nidāna-kathā*), leaving the cranial bump conspicuously in evidence. In this case, evidently the Gandhāran sculptors accepted the correction made by their Indian brethren, for the type with the protuberance and the short curls very soon predominates in both areas.

On this it may be remarked, that many of the Gandhāran images with flowing locks do actually seem to represent a protuberance covered by long hair, rather than long hair alone.<sup>2</sup> In any case, it is certain that the later Gandhāran, as well as the later Mathurā, images exhibit the protuberance covered with short curls. The problem before us is to learn

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Lakkhaṇa-Suttanta* (S.B.B., iv = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 3, with a valuable discussion by Rhys Davids); *Milindapañha*, iii, 6, 3; *Asvaghosa, Sūtrālaṅkāra* (Huber, p. 397—here the Buddha, adorned with the *lakṣaṇas* "looked like a painting"); *Lalitā-Vistara*; etc.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. M.F.A. Bulletin, No. 104, and Hackin, J., *Sculptures gréco-bouddhiques du Kapiśa*, *Fondation Piot*, xxviii, p. 39, and pl. iv.

why this type was substituted for the earlier Mathurā form, which I have called the *Kapardin* type ?

I do not believe that a definite answer to this question can be given at present. That a misunderstanding took place has been designated by Cohn as a brutal solution.<sup>1</sup> Yet I think we cannot avoid the conclusion that a new interpretation of the old texts lay behind the change. For the only explanation that I can suggest is that in the beginning the old texts had not been studied ; no rationalisation of the *lakṣaṇas* had been attempted, because it had not been realized that once inserted in the Buddha legend, they would need to be explained. Later on we reach a period of definition and commentary, culminating in the work of Buddhaghosa in the fifth century. Buddhaghosa himself writes long after the practical problem of iconographic representation had been settled ; he had the Buddha figures with a protuberant *uṣṇīṣa* no less than the old texts before him. Even so he finds himself in difficulties, and, as Rhys Davids has remarked, his interpretation is not at all satisfactory. He says with regard to *uṣṇīso-sīso* : "This refers to the fullness either of the forehead or the cranium. In either case the rounded or highly developed appearance is meant, giving to the unadorned head the decorative effect of a crested turban and the smooth symmetry of a water bubble."

The problem must have presented itself much earlier, at the time when the worship of the cult image received official sanction and became an orthodox institution. This may have been some little time after the first images of the *kapardin* type had been made. At that time the old books would have been examined with a view to testing the propriety of the current representations, and naturally the passages relating to the *lakṣhaṇas* would have been first consulted, for these would constitute the only "Śīlpaśāstra" then available on the subject. It was assumed that the *lakṣhaṇas* having been recognized in infancy must have been present in infancy,

<sup>1</sup> *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, p. xxv.



and so *unhīso-sīso* had to be interpreted as a physical appearance. The result was the representation of the *uṣṇīṣa* or *unhīsa* as a protuberance; and at the same time, as we have seen, the tonsure was reinterpreted as resulting in a crop of short curls, rather than in a single coil. The new formula met with complete success (the only late example of the older fashion being the Māṅkuwār image); and Buddhaghosa later on endorses the accepted solution. We find later on a considerable cult of the *uṣṇīṣa* in this new sense; the Chinese pilgrims speak of stūpas at Hidda containing pieces of it.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, we cannot accept the supposed existence of such relics as evidence for the real existence of a protuberance; it is even quite likely that the stūpas in question had been erected over a turban relic (*uṣṇīṣa*) in the first place, and later came to be regarded as containing a relic of bone. The fact that the turban was really in Indraloka would hardly have prevented the erection of memorial stūpas, or Cūḍāmahācetiya, on earth.

Beside the literary sources, it is possible that older iconographic sources existed and played some part in the evolution of the new Buddha type. Several scholars have called attention to the figure of Indra in the form of the Brāhman Śānti found on a railing pillar at Bodhgayā set up by Nāgadeva about 100 B.C.<sup>2</sup> It has been generally agreed that there is a protuberance on the head, and that the head is covered with short curly hair; but as Bachhofer points out, Indra is not here represented as a Cakravartin, and we cannot regard the protuberance as an *uṣṇīṣa*. Nevertheless, this figure, provides a prototype for the later Buddhist and Jaina formula.

<sup>1</sup> Watters, *On Yuan Chuang*, i, pp. 195-8, with full references.

<sup>2</sup> Bachhofer, L., *Eine Pfeiler-Figur aus Bodhgayā*, Jahrb. As. Kunst, ii, 1925. Kramrisch, S., *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, pp. 113, 114, and pl. 31. H.I.I.A., fig. 40. Attention was first called to this relief by Sir John Marshall, *JRAS.*, 1908, p. 1096. Buddha-like heads with curly hair and cranial protuberance occurring in lotus medallions at Bodhgayā have been cited as early Buddha prototypes, but they occur exclusively on the later pillars not antedating the Gupta period.

One text, viz. the *Cītralakṣaṇa*, ably edited and translated from the Tibetan by Dr. Laufer, has not been referred to.<sup>1</sup> In this text the dimensions of the *uṣṇīṣa* of a Cakravartin are given, and are such as to show that a protuberance on the head is intended. It should be observed, however, that notwithstanding that Hindu deities are generally represented in the guise of great kings, rulers of particular spheres or of the whole universe, no known example of Hindu sculpture presents us with a deity having a cranial protuberance<sup>2</sup>; the peculiarity seems to be exclusively Buddhist and Jaina, and this supports my view that it resulted from a dogmatic interpretation placed upon the phrase *uṇhīso-sīso*, and promulgated upon some special occasion, either a council *ad hoc* or some council dealing generally with the definition and interpretation of the canon—perhaps in the reign of Kaniska, and at Mathurā. Moreover, it does not seem to me necessary to assume any very early date for the *Cītralakṣaṇa*, though it may be called the oldest, or one of the oldest, Śilpaśāstras extant.

The latter part of the present section of our inquiry is admittedly speculative. But this at least emerges as a definite fact, that we have no literary or iconographic evidence for the interpretation of *uṣṇīṣa* as a bony protuberance previous to about A.D. 100 at the earliest; before that time we have certainly no right to translate the phrase *uṇhīso-sīso* as "having a protuberance on the head". And though the early Mathurā Buddha figures have certainly a protuberance, it is evidently a coil of hair, and bears no resemblance whatever to the *uṣṇīṣa* "bump" of the later formula.

#### CROWNED BUDDHAS

Inasmuch as the Bodhisattva put off his royal robes when first adopting the ascetic life, and inasmuch as all adornments

<sup>1</sup> Laufer, *Dokumente der indischen Kunst, I. Malerei. Das Cītralakṣaṇa*, Leipzig, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> Exception must be made of the figure of Bali pouring out the *dakṣiṇodā* in the Trivikrama compositions of Caves II, III, IV at Bādāmi (Banerji, R. D., in *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 25, pp. 19, 31, and pls. ix and xvi).



are forbidden to Buddhist monks, it has often been stated by myself and others that such representations must be regarded as uncanonical and unorthodox, and it has also been held that the type is of late origin.<sup>1</sup> But we have no right to assume that a common and carefully represented type is aberrant; we ought rather to try to discover its significance.

It will be remarked at once that the Buddha figure comes into being only after the Buddha has come to be regarded as a deity, in fact as *Devātideva*, god of gods. At the same time the Cakravartin concept, that of an ideal King of the World, plays a great part in the iconographic development; the Buddha must be provided with all the *lakṣaṇas* of such a being. Then there is the doctrine of the Three Bodies of a Buddha, the Dharmakāya (Logos-body), the Sambhogakāya (the appearance in glory as a personal deity), and the Nirmāṇakāya (the body manifest of an earthly Buddha). Finally we have the concept of an Ādi-Buddha, a primordial being and essence from Whom proceed all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, manifested on whatever plane.

Not all of these doctrines are certainly known to date back to the Kuṣāna period, where the problem meets us almost at the beginning of the Buddha iconography; but they belong to the essence of Mahāyāna theology and must have been present in some form at a very early stage of the development. Indeed, the representation of Dhyāni Buddhas in the head-dresses of Bodhisattvas already in the Kuṣāna period and in Gandhāran art<sup>2</sup> amounts to proof of the currency of the Trikāya theory in the early days of Buddha iconography.

It is clear that any one of these conceptions might suffice to account for the representation of a Buddha, or any particular Buddha such as Gautama, with whom we are chiefly concerned, as garbed like a god in royal robes: needless to remark

<sup>1</sup> Chanda, R. P., in *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1921-2, p. 105. The oldest example seems to be the turbaned Buddha of Pl. V, Fig. 5 (if not a Bodhisattva).

<sup>2</sup> *H.I.I.A.*, figs. 78, 95.

that the headdress (turban, or crown according to the period) is the most significant feature of such a garb. Mr. Majumdar, in an able discussion recently published,<sup>1</sup> has plausibly argued that all crowned Buddhas represent Ādi-Buddha; in many cases, however, especially where a pseudo-historical situation is depicted, as in the common instance of the Pāla reliefs<sup>2</sup> representing a central crowned Buddha in the earth-touching pose, surrounded by representations of the remainder of the Eight Great Events, it would be far simpler to suppose that we have to do with a glorification of the earthly Buddha, by the addition of attributes proper to the Sambhogakāya, and reminding us that the Buddha is more than man.

This last view seems to me to be supported by a relief (Pl. V, Fig. 8) such as that of the central panel in the verandah of the caitya-cave at Kārli, which can only be described as the Coronation of the Buddha, and curiously recalls mediaeval European representations of the Coronation of the Virgin. Here the Buddha, in full Gupta style, with *uṣṇīṣa* and short curls, is seated on a lotus, the hands in *dharmacakra-mudrā*, with the wheel and deer below; it is undoubtedly a representation of the First Sermon in the Deer Park at Benares. But immediately above, though not yet touching the Buddha's head, is a crown, supported by two flying *devas* or angels.<sup>3</sup> On either side of the Buddha stand attendant Bodhisattvas; incidentally it is of interest to note that the Nāgas, who more often support the stem of the lotus on which the Buddha is seated, here support the pillar that bears the wheel.

Iconographically, the derivation of the "Coronation" is fairly clear. In several Kuṣāna reliefs representing "Indra's Visit" (e.g. A.S.I., A.R., 1909-10, pl. xxva, also H. 11 in

<sup>1</sup> *Ādi-Buddha in the Eastern School of Art*, Ann. Rep. Varendra Research Soc., Rajshahi, 1926-7. References to the literature are given; Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 236, and Sahni (crowned Buddha from Parihāsa-pura) in A.S.I., A.R., 1915-16, may be added.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *M.F.A. Bulletin*, No. 132, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Similar coronations are sometimes represented in connexion with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī.



the Mathurā Museum) an upper range of niches shows the Crest-relic adored by deities, the arrangement being always such that the turban occupies a position immediately above the head of the seated Buddha in the cave below.<sup>1</sup> From this it is but a step to a representation of angels or devas supporting a turban or crown above the Buddha's head, in fact, to a "Coronation". Some Gandhāran reliefs are similar (Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pls. xcix, 3, and cxvii, 1).

Thus it would appear that we ought not to regard the appearance of crowned Buddhas in art as anomalous; we can only do so if we forget that the cult image of the Buddha, and the Buddha himself in Mahāyāna theology, are not so much historical figures as mythological symbols. The activity of the earthly Buddha, originally a living memory, has become, as it were, the *līlā* of a deity; it is related in the later literature with a corresponding miraculous enhancement. All things considered, it is perhaps surprising that the Buddha should not have been represented more often and more constantly with the outward pomp of a divinity. It will be remembered, however, that even a great Hindu divinity may be represented as a yogī and ascetic, as in the case of Śiva, so that the panoply of royalty appropriate to a deity must not be thought of as essential. In the case of the Buddha the force of the historical tradition, long established not only by the literature, but even in the early art before the Buddha figure appears in human form, certainly maintained for the *līlā* the aspect of veridical narrative. But the Buddha is equally a Great Being, a deity, whether he appears in monastic robes or as a king.

#### APPENDIX

The use of the world *molibaddha* in the *Milindapañha*, cited above recalls a pertinent passage in Hemacandra's

<sup>1</sup> See my "Early Indian Iconography, Pt. I, Indra", in *Eastern Art*, vol. i, No. 1, 1928.

*Parisiṣṭaparvan* (Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mahā-rāṣṭrī*, p. 32). A certain Pajjoa has made off with one of the palace servants and an image of a Jina; he is captured, and branded on the forehead as a criminal. But as it is a Holyday, the king Udāyana releases him, and invests him with a golden *paṭṭa* at the same time endowing him with a kingdom. The text has *paṭṭo ya suvaṇṇo . . . baddho*, literally "ties on a golden *paṭṭa*". Meyer, translating (*Hindu Tales*, p. 111) has "golden turban". There follows the remark, according to Meyer's rendering, to which I have added the original terms, "From that time on kings were invested with the turban (*paṭṭa-baddha*); before this they were invested with the diadem (*mauḍa-baddha*)."<sup>1</sup> I have always regarded this passage as of interest in connexion with the history of crowns and turbans in India, but had not consulted the original. Now I see that we have here, indeed, an interesting reference to the disuse of turbans, and even a reason assigned, inasmuch as a precedent was established for a different procedure; but nothing is said of crowns or diadems. Here *mauḍa-baddha* is a turban,<sup>1</sup> *paṭṭa-baddha* a frontlet or fillet.

In the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, I, 89, some luxurious monks are blamed because they "tie on the forehead a turban-strip (*unhīsa-paṭṭam*) of the length of a *ratana*, four spans wide, showing the edge of the ends of the hair, like forked lightning on the face of a cloud; (or) they wear a *cūḍamaṇi*".

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere (Hemacandra, *Parisiṣṭaparvan*, Story of Domuḥa, Jacobi p. 39, and Meyer, pp. 139, 140) *mauḍa* alone is used for headdress (in this case presumably a crown, as it is found in good condition while digging the foundations for a *cittasābha*). So also in the story of Saṇaṅkumāra (Jacobi, p. 26, Meyer, p. 85) *mauḍa* is the turban or crown used in the coronation ceremony. It is evident that just as in the Pali texts *cūḍamaṇi veḥḥana* may be contracted to *cūḍamaṇi* or *cūḍā*, so in the Jaina texts *mauḍa-baddha* is the same as *mauḍa-rayana* or simply *mauḍa*; and "turban" or "crown" is to be understood according to the circumstances and contemporary fashion. For similar contractions see Franke, *Kürzungen der Composita in Indischen*, Wiener Zeit. Kunde des Morgenlandes, viii, 1894.

In the Story of Naggai (Meyer, p. 181) where the chief queen is *paṭṭarājā*, this should be rendered "invested with the frontlet", rather than "with the turban" as Meyer has it.



It cannot be denied that a turban could be arranged to conceal a brand on the forehead (cf. Meadows Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug*, World's Classics edition, 1916, p. 501); and that according to the Dictionaries, "turban" or "tiara" is one of the less common meanings of *paṭṭa*. But we have to take into account that in the ancient (cf. *puvvaṃ* of the text) ceremony it was precisely a turban, and not a diadem or crown that was used; and that the primary sense of *paṭṭa* is something flat, and quite often a piece of flat metal, also a frontlet or forehead ornament. It is obvious that a thin gold plate bound on the forehead would conceal the branded letters much more effectively than would the folds of a turban specially tied. I propose to render *paṭṭo suvaṇṇo* "golden frontlet", and the subsequent passage, "From that time on kings were invested with the frontlet; before this they were invested with the turban."

That this interpretation is almost certainly the correct one will appear further from a consideration of the ceremonies of investiture in Ceylon (cf. my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, pp. 209, 302, and pl. xxiii, 3). Sinhalese *paṭabandīnavā* is "to confer a title or office by binding a metal plate on the forehead". Such a plate, whether of silver or plain or jewelled gold, is called a *naḷalpaṭa*. Davy, *Travels in Ceylon*, p. 163, describes in some detail the coronation of a Sinhalese king, in which the principal ceremonies were the girding on of the State Sword, and the tying of the inscribed *naḷalpaṭa* on the king's forehead. It is true that I cannot cite a corresponding ceremony in India,<sup>1</sup> but I have little doubt it could be traced; and if not, it would only follow that Hemacandra's comment dating from the third quarter of the twelfth century, had reference to the introduction of a temporary fashion which survived only in Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> The subject of *paṭas* is treated at some length in Varāha Mīkha's *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (ed. Kern, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1865, p. 241). The dimensions, etc., are given of *paṭas* proper for kings, Yuvarājas and Senāpatīs; the *paṭa* is to be made of pure gold.



FIG. 1.—Bodhisattva (Buddha): Kapardin type.



FIG. 2.—The cōḍānaka enshrined.



FIG. 4.—Bodhisattva or donor.



FIG. 8.—The cōḍānaka enshrined.







FIG. 5.—Bodhisattva?



FIG. 6.—Head of Śiva.



FIG. 7.—Side view of Fig. 5.



FIG. 8.—"Coronation" of the Buddha.





## EXPLANATION OF PLATES IV AND V

## PLATE IV

FIG.

- 1.—Head of seated Bodhisattva (Buddha) image, Kaṭrā Mound, Mathurā, A. 1 in the Mathurā Museum. For the entire figure see Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus., Mathura*, pl. vii, or *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 84.
- 2.—The Cūḍāmaha: detail from a Kuṣāna pediment from Mathurā, J. 1. in the Mathurā Museum. For the whole pediment, see *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1906-7, pl. lvi.
- 3.—The cūḍāmaha enshrined and worshipped; Gandhāra relief from Jamālgarhi. After Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 99.
- 4.—Head of a Bodhisattva, or donor, showing the Kuṣāna turban. From Mathurā, now B. 88 in the Lucknow Museum. For the whole figure see *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 77.

## PLATE V

- 5.—Turbaned head of a seated Buddha, or Bodhisattva, Kuṣāna, Mathurā, now belonging to Messrs. Yamanaka. For the whole figure see *H.I.I.A.*, fig. 87.
  - 6, 7.—Front and side view of a head of Śiva, from Mathurā, late Kuṣāna, showing the turban; belonging to E. Brummer, Paris.
  - 8.—Coronation of the Buddha, Gupta relief, from the façade of the caitya-hall at Kārli.
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## The Legend of the kiškanu

By S. LANGDON

IN *Cuneiform Texts* of the British Museum, vol. xvi, 46, 183-204, occurs, in the body of the text of a long incantation, including a legend of the Fire God, Gibil, and the seven devils, the well-known legend of the plant *kiškanû*, which is otherwise unknown in medical and magical texts. The bilingual text in six long columns has been admirably pieced together by Dr. R. C. Thompson, who also gave an edition in *Devils and Evil Spirits*, vol. i, 184-201. It had been previously edited in both editions of iv, Rawlinson, pl. 15, but without several duplicates and joins latterly made by Thompson. The lines concerning the *giš-kin* = *kiškanû* plant occur in the middle of Rev. I. A great many editions of this legend have been made; for the literature on earlier editions, see Dhorme's translation in his *Choix de Textes Religieux*, 98; Ebeling in Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 328. All editions suffered from one defect; they were based upon the *Accadian* text, which is not original and is often an incorrect version of the Sumerian. That the legend is originally of Sumerian origin is clear from the Sumerian tablet from Susa published by Dr. Leon Legrain in *Délégation en Perse*, xiv, 125, No. 9, and photograph, pl. xi. By comparing the two texts the similarity of phrases and style is at once evident. In contrast to these editions, Mr. C. J. Gadd gave an edition of CT. xvi, 46, in his *Sumerian Reading Book*, 165, which he correctly based upon the Sumerian text.

*giš-kin* passed into *Accadian* as *kiškanû*; this is clear from *giš-gan abzu-gin* "like the *kiškanû* of the nether-sea", Gudea, Cyl. A. 21, 22. Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de Textes*, 21 Obv. 4, has *giš-kin* after *kur-gi-rin* = *kurkânû*, crocus. "giš-kin, Pinches, *Amherst*, 7 Rev. 1. An unpublished Kish tablet, var. of Delitzsch, AL.<sup>2</sup>, 87, ii, 39 + AJSL. 34, 63, l. 39, has "gu-za *giš-kin*, a chair made of *kiškanû*. Hence this word designates some kind of tree, or plant which bears seed.



In view of the older version, of which some lines are missing or defaced, a new edition of the bilingual text may be useful. Originally this legend was an independent composition on the Susa tablet, and belonged to a great series called *é-nu-ru*.

## SUSA TABLET

*Obverse*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. [én é-]nu-ru  | 1. Incantation of the house of Nuru. <sup>1</sup>  |
| 2. [lugal] giš-kìn-dím                                     | 2. The king, creator of the <i>kiškanû</i> ,   |
| 3. [kiskil] mú-a   | 3. who caused it to grow <sup>2</sup> in a clean place,  |
| 4. <sup>4</sup> En-ki giš-kìn-dím                          | 4. Enki, creator of the <i>kiškanû</i> ,   |
| 5. kiskil mú-a   | 5. who caused it to grow <sup>2</sup> in a clean place,  |
| 6. kur ku-du-a-ni <sup>3</sup> kur ġe-gál sùg <sup>4</sup> | 6. in the nether world, where it abides, in the nether world—loading it with desirable things, |
| 7. ki-du-du-ni giš-gig-bi                                  | 7. where it abides, whose shadow   |
| 8. apin- <sup>5</sup> zagin-na-gim                         | 8. like the <i>apin</i> of lazuli  |
| 9. ab-šag-ga lá-a <sup>6</sup>                             | 9. stretches over the midst of the sea,  |

<sup>1</sup> I.e. of Enki. On *nuru* = *nunurru* = Enki, v. JSOR, v, 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> CT. 16, 46, 183, *kiskil-tu mú-a* = *ina ašri ibbani*. Rather *mú* = *ayá ša iqi*. Sumerian has participial construction.

<sup>3</sup> Var. 187, *ki-du-du-a-ni* "where it stands", abides. For *kur* = *irpitu*, Var. has *eridug*-(*ki*)-ga, Eridu.

<sup>4</sup> Var. 187, *ġegal-si-ga-am*, and *sùg-sùg-ga-a*. Cf. *ġe-gál sùg-ga*, in the *Hymn of Eridu*, AJSL. 39, 167, 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Apin* "plough", but there is a mythological meaning here which is obscure. In PBS. x, 189, 14, the *AL* instrument is described, [*giš-gig*]-ba *apin-zagin-kam*, whose shadow is like the *apin* of lazuli, and in Raw. iv, 5, No. 22, 4, the temple of Kish is called *a-pi-in lág-ga* = *apinnu ibbu*. Var. 193 compares the shadow of the house of the River God to *šitir* = *kidu* "forest". Since *apin* certainly contains the word *a*, water, and *APIN*(*uru*) = *eridu*, irritate, and *APIN-tu* = *eristu*, *meristu*, verdure (Th. Dangin, *Rituels*, 138, 304), it is possible that *apin* = *kidu*, forest.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Var. 185; and *giš-gig-zu ab-šag-ga lá-a*, AJSL. 39, 167, 19.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 10. <i>lugal giš-kin-dim</i>             | 10. the king, creator of the<br><i>kiškanu</i> ,   |
| 11. <i>kiskil-e ib-mu-a-gim</i>          | 11. when he caused it to grow<br>in a clean place, |
| 12. <i><sup>a</sup>En-ki giš-kin-dim</i> | 12. Enki, creator of the <i>kiškanu</i> ,          |
| 13. <i>kiskil-e ib-mu-a-gim</i>          | 13. when he caused it to grow<br>in a clean place, |
| 14. . . .                                | 14. . . .  |

## Reverse

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. . . . <i>ga-gim</i>                            | 1. . . .  |
| 2. . . . <i>la</i>                                | 2.  |
| 3. . . . <i>ka-mà</i>                             | 3. . . . my . . .                                 |
| 4. [ <i>ú</i> ?]- <i>na-te</i> ?- <i>gi-šú</i>    | 4. forever (?)                                    |
| 5. <i>še-ib-gál</i>                               | 5. may it be.                                     |
| 6. <i>mú-dug-ga</i>                               | 6. The incantation of                             |
| 7. <i><sup>a</sup>Nin-ġabu(r)-du</i> <sup>1</sup> | 7. Ninġaburdu which (9) is                        |
| 8. <i>mu</i> <i><sup>a</sup>Ninà</i>              | 8. in the name of Ninà,                           |
| 9. <i>al-me-a</i> <sup>2</sup>                    |   |
| 10. <i>ga-nun</i> <i><sup>a</sup>En-ki-ka</i>     | 10. in the ritual chamber <sup>3</sup> of<br>Enki |
| 11. . . . [End of the tablet]                     | 11. ( <i>upon it they cast.</i> )                 |

(At least one line missing, corresponding to Var. 200.)

<sup>1</sup> Written *A-BU-ĤA-DU*, as in OBL 87, i, 32, where a Var. has *A-BU-ŠI-DU*, i.e. *ši-bu(r)-du*, hence *ĥa-bûr* > *ši-bûr* in *A-ĤA-(ki) = ťubaru*, BL 115, n. 2. This name is usually written *Nin-ĥabur-sil-du*, CT. 25, 49, Rev. 1. Since the Var. in OBL 87 removes all doubt concerning the reading *ĥabur* > *ĥibur* for *A-ĤA*, and CT. 25, 49, Rev. 1 explains the name by *bēlit tēliti* and *bēlitu ōlikat sulē* [*ťubari* ?] "she that walks the street of [*ťubaru*, lower world], *sil-du* must = *ālikat sulē*. In *A-BU-ĤA-DU*, BU or *sir* is either a gloss on A(bur), i.e. *ĥa-bu = ĥabur*, or it is a variant of *sil = sir = sulā*. For A(pu), v. Br. 11444, *nar A-rat*, i.e. *Purat*, and Boissier, *Choix*, 192, 16. But if *bu* be taken as a gloss on A then there is no word for *sulā* "street", in the name, and it is written *Nin-A-ĤA-BU-TAR-DU* in RA. 20, 99, iii, 2. I take *bu* as a gloss on A, and suppose that the original word was *Nin-ġa-bur-du* "Queen that walks in Ĥabur", and that *sil* "street" is a later addition. See BL 115, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. AJSL. 28, 226, § 52, 15.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to *ē-kug-ga-a-ni-ta = ina bitu ellu*, Var. 193. For the mythological chamber of Enki *ina nagab apsi*, v. CT. 16, 15, B. 24.



## ASSYRIAN BILINGUAL VERSION

CT. 16, 46, 183-204

183. én : Eridug-ki giš-kin- 183. In Eridu, having caused  
gig-e <sup>1</sup> kiskil-ta-mú-a the dark *kiškānū*-tree to  
grow in a clean place,<sup>2</sup>
184. ina E-ri-du kiš-ku-nu-ú 184. [In Eridu the dark  
šal-mu ir-bi ina aš-ri *kiškānū*-tree grew up,  
el-lu ib-ba-ni in a clean place it was  
created.]
185. mûš-me-bi <sup>na</sup>zagin-a(m) 185. having caused it, whose  
abzu-ta lá-e <sup>3</sup> appearance is like lapis  
lazuli, to stretch forth  
upon the nether sea,
186. zi-mu-šu uk-nu-u ib-bi šá 186. [Its appearance was like  
a-na apsî tar-šu the blue lapis lazuli,  
which stretches forth  
upon the nether sea.]
187. <sup>4</sup>En-ki-ge ki-<sup>4</sup>du-du-a-ta 187. Enki filled it, where it  
Eridu-(ki)-ga ġe gál si-  
ga-ám abides, with luxuriance in  
Eridu.
188. šá <sup>1a</sup>E-a tal-lak-ta-šu ina 188. [Its habitat <sup>5</sup> in Eridu (is)  
E-ri-du hegalli ma-la-  
a-ti filled with luxuriance by  
Enki.] <sup>6</sup>
189. ki-ku-a-na ki ġilib-ám 189. Where it dwells is the  
place of the underworld.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the "dark *kiškānū*", distinguished from the white, red, yellow, varieties, MVAG. 1913, 2, p. 14, i, 7-11; hence Thompson and Pearson, suggest *astralagus*, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, i, p. lviii.

<sup>2</sup> Subject *Enki*, in l. 187. Same syntax in Susa tablet, 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Var. *ní-lá-e*, which construes the line as a relative phrase, but the verb should then be subjunctive, *ní-lá-a*.

<sup>4</sup> Var. has *ki* "where", omitted by other texts. Susa tablet, 6-7, *ku-du-a-ni* (vowel harmony), and *ki-du-du-ni*, which is better. The syntax demands a suffixed inflection *ni* in this relative form. See *Sum. Gr.*, § 183.

<sup>5</sup> "Where it stands, lives."

<sup>6</sup> The Accadian syntax is difficult. *malāti* is construed with *tallakta-šu*, but then *ša Ea tallakta-šu* is construed by analogy of Sumerian syntax (anticipative construct § 138), as "Of Ea- his habitat"! I cannot find an example of *ša* used as a substitute for agency, "by", but it is employed

190. *šu-bat-su a-šar ir-ši-tim-ma* 190. [Its abode is the place of the underworld.]
191. *ki-ná-a-[na] itima* <sup>d</sup>Nam- 191. Where it lies is the dark  
mu-ám <sup>1</sup> chamber of the River Goddess.
192. *ki-iš-šu-šu ma-iā-lu šá* <sup>1st</sup> 192. [Its chamber is the bed  
Nammu <sup>1</sup> of the River Goddess.]
193. *é-kug-ga-a-ni-ta* <sup>st</sup>tir giš- 193. In its holy house, casting  
gíg lá-e šag-bi galu nu- its shadow like a forest,  
mu-un-du <sup>2</sup>tu-tu-ne <sup>2</sup> wherein no man has entered,
194. *i-na bitu el-lu šá ki-ma* 194. [In its holy house, which  
*kiš-ti giš-la-šu tar-šu ana* casts its shadow like a  
*libbi-šu man-ma la ir-ru-* forest, wherein no one  
*bu* has entered,]
195. *šag* <sup>d</sup>Utu <sup>d</sup>Ama- 195. wherein are Shamash and  
ušumgal-an-na-ge <sup>3</sup> Tammuz,
196. *ina ki-ri-bi-šu* <sup>1st</sup>Šamaš 196. [= 195.]  
<sup>1st</sup>Dumu-zi
197. *ri-ba-an-na id ka-min-a-ta* 197. at the junction of the  
river of the two mouths,
198. *ina bi-rit pi-i na-ra-[a-ti]* 198. [between the mouths of  
*ki-lal-la-an* the two rivers,]
199. <sup>d</sup>Ka-ge-gál <sup>d</sup>Igi-ge-gál 199. the gods Kahegal, Igihegal  
[<sup>d</sup>La-ğa-ma-ab-zu and [Lahama-abzu of  
Eridu-(ki)-ga] Eridu] <sup>4</sup>

as substitute for the instrumental case, *ša hu-ra-ši epu-šu* (who) made it with gold, KAH. ii, 103, 6, etc. The Sumerian construction is adopted in Ebeling's translation, and the Accadian instrumental use of *ša* is adopted by Thompson as in my translation. The Susa tablet still goes on with the participial construction and the independent verb is broken away, Obv. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Also <sup>d</sup>Id, possible.

<sup>2</sup> *du*, by vowel harmony for *da*, *Sum. Gr.*, § 57; *ne* emphatic suffix in both independent and dependent verbal forms. Cf. Susa tablet, Obv. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> On this ophidian title of Tammuz, v. *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 114 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Restored from K. 4147, 7-8, in RA. 17, 132. <sup>d</sup>Ka-ge-gál-la occurs in CT. 24, 37, 97 in a list of inferior deities of the court of Nergal. For <sup>d</sup>Igi-ge-gál, the text (by Thompson and Gadd) has *igi-dumu-gál*; this reading



- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>200. giš-kin-bi šu-im-ma-an-<br/>pag ugu-[ba tū abzu-ge<br/>im-ma-an-si-gi-eš]</p> <p>201. <sup>11a</sup>Kahegal <sup>11a</sup>Igihegal<br/><sup>11a</sup>Laḥama-abzu ša Eridu<br/>kiškānū šu-[a-tu ušširu]</p> <p>202. šī-pat ap-si-i id-[du-u]</p> <p>203. sag lili pap-ḡal-la-gà ba-ni-<br/>in-gar-[ri-eš]</p> <p>204. ina ri-eš amēli mut-tal-li-ku<br/>iš-ku-[nu]</p> | <p>200. designed this <i>kiškānū</i> and<br/>[cast] upon it [the<br/>incantation of the deep.] <sup>1</sup></p> <p>201. [= 200.]</p> <p>202. [= 200.]</p> <p>203. They placed it at the<br/>head of the sick man.</p> <p>204. [= 203.]</p> |
|---|--|

...

...<sup>2</sup>

must be an error; for CT. 24, 29, 107, A-B, and Var. 17, 60-1, have *Ka-ḡe-gāl* and *Igi-ḡe-gal*, among the eight watchmen, (*ni-duḡ*) of Enki, who are clearly identical with the deities in line 199 and on K. 4147. The old copy of CT. 24, 17, in ii Raw. 56, 61-2, had the same error, and it is repeated in Brünnow, Nos. 642, 9321; and by Deimel, *Pantheon*, No. 1654. The same pair recurs in the old Sumerian list, RA. 20, 98, iii, 4-5 with *La-ḡa-ma-abzu* as on K. 4147 and CT. 24, 29, 112, has <sup>4</sup>*La-ḡa-ma-abzu* (text *ḡa-la-ma*!) *amēlu ḡa'it Eridu* "watchman of Eridu", Sum. *galu-e*. *Laḥama-abzu* is apparently a male deity, but *Laḥama* is a female, v. Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, 68, n. 3. Note *Laḥamun* = *Zarbanit* of Dilmun, CT. 25, 35, 12. K. 4147 has a similar *é-nu-ru* incantation:—"2. Go thou (Marduk) 3. to the god Kulla go (O Marduk), 4. go thou to the river, which makes glad the heart, 5. go thou to the house of the deep, which makes happy the heart; 6. when thou enterest into the deep may Kahegal, Igihegal and Laḥama-abzu pray for thee. 10. When thou to Enki, thy father, and Damgalnunna, thy mother . . ."

<sup>1</sup> For *HU*(pag) = *eširu*, v. Zimolong, *Ass.* 523, iv, 34. The verb should be plural, *pag-eš*. The restoration *tū*, for *šiptu*, depends upon whether *abzu* is employed in the sense of a deity *Apsū*; for *tū* is used of deities only. Gadd's restoration *nam-šub* is also possible.

<sup>2</sup> The text then reverts to the ordinary description of the demons. In line 207, read *šu-dib-ba-igi-bi* = *šābit ḡati pani-šu*.

## Assyriological Notes

By SIDNEY SMITH

### A BABYLONIAN FERTILITY CULT

THE nature and the religious meaning of the construction called a *gigunu* have long been disputed. Its close association with the *ziggurra*<sup>1</sup> or temple tower has led one scholar to assume the identity of the two as probable,<sup>2</sup> its association with graves has led another to suppose that the *ziggurra* was a *gigunu* as being the tomb of the god,<sup>3</sup> while yet a third denies that *gigunu* signifies "place of burial", and translates simply "sanctuary".<sup>4</sup>

The close connexion with the *ziggurra* which appears in other texts, for instance in one of Nabonidus, is best illustrated by Samsu-iluna's Sippar inscription, which reads:—E.BAR uddiṣ U.NIR *gigunaṣu ṣiram reṣiṣa kima ṣame ulli* "I restored the temple-complex of Shamash; I raised the head of the *ziggurra*, its lofty *gigunu*, like heaven".<sup>5</sup> The description of the *ziggurra* as a lofty *gigunu* implies two things, firstly that a *gigunu* was not in every case lofty, secondly that the *ziggurra* or part of the *ziggurra* was a *gigunu*, which might be the dwelling of one, two, or more gods; Samsu-iluna, immediately after the statement already quoted, says, "I caused Shamash,

<sup>1</sup> I retain this form arbitrarily; the only syllabic spelling favours *z*, and the second consonant is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Gadd in *JRAS.*, 1925, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Hilprecht, *Exploration in Bible Lands*, p. 469.

<sup>4</sup> Thureau-Dangin in *RA.*, xxii, p. 176, note 9. There will be found the hymn to Ishtar constantly referred to in this article. Such unwarranted renderings as "Grabmal" (Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i, 312) are not here considered.

<sup>5</sup> Not, I think, meaning "as high as heaven" here, though that may sometimes be included in the expression, but definitely "after the manner of heaven", implying that the construction of the temple tower resembled the structure of the upper world. This avoids imputing a ridiculous exaggeration to the phrase.



Adad, and Ai to enter in to their holy seat <sup>1</sup> with joy and exultation." Similarly in a hymn to Ishtar there is a double verse which reads :—

*ramūma ištiniš parakkam*  
*i gēgunnim šubat rišatim*  
*muttiššun ilu nazu(i)zzu*  
*ipšiš bišunu bašīwa uznašun.*

" They (Ishtar and Anu) abode together in the chapel, in the *gigunu* that is the seat of joy ; before them the gods are standing, paying attention to their utterances." But the only part of a *ziggurat* which was not solid must have been the top stage, and the shrine with a chapel in it, of which the top stage of a *ziggurat* consisted, is accordingly the part denominated by Samsu-iluna " a lofty *gigunu* ".

Herodotus had some information as to the nature of this chapel. He says that the top stage of the great tower at Babylon had a large shrine on it, in which there was a bed, ready for use, and a golden table, but no statue. The only person allowed to sleep there was a Babylonian woman, chosen by the god ; on occasion, the god would visit the shrine and repose on the bed. The oracle was not there always, but when it was, the god spent the nights in the shrine with the woman. Herodotus' statement can now be compared with facts known from Babylonian sources. A Nabonidus text gives a long account of Sin's desire for a particular kind of priestess, indicated by an eclipse, and the choice of the king's daughter as priestess by omens, to fulfil that desire ; it would seem that the lady was intended for exactly the purpose described by Herodotus. The points of immediate importance for the present inquiry are, that the chapel was forbidden all except a specially chosen mortal,

<sup>1</sup> The presence of three gods in one single abode, in view of the relation of male and female goddesses in the *gigunu*, is surprising. But Shamash and Adad were very closely connected at the time of the Amorite dynasty of Babylon (see Jastrow, *Religion*, i, p. 148), perhaps owing to Western beliefs, since the name Shamshi-Adad appears to belong to the people of the Middle Euphrates. This subject needs a full reconsideration.

as a resting place, though access was not necessarily debarred for other purposes, and that the god took his pleasure there. These deductions might only be true for the late period ; but the evidence of early inscriptions shows that they hold true of the *gigunu* from the earliest times. Thus the hymn to Ishtar, which, in its extant form, dates from the reign of Ammi-ditana about 1830 B.C., calls the *gigunu* "a seat of joy" ; Samsu-iluna at an earlier date spoke of bringing gods into the *gigunu* in glad procession. The kind of gladness indicated cannot, I think, be in question ; the expressions used resemble very closely those also employed of the *bit akiti*, the shrine of the New Year's Festival. That the *gigunu* was a secret place is known from a text which says, "They (the enemies) have looked on the *gigunu*, the place which should not be looked on, they have seen the *aralu* (the infernal region), the place which should not be seen." The name *gigunu*, a loan-word from Sumerian meaning "dark dwelling", is derived from this secret nature of the construction. The outside of the shrine on top of the *ziggurra*t was clearly visible to all ; the term *gigunu* must refer specifically to the inside, or even, perhaps, to a construction in the shrine.

The shrine which formed the top stage of a tower was unquestionably built of brick-work. Gudea built a *gigunu* in the temple-complex E.NINNU at Lagash of cedar. Hammurabi in the proemium to the Code calls himself *mušalbiš warqim gigunē (ilu) Ai* "he who cloaks the *gigunus* of Ai, the consort of the Sun-god, in greenery". That would seem to indicate the treatment of the *gigunu* as a bower. The *ziggurra*t was planted with trees on the lower stages at least<sup>1</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> On this subject see *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 56-7. The garden round the New Year Festival House at the city of Ashur clearly belongs to the same cycle of ideas. My colleague, Mr. Gadd, takes another, very possible, view of *mušalbiš warqim gigunē (ilu) Ai*. Adducing the use of *argu* for the colour "blue", he would translate "covering the *gigunus* of Ai with blue", supposing that Hammurabi means that he built the top stages of certain temple towers with blue-glazed bricks just as Nabonidus



if the shrine forming the top stage was decorated like a bower with branches on certain festal occasions, it would be a suitable "seat of joy" for the goddess. The same idea may have led to the cedar construction, but that is possibly to be explained as a light wooden construction of the canopy type over a bed. It must not be assumed that a *gigunu* was always built of cedar, or was always cloaked in greenery; it may have been. The *gigunu* was, then, a shrine containing at least one chapel, perhaps more, variously constructed and decorated, probably of no very considerable size when forming the top stage of a *ziggurra*t, or a cedar construction so built that it was internally a "dark place", which may have been treated as a bower.

As to the furniture of this shrine on the *ziggurra*t, some information may be derived from the tablet discovered by George Smith and fully published by Father Scheil, which mentions as one of the *papahani*, "sacred chambers," of E.TEMEN.AN.KI, the *ziggurra*t of the temple of Marduk at Babylon, an E.GIŠ.NAD, *bi*t *irši* "the temple of the bed". The account given by Herodotus on this point is clear, and leaves no doubt that the shrine with a bed in it connected with a *ziggurra*t was the chapel on top; Koldewey's argument that all the 6 *papahani* formed a single building, the top stage of the tower, is probably correct. That information is to be connected with the bower-like decoration already noted, and the connubial character of the god's visit to the chapel. That the chapel on the *ziggurra*t had this character can be proved for much earlier times than the period to which the Smith text and the description given by Herodotus belong. On one of his statues, Gudea says he built E.PA, the house of the seven quarters (clearly a description of a tower) and

did. There are, to my mind, two objections; I doubt whether *wargu* in the adjectival sense "blue" fits here, some concrete substance is required, and we have no proof that blue-glazed bricks could be designated simply *wargu*; secondly, though the excavations at Ur have revealed very early use of glaze, the blue-glazing of bricks in the manner indicated in the time of Hammurabi would indicate a more advanced technique at an earlier period than we have as yet a right to assume.

therein placed the wedding presents of the goddess Bau, on another that he brought the wedding presents on New Year's Day; and on one of the cylinders, that the goddess lay down on the couch with Ningirsu to rest, and thereby the fertility of the city of Lagash was promoted. On yet another statue it is the god Ningirsu that brought the wedding gifts to Bau, his beloved wife. It is a fair inference that Gudea as the city governor played the part of Ningirsu. Herodotus' Babylonian priestess played the same part as is assigned to the goddess Bau by Gudea. The same kind of human representation of the divine being is indicated.<sup>1</sup>

The *gigunu* was a name applied to the "lofty" chapel on the *ziggurrat*. There were also *gigunus* below ground level. This is certain from a text of Sennacherib, who, when explaining the changes he made in the old site at Nineveh, says that he altered the course of (*naru*) *Tebiltu agu šamru šitmuru ša ina našiša gigunie qabalti ali uabbituma kimahhišun nakmuti* (V. *pazruti*) *ukallimu (ilu) šamši u ultu ume ruquti tih ekalli iba'uma ina mīliša gapši ina uššiša abbu ušabšū uribbu tim-menša* "the *Tebiltu*, a violent, raging stream, which, by its carrying away (soil), destroyed the *gigunus* in the middle of the city and revealed their piled (V. hidden) tombs to the sun; and from distant days sought access to the palace, and caused damage by its mighty flood in its (inner) foundation,<sup>2</sup> and caused its foundation deposit to disappear".<sup>3</sup> The damage caused by the *Tebiltu* was in every case below ground level; there lay the foundation deposit, the (inner) foundation, the tombs, and, we must conclude, the *gigunus*.

The centre of any city in Babylonia or Assyria was a holy quarter, occupied by the temple-complex and the royal

<sup>1</sup> During the New Year Festival at Babylon, Marduk was represented by a statue, by the king, and perhaps also by the chief priest; Nabu was a statue or a priest, and so with the others. Strictly logical attitudes on this question are probably required only by the modern mind.

<sup>2</sup> On *uššu* see Gadd, *Ur Excavations. Texts*, i, No. 126, and Woolley in *Antiquaries Journal*, vi, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Translate so, not "destroyed its foundation", Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 99.



buildings. The *gigunus* below ground level in the centre of the old site at Nineveh had, therefore, in all probability a sacred character, as the *gigunu* on the *ziggurra*t had. The noteworthy point is the close connexion of tombs with the *gigunus*; these tombs are described as belonging to the *gigunus*, as is to my mind clear from the use of the pronoun, which cannot refer to anything else. These were not burials in an accidental relation with the *gigunus*, arising from the use of ground which had once been sacred, then neglected, for interments; Sennacherib recognized the close connexion of the burials with the chambers, and was in a position to know the true facts of the matter. Excavations have shown that Babylonians and Assyrians in the late period buried the dead under the floor of houses and of palaces; there is no proof that they buried the dead in temples, though tombs of later periods frequently occur on temple sites previously deserted. Cemeteries were often situated near special shrines; the case of the temple at Nin-hursag at Ur, which has been adequately explained by Mr. Gadd, is one example out of many. The tombs belonging to the *gigunus*, in the centre of the city, must have had a special character. Since they were "piled", they were numerous; since they were "hidden", the secret nature of the *gigunu* was a feature of the underground, as well as of the "lofty", *gigunu*. Of the nature of the construction of the underground *gigunu* we learn only that it was such that the action of flowing water ruined it, and that is not very instructive.

The *gigunu* might be "lofty" or below ground level. In this respect the term corresponded in a remarkable manner with another expression. We have already seen reason to locate the E.PA spoken of by Gudea on top of the *ziggurra*t. But there was another E.PA at Babylon, identical with the construction called E.GIŠ.NIG.PA.KALAMA.SUM.MA "the house of Nabu of the *haru* (V. *hariru*)", according to Nabonidus, who says, "I entered E.NIG.PA.KALAMA.SUM.MU, and in the presence of Nabu, who has lengthened

my reign, I made my hands to grasp the sceptre of righteousness, the shuttle of truth." The name seems to be descriptive of the ceremony performed, which symbolized the granting of royalty to the king. The same ceremony was performed at the *gigunu*. The hymn to Ishtar, after the passage which states that Anu and Ishtar abode together in the *gigunu*, proceeds to relate that Ammiditana made certain sacrifices; Ishtar then, after asking Anu for a long life for Ammiditana, granted him that boon, just as Nabu lengthened Nabonidus' reign, and made all countries submit to his rule. But just as Anu and Ishtar were together in the case of Ammiditana in the *gigunu*, so Nabu and Tashmetum were together on their festival days in the *bīt irši*, the house with a bed in it, which might be called E.PA, celebrating their marriage.<sup>1</sup> The E.GIŠ.NIG.PA.KALAMA.SUM.MA at Babylon lay somewhere on the sacred processional way, and I have elsewhere compared it with the *bīt hiri ša babi* "the house of the *hiru* of the gate" at Erech, where the resurrection or "upstanding" *tabu*, of the Ishtar of Erech took place. "The house of Nabu of the *harū*" (V. *hariru*) and "the house of the *hiru* of the gate" have long remained mysterious, because the word *harū* has been associated with the name of a kind of vessel; but I have no hesitation in deriving the noun *harū* or *hiru* from the root *harū* "to dig", *hariru* from *hararu* "to dig out", translating "ditch", and supposing that the word was applied to a particular shape of vessel secondarily.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Pallis, *Babylonian akitu Festival*, a work to which I am greatly indebted in this article.

<sup>2</sup> The word, in the form *hariu*, also occurs in a difficult text which describes and explains certain mimetic actions in the ritual of the New Year Festival to which Zimmern first drew attention. The particular passage reads *šarru ša hariu ina lieni ipattū (ilu) Marduk ša ina ušarišu par (?) rak (?) hi (?) . . .* "the king who opens a ditch with a *lienu* is Marduk who when he proceeded straight along, the shrine (?) of . . ." Zimmern read *ibattu*, and translated "zerschmeisst"; but *ipattu* is a more natural transliteration. One "opens" a ditch as one "opens" a canal or a road, in Akkadian idiom. There is no proof that *hariu* here stands for (*karpāt*) *haris* and the omission of the determinative seems to me improbable. *lienu*



The term E. PA or the like could, then, be applied to the chapel on top of the temple tower or to a "house of the ditch of the gate" or "the house of Nabu of the ditch", that is to a construction below ground level. The features of the ceremonies conducted at the E. PA are: (1) the sacred marriage of the god and goddess (who might be represented by human beings), (2) the granting of long rule and the royal sceptre to the king; while the structure E. PA may be on the temple tower or in a ditch. So also at the *gigunu* there was (i) a divine conubium, (ii) a granting of a long life and the submission of enemies to the king; while the word *gigunu* may describe the top stage of the temple tower or constructions below ground level. The parallelism is, for me, convincing, and if the nature of the two terms be considered it seems probable that they are descriptive of buildings of the same type and religious significance. The one describes its secret nature, the other refers to the ceremony of investiture with the sceptre. Distinctive uses of the terms may have varied at different periods. Gudea distinguishes between *gigunu* and E. PA; it is possible that he reserved *gigunu* for the underground, E. PA for the upper, construction. Whether above or below, the construction of which these terms were employed was a *bit irši*, a chamber with a bed in it, required for the specific purpose to which it was put.<sup>1</sup>

remains a puzzle. If it may be compared with Arabic *لين* "tongue-shaped", "pointed", the implement intended may have been a special kind of spade. In favour of this view may be urged the possible transliteration *par(?) - rak(?)*; the signs prohibit Zimmern's interpretation. But I have no confidence in these suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> There were some other names for a "house of the bed". In a New Babylonian inscription, unfortunately badly broken, there is an instructive passage concerning some such place under different names, *iltu rehit abul (ilu) šamaš adi kiakki belti in šarrani abea kirbašu ipušu ganuni talaktašu la šuddulat la dummugu šibiršu in gušur erini baru zulušša šu egal šuatim šubat hidatim. . . .*; ". . . from the place of the gate of Shamash as far as the *kiakku* wherein the kings my fathers made a *ganunu*, its way was not broad, its workmanship was not good, its roof was made of cedar-beams — of that great house, a seat of joy . . ." From this it is clear that the *kiakku* was a building which contained a *ganunu*, that a prepared way led

Most Babylonian deities, and certainly the fertility goddess who, under various names, acted as consort to different gods, spent their time partly in the upper world, partly in the lower, sharing in this respect a characteristic of many gods elsewhere, whether they be astral or gods of vegetation. The chapel on top of the temple tower served as the god's place of *conubium* to create fertility in a city when he was in heaven; the god when in the lower world required a similar chamber underground. The ceremonies conducted at such a chapel resembled very closely the ceremonies enacted at the New Year Festival at Babylon, as they are known from texts of a late date. The *īepòs γάμος* to create fertility,<sup>1</sup> the granting of long life and the royal insignia to the king or governor are the most important features for comparison. There is yet a third. At the New Year Festival at Babylon events were spread over different days, and were finally followed by the mimic enactment of the resurrection of Marduk. At Erech we have seen that the resurrection of Ishtar of Erech took place at the "house of the ditch", which may be identified with the *gigunu*. The correspondence is very close.

As to the site of the underground *gigunus*, Sennacherib simply informs us that they were in the centre of the city, that is in, or very near to, the holy quarter. The foregoing argument has led to the view that they were called "houses of the ditch of the gate", that is they were situated just outside the temenos wall, by an entrance. There is a passage in Ashurbanipal's narrative of the sack of Susa, which seems to me to be relevant:—

to it from a gateway, and that it was "a seat of joy". The word *ganunu* probably means "bedchamber", and *kisikku* was a term closely associated with goddesses resting. The GA.NUN.MAH or "great *ganunu*", described as a *biṭ hilṣi* "treasure(?)-house", lay within the temenos at Ur, and the inscription mentioned seems to be speaking of a similar *ganunu*, since it describes the *kisikku* as an *egallu*. It would seem that the *ganunu* differed in location and nature from the *gigunu* or E.P.A.

<sup>1</sup> This feature, fully discussed by Pallis, is also illustrated by the text published by Langdon, *Le Poème Sumérien du Paradis*, the magical character of which has been stressed by King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt*.



*ziqqurra* (alu) *Šušan ša ina aširi (aban) ukni šupušat ubbit ukappira qarne ša pitiq eri namri (ilu) Šušinak il piristišun ša ašbu ina puzrāti ša manman la immaru ipšit ilutišu (ilu) Šumudu (ilu) Lagamaru (ilu) Partikira (ilu) Ammankasibar (ilu) Uduran (ilu) Sapak ša šarrani (mat) Elamti KI iptallahu ilussun (ilu) Ragiba (ilu) Sungursarā (ilu) Šudānu (ilu) Aiapak-sina (ilu) Bīlala (ilu) Panimtimri (ilu) Nabirtu (ilu) Kindakarbu (ilu) Silagarā (ilu) Nabsā ilani ištārati šatunu itti šukuttišunu makkurešunu unutišunu adi (amel) šange (amel) b(p)uhlale ašlula ana (mat) Aššur KI.*

"The temple tower of Susa, which is constructed with an outer covering of blue-glazed bricks I destroyed, the horns,<sup>1</sup> cast of bright copper, I ritually cleansed.<sup>2</sup> I carried away to Assyria the god Shushinak, the god of their oracle who dwells in the hidden parts, the fashioning of whose god-head<sup>3</sup> no one sees (i.e. should see), six gods and goddesses, whose divinity the kings of Elam worship, and twelve others, those gods and goddesses with their treasure, property, gear, together with the *šangu* priests and the *b(p)uhlalu* men." This passage implies that the "hidden parts" in which Shushinak dwelt were opened up in the course of the destruction of the temple tower, and were therefore near to it. The "secret parts", "the fashioning of the god-head no one sees", the description of the god as "of their oracle"<sup>4</sup> remind one forcibly of the character of the *gigunu*; the connexion of the first seven gods with royal

<sup>1</sup> These horns must be compared to the horns of Esagila at Babylon, *Creation Epic*, vi, 49, and many temple towers may have had them, for reasons we do not yet know. Some writers have considered this a peculiar feature at Susa.

<sup>2</sup> The nature of the purification is revealed by a variant, *ušabbira* "I broke"; it was a method as effective as another.

<sup>3</sup> Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. 53, translates "dessen göttliches Wirken"; possible, but one hardly expects Ashurbanipal to attribute efficient power to Elamite gods. The use of *amaru* implies a concrete object, and I understand the reference to be to a statue or the like.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus speaks of χρηστήριον in connexion with the god in the shrine on the tower, a striking testimony to the fact that his account depended on Babylonian priests.

worship is additional inducement to suppose that the "hidden parts" found at Susa were counterparts of the Babylonian *gigunus*, where kings had life prolonged and royalty granted to them. To this may be added the consideration that the places the Assyrian soldiery found were, apparently, in most cases the joint abodes of a god and a goddess. There is then ground for believing that the *gigunus* at Susa were in close proximity to the temple tower. As to the "treasure, property, gear" plundered by the Assyrians, it is impossible to be sure whether any of it came from the "hidden parts"; some of it may well have done so. Bau had wedding presents given to her in the E.P.A, a term for the *gigunu* on the *ziggurra*; as the *conubium* required presents in the upper *gigunu*, it probably also required them in the underground type. We know that Sennacherib made and presented a set of banqueting dishes for the House of the New Year Festival, which was situated in a gully just outside the city of Ashur.

The only passage known to me which throws some light upon the kind of sacrifices offered in connexion with the ceremony when the king went to the *gigunu* is in the hymn to Ishtar. A double-verse in that poem runs:—

*šarrum migrašun naram libbišun*  
*šarhiš it[ta]naqqišunutu niqiašu ellam*  
*Ammiditana ellam niqī gatišu*  
*mahrišun ušebbili<sup>1</sup> u iali namrai.<sup>2</sup>*

"the king, their favourite, the beloved of their hearts, has

<sup>1</sup> Two points are noteworthy: (a) the -i ending, which does occur elsewhere, but is extremely rare; the verbal endings -u (generally subjunctive), -a (generally called "energicus": one scholar would call it "Ventiv", but the conception cannot be applied in all cases) and -i are parallel to the singular case endings of the noun, and stand in the same relation to the indicative as the noun cases to the absolute form. The question has never been adequately discussed; the fact was apprehended by Bertin, *Languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*; (b) the position of the verb, the additional objects being thrown to the end of the sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. acc. of a noun, asyndetic, must indicate another class of animals. Does it perhaps stand for *nimre* "leopards"?



made his holy sacrifice for them in abundance, Ammiditana has caused to be brought before them the holy sacrifice of his hands—and deer, . . . s." The dramatic setting of the poem shows quite clearly that this sacrifice was made at the *gigunu*; Anu and Ishtar, sitting in that chamber, accept the sacrifice, the goddess turns to her husband <sup>1</sup> and requests his permission to grant the king life. The secret character of the *gigunu* forbids the idea that the offerings were made inside; they must, however, have been sacrificed in close proximity to the chamber. Blood offerings of such animals as deer require a very considerable space; it would hardly be possible to make the sacrifice near the *gigunu* on top of the *ziggurrat*, and therefore for this as well as for other reasons, we may assume that the *gigunu* meant was an underground *gigunu*. The blood sacrifices included rare and valuable animals, and were of an exceptional character.<sup>2</sup> The study of comparative religion teaches that such sacrifices are generally survivals of sacrifices more bloody still. The association of tombs with *gigunus* leads us to inquire whether human sacrifice may not have played a part in the rites.

On this subject there is no evidence. Indeed, the whole question of human sacrifice in Babylonia and Assyria is very obscure. At the New Year Festival at Babylon something was bound on the canopy, (*iṣu*)*tallu*, of the Beltis of Babylon, which represented the head of "a sinner", who appears to have accompanied Bel-Marduk into the "mountain" of the underworld and to have been killed; but it is stated thereafter that "the pig-styes which are in front of the route of Nabu as he comes from Borsippa and approaches (Babylon) . . . Nabu who comes, and stands in front of them, those are the sinners who with Bel . . ." It would seem, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> Intercession by the goddess was a constant theme; it is a frequent subject on cylinder seals, and during the time of the Amorite dynasty by far the most common.

<sup>2</sup> Deer and leopards (?) and other game of the kind are not mentioned in connexion with the New Year ceremonies at Babylon, though these are in other respects closely similar to those conducted at the *gigunu*.

that the "sinner" who was slaughtered was in fact a pig.<sup>1</sup> I have elsewhere pointed out that the friezes from Ashurnasirpal's palace at Calah, which show human figures wearing animal head-dress, depict incidents in the New Year Festival, and that the men who were so apparelled were sometimes, if not always, prisoners destined for slaughter,<sup>2</sup> probably by suicide, since they hold daggers to their throats. The conjunction is peculiar, and may point to human sacrifice of men typifying dæmonic beings. For it must be remembered that the New Year Festival celebrated not only the annual grant of sovereignty, the *ἑρὸς γάμος*, and the resurrection of the god and goddess from the underworld, but also the victory of the god over the powers below. If there were such human sacrifice at the New Year Festival, then the tombs which were closely connected with *gigunus* may be due to human sacrifices, in view of the general correspondence of the rites at the *gigunu* to the annual Festival rites. The inference is, of course, by no means conclusive, but it would account for those curious tombs, and for the manner in which *gigunu* was coupled, as has already been noted, with *aralu*.

The analogy of the New Year Festival rites would lead to the supposition that the god and goddess came to the *gigunu* for the *conubium* in a festal procession. We do know in fact from the Samsu-iluna inscription that the gods were inducted into the chapel on top of the temple tower in glad procession; but that may have been a necessary feature of any induction, and cannot be relied upon as a proof that there was such a ceremony at the underground *gigunu*. If there was such a procession, the god (or anyone representing him) would be in

<sup>1</sup> This sacrifice of a pig, when the general character of the New Year Festival as a fertility cult is remembered, forms an odd parallel to the rites at Eleusis. There are amulets from the time of the Amorite dynasty in the form of a pig's head, presumably based on the principle that evil averts evil, as in the case of Pazuzu heads. On an elaborate inlaid frieze from this year's excavation at Ur, a pig's head is carried on the table for the banquet (?).

<sup>2</sup> *JEA.*, viii, 41-4, *RA.*, xxi, 84, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iv, 72, *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii, 91.



full armour, accompanied by warriors, in his chariot; for we know from the scenes that Sennacherib says he had carved on the gates of the Festival House at the city of Ashur that he was there so represented, accompanied by other gods, setting out to overcome the demons of chaos. But the analogy of the rites at the *gigunu* with those of the New Year Festival may not have been complete, and it would be hazardous to assume that there was any such procession as has been indicated to the *gigunu* underground.

No excavator can ever hope to discover intact the *gigunu* which was the top stage of a *ziggurrat*. The *gigunus* that were underground are a different matter; yet nothing found up to the year 1927 corresponds at all with any of the features we have noted in the *gigunu*. In and since 1927 discoveries have been made in the temenos area at Ur, and on the large site which has become popularly known by the general name of Kish, which may throw light on this place of darkness. The tombs excavated by Mr. Woolley at Ur have some very peculiar features, previously unexampled, and they contain objects which place certain questions on a new footing. Since his finds were announced, a tomb of a similar kind has been found at Kish. The date of these tombs is only of importance to us here in so far as it assigns them to a certain epoch of Sumerian culture. The writing shows that they are later than the period of the pictographic tablet from Kish, and than the semi-pictographic stone and clay tablets from Shuruppak and elsewhere; epigraphically, the period closely resembled the era of the First Dynasty at Ur and the Ur-Nina dynasty at Lagash.<sup>1</sup> All the other objects also are, when not of a kind otherwise unexampled, of types which belong to the time of those dynasties. Now it is known from many different sites

<sup>1</sup> This does not conflict with Mr. Woolley's argument that these tombs must, from the circumstances in which they were found, cover a long period. The point here is that culturally these tombs belong to the epoch indicated, and that we know of earlier Sumerian epochs. That there is nothing in the objects themselves to lead to a dating prior to the First Dynasty of Ur, and that the writing is the developed linear style, will be generally agreed.

that the men who lived in this state of civilization buried the dead in cemeteries, in pot or larnax or mat. The tombs here to be considered belong, however, to another class, known elsewhere, but peculiar to the immediate vicinity of temples of their own date. The distinctive characteristic is that they are arched: at Lagash, Nippur, and Ur, the form is a brick vault, but at Ur stone arches have also been found. On general grounds it must be admitted from the occurrence of these graves at the three named sites: (1) that they were used over a large area, and probably over a very lengthy period; (2) that their peculiar characteristic seems to be connected with the location.

Mr. Woolley believes that these tombs are royal tombs. That may be so, though there is nothing in the inscriptions which proves that they are; the personal names found cannot be used as an argument. But the immense wealth of these tombs and the very definite proof of human and unusual animal sacrifices call for some special explanation. Human sacrifice at royal burials is intelligible in primitive times. But there is, to my mind, one very considerable difficulty. Mr. Woolley found the burial of a male and a female, with slaughtered attendants outside. If one was a king, the other was a queen, and Mr. Woolley is disposed to believe that the two tombs were closely connected. Where human sacrifice is practised at a king's tomb, one expects the whole of the royal harim to be included. Human sacrifice at a (widowed?) queen's tomb must be unusual and difficult to explain in an Eastern country. But, more important than this, why did the custom drop out of use? For it never appears in any connexion in this country. We have Assyrian royal tombs, but no trace of human sacrifice; yet we know that the Sumerians of this period had already, in most important respects, fixed a tradition which was permanent. For one Assyrian king, Sennacherib, a holocaust of human victims was demanded by his murder, and his grandson, Ashurbanipal made the sacrifice—not at his tomb, but at



the place<sup>1</sup> where he had been struck down. These difficulties are purely negative, and may easily be explained away. But before the question is regarded as settled, it has seemed to me useful to consider the question from another point of view. For this purpose, I propose to use the evidence chiefly from the two tombs where the human sacrifices were found intact.

The place of these tombs is my first point. They are situated, Mr. Woolley tells me, just outside a wall which he considers the ancient wall of the *temenos*, contemporary with the tombs. The underground *gigunu* appears to have been situated in the ditch outside or near a gate in the *temenos*. The resemblance would be still stronger if we knew whether there was a gate in the ancient wall near these tombs. At Kish, as Professor Langdon has announced, a similar tomb was found close to the terrace wall of a *ziggurrat*. At Susa, Ashurbanipal's soldiery found "hidden places", which seem to have been *gigunus*, close to the *ziggurrat*. The parallel in the actual situations at Ur and at Kish seems to me important, the resemblance to the situation of the "dark dwelling" is incontrovertible.

The two tombs consisted of single brick-built chambers (the double stone chambers of other tombs must be left out of account here) of a kind that would accord with the *gigunu* type of construction.

There are numbers of human bodies in close connexion with these chambers, after the manner of the tombs, described by Sennacherib, belonging to *gigunus*.

Outside the male tomb were soldiers in armour, wagons with complete teams, drivers and equipment, and several ladies in gala attire. For the student of ancient civilization the reckless waste of gear is as remarkable as the savage

<sup>1</sup> The views of Landsberger and Bauer, *ZA. (NF.)*, iii, 67, have not convinced me of their correctness with regard to the use of *ina*; the views expressed about *ina muhhi* (pp. 85-6) are equally peculiar, and the rendering of Mr. Gadd's "at the city" by "in der Stadt" is a "howler".

disregard of human life. Obviously there had been a procession to this place. There was a light vehicle of the sledge type outside the female burial, and a large harp. The accompaniment of music may indicate joy or mourning. Processions to the *gigunu* were joyful. The male attendants of the god would be armed.

There were animal bones, apart from those of the asses, which prove that there were unusual sacrifices at these graves. Such animal sacrifices are to be expected in connexion with a *gigunu*.

The female burial, found intact, revealed a lady lying on a bier, in such an array as leaves little doubt of the aspect in which she was considered. The head-dress, which was of barbaric appearance, consisted of ribbons, leaves, and rings, with a big gold pin which supported mosaic flowers, all of gold. Another head-dress was by her side, of a different kind, as though intended for the partner of her couch, who had left for another place before (or during) the slaughter; it consisted of a leather fillet from which hung amulets in the shape of rams, bulls, ibexes, and stags,<sup>1</sup> as well as ears of corn, bunches of pomegranates,<sup>2</sup> and flowers, all gold. That lady was lying in bridal state—much as a goddess-bride must have lain on her consort's nuptial couch. She may have been covered overhead by a canopy, such as played a part in ritual.

In this tomb were magnificent gold and silver vessels, fit bridal presents of the kind we know as given to goddesses.

From these tombs Mr. Woolley has brought back two magnificent objects, of which the decoration consists of shell picked out with bitumen. One of these has four sides, and shows on the front a scene of the king riding out to war. On the back there is a scene of feasting and the bringing of

<sup>1</sup> An unusual amulet, perhaps connected in significance with the sacrifice of stags as suitable to a particular occasion.

<sup>2</sup> On the signification of the pomegranate as a love charm see *Man*, xxv, No. 87.



presents. It is conceivable that these scenes depict the ordinary life of the king. They may equally depict certain specific acts of the ritual connected with the place where they were found. That a banquet was a feature of the New Year Festival we know from Sennacherib's great inscription concerning the Festival House.<sup>1</sup> The scene of the ritual feast was common in Hittite art, and was borrowed from the Sumerians. I must admit that there is no sign on the standard that the deities were intended, and I do not urge this argument; but the prophylactic scenes at either end seem to favour my view.

The second piece, which lay close to the gold mask of a bearded bull, has four registers; two of these registers depict a very curious scene, in which animals play musical instruments, and there is even a dancing bear.<sup>2</sup> Were this satirical, and the shell inlay an ordinary piece of decoration, we should be compelled to antedate the origin of caricature, which first appears, I believe, in the Comic Papyrus of Turin. Animals at a later date took part in the Festival procession; in Ashurnasirpal's frieze dancing men led and carried monkeys. The exact intention is obscure; but that these men are not tribute bringers, as was once thought, is certain, for the scene reappears on terra-cottas, so that some religious rite is indicated. But did animals play these instruments? Or were they men in animal skins? Sound parallels could be adduced for the latter interpretation.<sup>3</sup> In any case this unusual piece has, I believe, definite connexion with religious rites, and most probably with the rites conducted at the place where it was found.

<sup>1</sup> The golden table mentioned by Herodotus as a feature of the shrine on top of the temple tower was probably used for a similar banquet.

<sup>2</sup> The bear is depicted only here to my knowledge in Babylonia. The Egyptians knew it as coming from the Lebanon, for it is represented among the strange tribute received by Thothmes III at Karnak, and also in the scene of the capture of Satuna. The Akkadians knew it and called it *dabu*; that they classed it in syllabaries as a kind of *šahu* "swine", proves no more than that their classification was bad.

<sup>3</sup> See Pallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 276 ff., based on McClintock, *The Old North Trail*.

Fertility cults are often attended by bloodthirsty rites. Natives of those districts where such cults have been practised in modern times have given only scanty information to scientific inquirers. It is unlikely that the modern mind will ever be able to explain every detail of such a cult when found in antiquity. That the rites connected with the *gigunu* had many divagations I have attempted to show in the analysis of the important references in the texts. Those rites involved the perpetuation of the life of the king by the god and goddess after a sacred *conubium*, probably enacted by a man and a woman representing the deities, a banquet, a setting forth as though to war,<sup>1</sup> and the final result was a number of tombs near the *gigunus* outside the wall of the temenos, in a ditch. In the popular mind the place became coupled with the infernal regions.

The tombs discovered by Mr. Woolley permit of many explanations. There is no evidence that they are royal; they may be so, and still have a religious significance. There is some evidence, shortly to be published by Dr. Campbell Thompson, that royal burials in or near the *bit akitu* were found by Ashurbanipal. The tombs present certain curious features which, on the present evidence, do not seem incompatible with their association with what we know from later times about *gigunus*. On the other hand, the present consideration has been confined to two tombs, and I should find it very difficult to explain many of the features of other closely related tombs in this way. The possibility that there is a connexion appeals to me for the following reasons. Human sacrifice during the cultural epoch of these tombs is difficult to explain; the connexion with the *gigunu* might show that it persisted, as almost all the other cultural features persisted,

<sup>1</sup> I may add that I hope in the future to be able to show that there was a fight of the gods, and a slaughter of certain underworld gods. The scene of the battle of the gods occurs on early seals; a notable example has been published by Langdon, *Illustrated London News*, 2nd June, 1928, found, be it noted, in the tomb already mentioned.



owing to the mysterious nature of the cult. The astonishing wealth buried in these places would, if they were simply royal tombs, imply a view of the after-life which I do not believe the Sumerians ever held; had they believed in the use of such burials at the period of these tombs, there would be some evidence of the survival of this belief. The slight but precious witness of the texts proves certain facts about underground constructions in much the position in which these tombs were found, and it would be a singular chance which brought the few parallels I have been able to adduce and yet deceived us.

I would expressly state that this exploration of a difficult and dangerous question is not intended either as an exhaustive study of the *gigunu*, or as the best possible explanation of all the recent finds at Ur. I suggest that the subject of the possible relation of the tombs recently found to the *gigunu* problem merits careful consideration. The explanation of these graves as royal tombs, and of the human sacrifices as analogous say to Scythian practice, may well be correct, but archaeological comparisons of this kind must be carefully tested. The examination of a minor comparison will exemplify the point. The boats with pots in them found with these burials have been compared with the Egyptian funerary boats, commonly supposed to have carried the soul into the next world. But the Babylonians were in the habit of placing pots with food in as a lure for the demon Lamashtu, that she might enter the boat and be carried down the river, and the analogy is probably fallacious. The chief duty is to find some explanation of these extensive sacrifices and the burial furniture which shall accord with our imperfect, but considerable, knowledge of Babylonian religious beliefs.

#### THE THREE CITIES CALLED TIRQAN

A geographical list from Nineveh<sup>1</sup> has the three following lines:—

<sup>1</sup> V R. 12, No. 6 (+II R. 52, No. 2) recently transliterated and discussed by Hommel, *Grundriss*, pp. 459 ff.

*Tir-ga-an* KI | ŠU | *ša (ilu) Bu-la-la*.

*Tir-ga-an pan* HUR.SAG.KI | ŠU.MIN<sup>1</sup> *ša pan šadi(i) Ar-man*<sup>2</sup> | *Hot-tin*<sup>3</sup>

*Tir-ga-an pan Gu-ti* KI | ŠU.MIN<sup>1</sup> *ša pan Gu-ti-i* | *Har-har*.

This must be compared with another geographical list, from the city of Ashur, which has similar entries.<sup>4</sup>

*Tir-ga-an pan Gu-ti-um* KI | *Tir-ga-an ša pa-an Gu-ti-i* | (*alu*) . . .<sup>5</sup>

*Tir-ga-an pan* HUR.SAG.KI | *Tir-ga-an ša-di-i* | *ša (ilu) Bu-la-la*.

*Tir-ga-an* KI | ŠU | *Sir-qu ša pan Su-ti*.

The two lists observe a different order, yet the wording of the entries, more especially in the first and second columns, is so similar, that there can be little doubt that they derive from one archetype. That the first entry in the list from Nineveh corresponds to the third entry in the list from Ashur is clear from the fact that this is the only one of the three cities distinguished by the adjunct KI, which denotes that the name was applied to a district as well as a town. This Tirqan, also called Sirqu, "which is in front of Suti," is unquestionably to be identified with Tirqa, Sirqu, now proved to have been situated on the site of the modern Tall 'Asharah. The equivalence of Tirqan and Tirqa, or Tirga, proved for this name, may be assumed to be a legitimate equivalence

<sup>1</sup> This curious dittography does not seem to have any special significance other than that possessed by *Šu* or *Min* alone.

<sup>2</sup> *Arman* is an overlap from the second column to which it belongs into the third, but a dividing mark is introduced to show that the third column entry is *Hot-tin*.

<sup>3</sup> Albright, in *JAOS*, xlv, p. 223, reads *Pa-tin* and equates with the land Padan mentioned by Agum-kakrime; Arman, he considers, refers to the eastern Arman, Holwān. There must then be two Tirqans east of Tigris. Albright's readjustment of the two texts to suit this interpretation is very violent, and, in my judgment, over hasty.

<sup>4</sup> *KAV*, No. 183.


<sup>5</sup> The copy gives the signs *lu-ti* (?) which may be an error; the surface is damaged.



in the case of the other cities also. The entry in the third column of the first list is obscure, and is clearly connected in some way with the entry in the list from Ashur against "Tirqan of the mountain".

"Tirqan in front of Gutium" is placed third in the first list, and first in the second list. On the boundary stone of Nazimaruttash found at Susa a city "Tiriqan on the bank of the River Daban" is mentioned. This river Daban, on which lay also the city Dur-Papsukkal, is probably a canal flowing into the lower Diyalah, or possibly a name for that river itself in the opinion of some scholars. The list from Nineveh enters against this Tirqan, in the third column, Harhar, which is alternatively called "a land" or "a city" in the Assyrian royal inscriptions. Sargon II of Assyria speaks of Harhar in close connexion with Mannai and Ellipi, and says that he increased the district by including in it the people of the upper canal of Aranzeshu and the lower canal of Bit-Ramatua. According to the late geographical text-book which deals with the campaigns of Sargon of Agade, "Tirqan of Gutium," is the northern boundary of the land Edamaruṣ. Elenzash, a name which may be associated with Aranzeshu, renamed *Kar-Sin-ahhe-eriba*, was made the capital of the province by Sennacherib; the names of the native governors, Kibaba, Ispabara, presumably belong to the Median tongue. Since "Tirqan which is in front of Gutium" is not accorded the adjunct KI, it seems improbable that it was applied to the name of a district; certainly it cannot have been an alternative for the whole province of Harhar, which clearly extended a long way up the Diyalah River, though it may be synonymous with the city Harhar. The point is of some importance for understanding the nature of the third column entries; the equation with Harhar probably means that it was a city of that province. The connexion with Edamaruṣ requires a location as near the Tigris as possible, for Edamaruṣ cannot lie far east of that river. The statement that it is "in front of Gutium" implies that it was an important post

on a well-known route. If Me-Turnat be the Balad Ruz, and Daban the lower Diyalah, as is possible, it seems probable that Tirqan lay on the Diyalah at an important crossing place, in a position corresponding in importance to the modern centre, Shahraban.

In both lists the second entry is a "Tirqan in front of the mountain", interpreted in the Ashur list as "Tirqan of the mountain", and in the Nineveh list as "Tirqan which is in front of the mountain Arman". In the first list the third column entry, on the analogy of the entry about the eastern Tirqan, must mean that this third Tirqan was a place in the well-known district of Ḥattina; that is decisive against any attempt to interpret this second entry as relative to the town Tirqan, Tirqa, Sirqu, Tall 'Asharah. It is impossible to assume that Ḥattina ever included a town south-east of Dair-az-Zūr. But in the second list the third column entry is the same as that given to the Tirqan we have identified with Tall 'Asharah in the list from Nineveh. No convincing explanation of this entry has yet been suggested; it is curious that in a series of geographical distinctions between homonymous towns such an entry should be considered useful. Clearly there was something distinctive about (*ilu*) *Bulala*, a deity mentioned elsewhere perhaps in the form  (Brünnow, 13487), which would show some association with drawing water from wells. If the association of the ideogram with *Bulala* could be maintained, is it possible that the Tirqan which is Tall 'Asharah and the Tirqan "in front of Mount Arman" were both associated with this deity because they were the last watering places on the journey? Yet it seems unlikely that a Sumerian name can possibly have been associated with a deity at either of these two cities when the geographical list was compiled. The simplest explanation would be overcrowding in the archetype in the third column, which we may presume stated of Tirqan KI "Sirqu, which is in front of Suti. Of the deity *Bulala*"; if this was the first entry, lack of space led to the last clause being written



on a second line, and the scribe of the Ashur list was deceived by his eye into thinking that this was the entry belonging to "Tirqan of the mountain", and accordingly omitted the entry really relevant to that second Tirqan in the third column which we find in the list from Nineveh. But this explanation is no more than a hazardous guess.<sup>1</sup>

Is it possible to fix more precisely the position of this third Tirqan? The attempt must start from the equation with Ḥattina, that implying that this city was in the western land Ḥattina. It is true that the reading Ḥattin has been considered impossible, on the ground that the name Arman, immediately in front of it, must refer to Arman, Hulwān. That opinion is based upon an error. There was a western Arman, and it was the western Arman that we know Naram-Sin conquered. I have recently argued that, just as the eastern Arman was called Ḥalman, so the western Arman was also called Ḥalman, which must be identical with the Hittite Ḥalpa, Aleppo.<sup>2</sup> The description of the country round Aleppo, or even of Aleppo itself, as a "mountain" need not surprise us; "mountain" is a term of varying significance and might well be applied to the eminence on which Aleppo stands. The list from Ashur, however, has the peculiar expression "Tirqan of the mountain", and I find this impossible to explain as it stands. It would seem to mean that Tirqan itself lay in a mountain, and that is impossible if the subsequent course of our argument be correct. The second column entry of the Ashur list may be, most probably is, due to an omission of an overlap in the archetype exactly similar to that found in the list from Nineveh. The peculiar expression is therefore left on one side in the following argument.

<sup>1</sup> *Bulala* is also said to be "of Ubasi", an entry as obscure as those above discussed. Doubtless the deity is to be distinguished from the *Bilala* worshipped at Susa.

<sup>2</sup> *Ur Excavations. Texts*, i, p. 80. On the interchange of *m* and *p* in Ḥalpa, Ḥalman, see Götze, *Madduwattāš*, p. 112.

The statement that this Tirqan lay "in front of the mountain Arman" implies that the city lay on the principal route from Assyria to Aleppo, and was a place of considerable commercial importance. We may infer that it lay east of Aleppo, in a favourable position. But it must also be located north of Aleppo, to explain its inclusion in the territory of Ḥattina. The most easterly towns mentioned in Assyrian royal inscriptions as belonging to Ḥattina are Alimush and Ḥazazu. Alimush must lie east of the Orontes, for in 858 B.C. Shalmaneser III, marching from the source of the River Saluara in Mount Amanus, crossed the Orontes, clearly from west to east, to besiege it, and was met by Sapalulme's allies, consisting of detachments from Bit-Adini (between the Euphrates and the Ḥabur), Carchemish, Sam'al (Sinjirli), Que (round the Gulf of Issus), Ḥilakku (Cilicia), Yasbuqu (unknown). The position of Alimush must have been well to the north of Syria, in such a position that Shalmaneser was unable to cut off the line of march of any of the detachments; general probability seems to point to Alimush lying south-east of Sinjirli, on or near the Sajur River. Further south lay Ḥazazu, the modern 'Azaz, a little south of west from Carchemish. When Ashurnasirpal marched to invest Ḥazazu in 876 B.C. from Carchemish, he passed through a defile between the mountains Munzigani and Ḥamurga, and then kept the land of Aḥanu, which is also called Yaḥanu, on his left. Aḥanu or Yaḥanu therefore lay east of Ḥazazu, and about the same latitude. It is in this district that Apparazu, the stronghold of Arame of Urartu lay, where Shalmaneser III received the tribute of Kalparundi of Ḥattina; Forrer has identified this place very happily as Abaraza, a site some 24 kilometres east of Killiz. The land of Aḥanu therefore reached as far east as a point almost due north of Aleppo, and may have extended at one time still further eastwards. Ashurnasirpal does not state that Aḥanu was a part of Ḥattina, but Shalmaneser's campaign is good evidence that it was, at any rate temporarily. If Tirqan once lay in the territory of Ḥattina,



it must have been close to the eastern extension of that land, the district of Aḥanu.

This close association of Tirgan and Aḥanu is to be found mentioned in a text, the treaty of Shubbiluliu of Ḫatti and Mattiuaza of Mitanni, if a city name Aḥuna is to be identified, as seems very probable, with the district Aḥanu.<sup>1</sup> The passage reads "Aḥuna<sup>2</sup> and Tirga, these cities of the land of Ashtata, since (?) Biyashshilish the king's son crossed the Euphrates with Mattiuaza the king's son, (and) entered Irrite, all the cities which are on the bank<sup>3</sup> which Biyashshilish<sup>3</sup> . . . withheld, they belong to Biyashshilish". Clearly there were two towns on the Euphrates bank, and the whole tenour of the inscription shows that they were south of Carchemish. If the conjunction *undu*, always used elsewhere in a temporal sense, has here the meaning "where"—such an extension could be justified by numerous instances in different languages, and the sense of the passage would obviously gain clarity—then the troops of Biyashshilish crossed the Euphrates at these two points when Mattiuaza conquered his native land. The correspondence of Aḥuna and Tirga with the conditions required for Aḥanu and Tirgan is so striking as to be, for me, convincing. The land of Aḥanu, of which the westerly portion lay slightly east of Killiz, would, if it reached the Euphrates, strike a point just south of Carchemish. The city of Tirgan, if it be identified with the city Tirga on the Euphrates—the variation in form has already been found in the case of the ancient name of Tall 'Asharah—would lie east of Aleppo, at a point where the

<sup>1</sup> Albright in *JAOS.*, xlv, pp. 202-3, denies the possibility of this identification on the basis of his (and others') identification of the Tirga of the Hittite treaty as Tall 'Asharah.

<sup>2</sup> So, clearly, the copy *Boghazköi Texte*, i; Rev. 19. Forrer, *Forschungen*, ii, pp. 41 ff., has, repeatedly, *A-hu-ma*. Why?

<sup>3</sup> Forrer renders (with some unjustifiable restorations) "gegenüber von Bijassilis": it would be hard to explain the grammatical construction so, and there is no instance to my knowledge which would support this rendering. Forrer claims that the passage proves that Aḥuna and Tirga lay on the east bank; but that depends on his very questionable translation.

Assyrians must have left the river when travelling to Aleppo directly, and sufficiently far north once to have been a city of Ḥattina, granted that Ahuna is an important city or capital of the district Aḥanu. Without venturing any exact location of this Tirqan, Tirga, I suggest that it lay on the Euphrates, at about the same latitude as Aleppo itself but slightly to the north.<sup>1</sup>

One feature these cities called Tirqan, so widely separated, had in common, besides the name; they were all situated on rivers, two of them certainly and the third (the eastern, in Ḥarḥar) probably at an important crossing. I am inclined to believe that there was a noun *tirqu*, with an *-anu* formation used alternatively, and that this noun was applied to the towns in question because of the ford, bridge of boats, or other means of crossing the river or canal there used. The root is probably that in the words *dirgu*, *daraggu*, Heb. דִּרְגָּה, Arab. طَرَق, which is also to be found in the Egyptian form of a Palestinian name Max Müller interpreted as *Darg-el*.<sup>2</sup> The name then corresponds in meaning to Tifsah, Thapsacus.

<sup>1</sup> Note that this almost certain inference from the data reduces the extent of Ashtata very considerably, and invalidates most of Forrer's geographical identifications in this area.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *Durgu*, KAV., No. 92, l. 28, should be included in this class.





## The Date of the Svapna-Vasavadatta

By F. W. THOMAS

(Read at the International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, 1928)

I DO not propose on this occasion to initiate a general discussion concerning the authenticity of the plays discovered and edited by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī and by him attributed to Bhāsa. Hitherto the matter has run rather a normal course, first enthusiastic acceptance, then opposition, then suggestions of a *via media*. The debate has evoked some treatises which will retain their value even after a consensus is reached. The various questions are, we may assume, familiar to all scholars here, the question of the formal characteristics of the dramas, of their titles, of the Prakrit and the Sanskrit, of imitations in or by other literary works, of references and citations in anthologies and works on poetics, of the history of the stage in the Kerala country.

But in this first international gathering of Sanskritists after a long period, during which there has been in all countries ample discussion of the subject, it seems appropriate to take an opportunity of dwelling upon a few considerations which can be compressed into a limited space. Accordingly I will venture to claim attention during some minutes to one or two propositions of a positive character concerning the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*.

In regard to the dating of the play it seems right to distinguish two partly independent matters, namely, (1) its date as a general dramatic construction, and (2) the date of the recension contained in the South-Indian MSS. Common experience, exemplified, for instance, in the cases of Shakespeare's plays and of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* and *Vikramorvaśī*, testifies to the fact that dramatic works are specially liable to recast, while they do not thereby forfeit their connexion with their original authors. With this



in view I would venture to enunciate a first proposition as follows :—

*The general plot of the Svapna-Vāsavadattā is attested at such a date and in such a manner as to require us to dispense in regard to it with all consideration of Kerala dramatic practice.*

The facts are well known. Śāradātānaya, a writer of the twelfth century, details in his *Bhāva-prakāśa* the plot of a *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*, agreeing for the most part with that of the published play, from which he quotes a verse.<sup>1</sup> Sāgaranandin, a Nepalese writer of the thirteenth (?) or fourteenth (?) century, cites in his *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-Ratna-kośa* the opening of a *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* in substantial agreement with the same.<sup>2</sup> Bhoja in the eleventh century mentions in his *Śrīgāra-prakāśa* an incident from a *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*, likewise actual in the same.<sup>3</sup> Ramacandra and Guṇacandra at the end of the twelfth century refer in their *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* to a *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* by Bhāsa containing a situation which, though with textual difference, belongs certainly to the Trivandrum play.

There is, moreover, a further consideration which hitherto has not, it seems, been sufficiently brought into play and which connects the plot of the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* with a far earlier date. This consideration is the great similarity of the plot to those of Harṣa's two plays, the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā*. All three commence with the deposit of a princess incognita in the charge of a queen ; in all three there follows a garden scene where she is seen by the king, who in two of the plays has intentionally been kept from his view and whose love for her is kindled or revived by the sight ; in two of them the queen experiences a jealous headache ; in all three the identification of the princess takes place in connexion with tidings of triumph of the king's forces over his enemies ; and in two of the plays, the *Svapna-*

<sup>1</sup> See Gaṇapati Śāstrī, *JRAS.* 1924, p. 668.

<sup>2</sup> See M. Lévi in *J. As.*, 1923, Oct.-Dec., pp. 217-8.

<sup>3</sup> Gaṇapati Śāstrī, *JRAS.* 1924, p. 669.

*Vāsavadatta* and the *Ratnāvalī*, the ministers who have contrived the whole appear at the end in considerable anxiety as to the king's judgment upon their secret policy. The special feature in the *Swapna-Vāsavadatta* is that the meeting of princess and king takes place while the king sleeps.

Now, whether we hold that the *Ratnāvalī* in its plot imitates the *Swapna-Vāsavadatta*, or that the *Swapna-Vāsavadatta* imitates the *Ratnāvalī* type, we have the sure inference that the plot of the *Swapna-Vāsavadatta* has not been seriously altered since its first composition; for a third supposition that a widely divergent *Swapna-Vāsavadatta* has been modified so as to conform to the *Ratnāvalī* type is preposterous. We also establish the fact that a play on the lines of our *Swapna-Vāsavadatta* may have been imitated by Harṣa; and I will add in passing that there exists a curious reason why Harṣa in composing the *Ratnāvalī* should have been attracted by the plays of the old Bhāsa.

Now we may come more to details, and the proposition which I would here submit is that *certain verses occurring in the edited "Swapna-Vāsavadatta" are cited in old works, and there are numerous passages and expressions in the writings of Kālidāsa and others which are copied either from or by passages and expressions in the "Swapna-Vāsavadatta"*.

In this form the proposition is surely beyond contention. Śāradātanaya quotes from a *Swapna-Vāsavadatta* a verse which occurs in the published play. Vāmana in the eighth-ninth century A.D. quotes without reference another verse. As regards correspondences in idea and expression with the works of Kālidāsa I may simply refer to the collection given by Gaṇapati Śāstrī in the introduction to his edition; and we know from other evidence that Kālidāsa was an author who frequently indulged in criticism of old models by improving upon them.<sup>1</sup>

From the *Ratnāvalī* I may quote the well-known verse 36—  
parimlānaṃ pīna-stana-jaghana-saṅgād ubhayatas

<sup>1</sup> The verse *taṃ āpatantam* (Raghu-vaṃśa, v. 50) begins as *Bāla-carita*, v. 2, which likewise refers to an attacking elephant.



tanor madhyasyāntaḥ parimilanam aprāpya haritam  
idaṃ vyasta-nyāsaṃ ślatha-bhuja-lataḥkṣepa-valanaiḥ  
kṛśāṅgyāḥ saṃtāpaṃ vadati bisini-pattra-śayanam.

This is evidently the same idea which we have in the  
*Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, Act V, v. 4—

śayyā nāvanatā tathāstrta-samā na vyākula-pracchadā  
na kliṣṭam hi śiropadhānam<sup>1</sup> amalāṃ śīrṣābhghāt-  
auṣadhaiḥ  
roge dṛṣṭi-vilobhanam janayitum śobhā na kācit kṛtā  
prāṇi prāpya rujā punar na śayanam śighram svayaṃ  
muñcati

inference being made in both cases from the condition of  
the bed.

The verse *Ratnāvalī*, No. 47, about extra arrows of the  
god of love—

bāṇāḥ pañca mano-bhavyasya niyatās teṣāṃ asaṃkhyo  
janaḥ  
prāyo 'smad-vidha eva lakṣyam iti yal loka prasiddhiṃ  
gatam  
dṛṣṭam tat tvayi vipratīpam adhunā yasmād asaṃkhyair  
ayaṃ

viddhaḥ kāmi-janaḥ śarair aśaraṇo nitas tvayā pañcatām  
corresponds to *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, iv, 1—

kāmenojjayinīm gate mayi tadā kām apy avasthām gate  
dṛṣṭvā svairam Avanti-rāja-tanayām pañceṣavaḥ pātītāḥ  
tair adyāpi saśalyam eva hṛdayam bhūyaś ca viddhā  
vayaṃ  
pañceṣur madano yadā katham ayaṃ ṣaṣthaḥ śaraḥ  
pātītāḥ.

At the end of the *Ratnāvalī*, v. 83, the minister  
Yaugandharāyaṇa in an apologetic mood says—

devyā mad-vacanād yathābhyupagataḥ patyur viyogas  
tathā  
sā devasya kalatra-saṃghaṭanayā duḥkham mayā  
sthāpitā

<sup>1</sup> For the Sandhi in *śiropadhānam* see Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. *śira*, and  
cf. *Dīvyāvadāna*, 256, l. 241, *śirottara-paṭṭikā*.

tasyāḥ prītim ayam kariṣyati jagat-svāmitva-lābhah  
prabhoḥ

satyaṁ darśayitum tathāpi vadanam śaknomi no lajjayā.

In the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* the same minister in the same situation (Act VI, v. 15) expresses himself as follows—

pracchādya rāja-mahiṣīm nṛpater hitārtham  
kāmaṁ mayā kṛtam idam hitam ity avekṣya  
siddhe 'pi nāma mama karmaṇi pārthivo 'sau  
kiṁ vakṣyati hrdayam pariśankitam me.

The multiplication of these correspondences raises the question whether it is more probable that the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* is a very old play which has been widely copied by other writers or whether it is rather a cento of echoes from works which we knew before. In the case of the anonymous verse cited by the *alamkāra* writer Vāmana a borrowing by the writer of the play is surely a chimaera.

My next proposition is that the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* produces an impression far different from that of such a structure, second-hand in design and execution.

This is partly a matter of taste, and I freely admit that by the favour of providence there might arise in an unspoiled people, even at a late date, a dramatist and poet capable of the sweetness, directness, and vigour which Gaṇapati Śāstrī so profoundly experienced in his study of the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*. But that is not the character of the Kerala Sanskrit in general—witness the *Nalodaya* and similar works—nor is it consistent with the hypothetic borrowings which we have just been considering. Instead, however, of enlarging upon this in wide terms let me ask you to concentrate your attention upon a passage to which I shall have to refer again. It is, in fact, the dream passage itself. It is as follows :—

VĀSAVADATTĀ : I have stayed too long. Some one might see me. I will go. Or rather I will lift on to the bed my lord's hand, which is hanging out, and then go.

[Does so and exit.



THE KING (*starting up suddenly*) : Vāsavadattā, stay, stay. Oh !

Rushing out, I have struck against the door-panel.

I cannot think clearly whether this heart's boon is real.

THE VIDŪṢAKA (*entering*) : Why he has woke up.

THE KING : Comrade, I have good news for you. Vāsavadattā is alive.

THE VIDŪṢAKA : Oh, Vāsavadattā. What of Vāsavadattā ? Vāsavadattā is dead long ago.

THE KING : No, no, comrade—

I had fallen asleep on the bed : she awoke me, friend, and went.

In saying before that she was dead Rumaṇvān cheated me.

THE VIDŪṢAKA : Oh ! this is not unintelligible. Maybe the mention of the bath had made you think of her, so that you saw her in a dream.

THE KING : Yes, indeed, I did dream.

If this then is a dream, happy would it be to wake no more.

Or, be it illusion, may the illusion last for ever.

THE VIDŪṢAKA : Oh, comrade, there is a Yakṣiṇī named Avantisundarī living in this city. She may have been seen by you.

THE KING : No, no.

At the end of the dream I woke up and saw her face with the collyrium banished from her eyes, as true to her troth, and with long hair.

Moreover, comrade, look, look—

This arm of mine which the queen squeezed in her alarm  
Has not lost the thrill which her touch imparted even  
in sleep.

I think that the delicacy with which in plays like the *Ratnāvalī* cues and motifs are interwoven by Indian poets is not sufficiently recognized. But in this passage we have something more, and also something far different from schooled echoes, unless we may suppose the author to have

echoed also the most emotional lines of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*—

“O let me be asleep, my god,  
Or let me wake away!”

No doubt the difficulty most seriously felt by those who in general are favourable to the attribution of the Trivandrum plays to Bhāsa is the failure to discover in them the verses elsewhere cited as his. I myself, at the time when the plays appeared, took advantage of the MS. indexes in the India Office Library in a search for citations of verses occurring in the plays and was disappointed with the result in both directions.<sup>1</sup> As regards the anthology verses, there is a difficulty in ascertaining which are really to be accredited to Bhāsa, since the sources are rarely consistent. But it may be worth while to consider the facts a little more in detail. The anthologies ascribe to Bhāsa in all thirteen verses; but of these one is actually found in a work by another author, namely, the *Matta-vilāsa*. Three more are also attributed to other poets, and there remain nine, of which four are of a tenor which would not admit of a place in any of the Trivandrum plays.

I may say that, while some of the verses are clearly not by Bhāsa, there are some which in my view may really be his. Thus the Nāndī-verse—

pratyāsanna-vivāha-maṅgala

shows a marked resemblance in idea to the opening verses of the *Ratnāvalī*, the *Priyadarśikā* of Harṣa, and the *Pārvatī-pariṇaya* of Bāṇa, and none at all to those in the plays of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti: it may be both old and connected with Bhāsa. The verse—

asyā lalāṭe racitā sakhībhir

vibhāvyaṭe candana-pattra-lekhā

<sup>1</sup> I note that the verse *dhanyā khalu*, etc. (*Pratīna*, ii, 12), is cited, with variations, in the *Kaṭavāṇanda* (*ad.* v, 71) and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad.* x, 59), and the verse *dharmāḥ prāḡ eva cintyaḥ* (*Avinārika*, i, 12), in the *Śārngadhara-paddhati* and elsewhere.



āpāṇḍura-kṣāma-kapola-bhittāv  
anaṅga-bāṇa-vraṇa-paṭṭikeva

derives support from its resemblance to *Pārvatī-parinaya*, Act V, v. 20—

tasyā lalāṭasīmaṇi candana-paṅkena Menayā likhitam  
āsīt sitātapatram tilakam anaṅgasya darśita-ccāyām.

Again, the verse—

dayitā-bāhu-pāśasya kṛto 'yam aparo vidhiḥ  
jīvayaty arpitaḥ kaṇṭhe mārayaty apavarjitaḥ

may, in spite of being ascribed also to Śyāmala of Kashmir, be really by Bhāsa, since in Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī* the comparison of the mistress' arms to the hangman's rope is worked out (Act III, vv. 60-1).

As regards the Trivandrum plays, though none of the anthology verses occur in them, we may still inquire where there are any features suggestive of a common author. In one case at least this can, I think, be shown. The verse—

tikṣṇaṃ ravis tapati nīca ivācirāḍhyaḥ  
śṛṅgaṃ rurus tyajati mītram ivākṛtajñaḥ  
toyaṃ prasīdati muner iva cittam antaḥ  
kāmaḥ daridra iva śoṣaṃ upaiti paṅkaḥ

shows points of connexion with *Avimāraka*, iv, 9, where a mountain is described as—

asita-jalada-vṛndair miśra-saṃdigdha-śṛṅgo  
gagana-cara-kulānām viśrama-sthāna-bhūtaḥ  
sukavi-mati-vicitro mitra-saṃyoga-hṛdyo  
nara-patir iva nīco dṛśyate niṣphalāḍhyaḥ.

Here the two verses contain, beside the simile of the low nouveau-riche, a number of common words or points, the *śṛṅga*, the *mati* or *citta*, the *mītra*, as we might expect to find in the work of a single author, and particularly in the author of the Trivandrum plays; and one of the words (*āḍhya* "rich") seems to be a favourite with the writer of the Trivandrum plays. The resemblance shown is, be it

noted, not between the latter and the author of some *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, but between him and *Bhāsa* nominatim.<sup>1</sup>

I will conclude by referring to the verse which has played the most prominent part in these discussions, though it is attributed not to *Bhāsa*, but to a *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. This is the famous verse quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka-locana* (p. 102) of Abhinava-Gupta—

sañcita-pakṣma-kapāṭam nayana-dvāram sva-rūpa-  
taḍanena

udghāṭya sã praviṣṭã hr̥daya-gr̥ham me nr̥pa-tanūjã,  
and I should like for a moment to contemplate it. What does this assemblage of scholars consider to be its meaning? Perhaps we may first examine the reading.

The verse recurs, as I pointed out some time ago,<sup>2</sup> in Hemacandra's commentary upon his *Kāvyañuśāsana*, where the first word is *svañcita*; we have also *tālena* in place of *taḍanena* at the end of the line, and the second line reads—

udghāṭya me praviṣṭã deha-gr̥ham sã hr̥daya-caurī.

Now it is evident that *sañcita-pakṣma-kapāṭam* means "with closed eyelash-panels". But *sañcita* "collected" does not give the sense "closed". *Añcita*, which often means "bent", has also the sense of "bent together", "closed" (*añcita. sañkocita* is given by Bharatamallika in his commentary on *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, ii, 31), and this sense is, no doubt, to be recognized in *Raghu-vaṃśa*, v, 76, *añcitākṣi-pakṣma*, and in *Amaru-śataka* 32, *sīt-kārāñcita-locana*. Hence *svañcita* is a good reading; but perhaps *sañjita* might do, or we might think of *kuñcita*, which has the same sense, e.g. in *Rtu-saṃhāra*, iv, 16, *kuñcit-ākṣi*.<sup>3</sup> The question of *taḍanena* versus *tālena* is difficult; for, though *tālena* "with a key"

<sup>1</sup> I observe that the comparison of the two verses has already been made by Dr. H. Weller (*Festgabe H. Jacobi*, pp. 114-25), who adduces also other significant parallelisms.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS.* 1922, p. 81 n.

<sup>3</sup> In the similar passage, *Bhartṛhari*, i, 62, *yenaitasmin nirayanagara-dvāram udghāṭayanti | vāmākṣiṇām bhavati kuṭilā bhrūlatā kuñcikeva || kuñcikā* means a curved implement for opening a door, and is distinct from *tālaka* (see *Divyāvadāna*, p. 577, ll. 21, 27).



gives good sense, it may have been suggested by the beginning of the line.

*Taḍana* for *tāḍana* is unsupported; but from the root *trnd* we might perhaps have such a form for *tardana*, and the sense of "bursting open", as in *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*, 36, 2, *yan me chidraṃ cakṣuṣo hṛdayasya manaso vāti-trṇnam*, might be appropriate here. We may also take note of the word *tanḍana*, which means "striking", and of *laḍana*, which in the *Daridra-Cārudatta* and elsewhere seems to signify "shaking" (intransitive). Possibly Hemacandra had a special text of the source of the verse, as had his pupils Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra of the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. In the second line we must emphatically condemn his reading—

deha-grhaṃ sā hṛdaya-caurī

which is clearly a case of logic transgressing its boundaries. Literally the eyes are indeed a door rather of the body than of the heart. But that any Indian poet should write of a lady through the eye entering the *body* is unthinkable, even if the purpose were to steal the heart. Nor does the Indian thief use a key; so that we have conflict with Hemacandra's own reading in the previous line. Fortunately, none of the readings qualify the general sense of line 1, which refers to opening the door of the eyes.

What then is the real meaning of the verse? Why did Gaṇapati Śāstri himself hold that it could not have belonged to the edited *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* or any play on similar lines? And why did I concur (*JRAS.* 1925, p. 104)? Why did Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin argue that it proved the existence of a different *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* and Monsieur Sylvain Lévi agree that it proves a considerably different recension? So far as I know, only Dr. Georg Morgenstierne has stated, and that only in passing, that it might have found a place somewhere in the edited drama. I make exception of an Indian scholar, to whose view I will shortly refer<sup>1</sup>. I can

<sup>1</sup> I must now add Mr. G. K. Śaṅkar, *The Problem of Bhāsa* (Patna, 1927), p. 6, and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1927, pp. 232-3.

only suppose that the full meaning of the verse has not been correctly apprehended. Let us consider.

From I. 1 we gather that the speaker's eyes had been closed and that the lady's appearance opened them, so that she could enter his heart. Does anyone suppose that the writer means a dream? Does a dream open the eyes, or would a Hindu poet say that the *svarūpa* of a dream person had forced a passage through them? Surely not: the plain meaning is that some person's actual presence had caused the opening of his eyes by the impression of the personality. And then, we may ask, do Indian princesses in fact or fable open people's doors by key or impulsion and straightway enter their houses. It is not so: the princess who so enters enters her own home (*grha*), which may indeed be some one's heart (*hṛdaya-grha*). The princess of the verse is not a fair one seen for the first time, but a wife returning to her husband while he sleeps and by the power of her actual presence (*sra-rūpa*) dissipating his slumber.

Can we find a place for such a verse in the edited *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*? I do not know whether I can produce in the minds of colleagues here the conviction which I myself feel. But I can point to the place where an Indian scholar's intuition has been able to fit it in.

वासवदत्ता । चिरं ठिदस्मि । को वि मं पेक्खे । ता गमिस्सं । अहव  
सस्थापलम्बिच्चं अय्यउत्तस्स हत्थं सअणीए आरोविअ गमिस्सं ।  
(तथा कृत्वा निष्क्रान्ता)

राजा । (सहस्रोत्थाय) वासवदत्ते तिष्ठ तिष्ठ । हा धिक् ।  
निष्क्रामन् संभ्रमेणाहं द्वारपक्षेण ताडितः ।  
ततो व्यक्तं न जानामि भूतार्थोऽयं मनोरथः ।  
(प्रविश्य)

विदूषकः । अहं पडिबुडो अत्तभवं ।

राजा । वयस्य प्रियमावेदये । धरते खलु वासवदत्ता ।  
[स्वक्षितपक्षकपाटं नयनद्वारं स्वरूपतडनेन ।  
उक्तास्य सा प्रविष्टा हृदयगृहं मे नृपतनूजा ॥]



विदूषकः । अविहा वामवदत्ता । कहिं वामवदत्ता । चिरा खु  
उवरदा वामवदत्ता ।

राजा । वयस्य मा मैवं ।

शय्यायामवसुप्तं मां बोधयित्वा सखे गता ।

दग्धेति त्रुवता पूर्वं वञ्चितो ऽस्मि समश्वता ॥

विदूषकः । अविहा असंभावणीञ्च एदं ण । आ उदअक्काणसंकित्तणेण  
तत्तहोदिं चिन्तअनेण सा सिविणे दिट्ठा भवे ।

राजा । एवं मया स्वप्नो दृष्टः ।

यदि तावदयं स्वप्नो धन्यमप्रतिबोधनम् ।

अथायं विश्वमो वा स्याद् विश्वमो ह्यसु मे चिरम् ॥

विदूषकः । भो वयस्य । एदस्सि णअरे अवन्तिमुन्दरी णाम  
अकिखणी पडिवसदि । सा तुए दिट्ठा भवे ।

राजा । न न

स्वप्नस्थाने विबुद्धेन नेत्रविप्रोषिताञ्जनम् ।

चारित्र्यमपि रचय्या दृष्टं दीर्घानकं मुखम् ॥

अपि च वयस्य पश्य पश्य

यो ऽयं संवत्सया देव्या तया वाङ्मूर्तिर्निर्णीतः ।

स्वप्ने ऽप्युत्पन्नसंस्पर्शो रोमहर्षं न मुञ्चति ॥

In this passage, it will be observed, all the short utterances of the king, with one exception, are followed by verses indicating deep emotion : the exception is his first announcement to the Vidūṣaka of his overwhelming experience, where we have simply the bald statement "Comrade, I have good news for you. Vāsavadattā is alive". Does it not seem as if something more explicit would be appropriate in itself, and that here more than anywhere an Indian dramatist might be expected to supply a verse ? And is not the verse which we have marvellously adapted to the context ? "Vāsavadattā is alive. Her actual presence forced open the door of my eyes while I slept, and she passed straight into her home, which is my heart." If this is not conclusive, may I point to the further fact that the forcing the door of the

eyes (*svaṅcita-pakṣma-kavāṭam*) is an idea following with extraordinary aptness upon the king's own immediately preceding experience of colliding in his haste with the swinging door-panel (*niṣkrāman sambhramenāhaṃ dvāra-pakṣena tāḍitah*). I may mention also that the word *tanūjā*, which is not very common, occurs in the play in a verse at the beginning of this very scene (*avanti-nṛpateḥ sadṛśiṃ tanūjām*) in reference to the same Vasavadatta.<sup>1</sup> May we not say that the verse, far from being inapposite in the Trivandrum *Svapna-vāsavadatta*, would in fact fit no other place, and that in the phrase cited the author of that play has stamped the verse with his seal? Nor do we lack an answer to the question why the verse should have been omitted from the place which it so eminently fits. It has been banished by the sentence of the theorists, who, as we know, held that it sacrifices to the *alamkara*, i.e. the simile of the opening of the door, the *rasa* or emotional quality of the situation. It is, as we might say, too clever. Perhaps, as readers of the play, they were right; but their delicacy has made too little allowance for its extraordinary dramatic felicity.

In case this argument is approved,—the suggestion is contained in a Gujarātī article by Prof. K. H. Dhruva, which, though printed in 1925,<sup>2</sup> I have only recently had an opportunity of perusing—there results my last proposition, which is that *there is no reason for believing that the text of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, as printed in Trivandrum, has undergone any great transformation*. Minor changes are, indeed, probable. For any other *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* there is no evidence. Against the authorship of Bhāsa there has

१ श्लाघ्यामवन्तिनृपतेः सदृशी तनूजां  
कालक्रमेण पुनरागतदारभारः ।  
लावाणके कृतवहेन हताङ्गयष्टिं  
तां पद्मिनी हिमहतामिव चिन्तयामि ॥

<sup>2</sup> *Svapnavāsavadatta upar nūva prakāś* (Ahmedabad, 1925). I may note that Prof. Dhruva seems also to be successful in finding a place for the verse *pādākrāntāni*, etc.



never been any positive argument.<sup>1</sup> There has been a not unnatural scepticism, which has perhaps not sufficiently taken into consideration the many other ancient works, such as the *Artha-śāstra*, recovered from parts of India comparatively exempted from the calamities of Muhammadan domination. In the sphere of the drama the last few years have brought to light a number of texts, such as the *Kunda-mālā*, the *Caturbhāṇī*, and *Bhagavad-aṅgukīya*, which tend further to discountenance such scepticism.

*Addendum.*—The reason indicated above (p. 879) why Harṣa's attention should have been drawn to Bhāsa's plays is the fact that an experience of his own no doubt suggested the conflagration scene in the *Ratnāvalī*, and so also the conflagration-poet (*jvalana-mitra*) Bhāsa as a model. The experience is that related in the *Si-yu-ki* (trans. Beal, i, p. 219), when the pavilion erected by the king in honour of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-Tsang was set on fire. The king "rushed headlong towards the threshold of the gate, when suddenly, as if by a single blow, the fire was extinguished and the smoke disappeared"—a perfect parallel to the scene in the *Ratnāvalī*.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kunhan Raja's attempt (loc. cit., pp. 218-22) to find Malayālam references in the plays seems to me quite fruitless. One of the words which he notes, viz. *aṭhī*, "stone of a fruit," is merely a Prakrit form of Skt. *aṣṭhī*, which has that sense.

## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### GARSHŪNI OR KARSHŪNI?

All Orientalists are aware of the fact that a considerable number of Syriac MSS. dating from about the 10th Christian century downwards are written in Syriac characters adapted to suit the Arabic language. This Arabic language written in Syriac characters is called *Garshūni*. By a curious phenomenon which may be ascribed to about the end of the 17th Christian century, the word passed into Europe under the more or less inaccurate name of *Karshūni* with an initial *K* instead of *G*. In my opinion this is partly due to the fact that the Arabic language has no letter to express *G*. The word in this case may have passed into the Roman characters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from a form of it written in Arabic characters.

In A.D. 1703 the Maronite Gabriel Sionita wrote it as *Carsciuni* in the introduction to his edition of a Syriac-Arabic Bible, and fathered it on a mythical *Carsciun*. In an eighteenth century note found in a MS. of the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> the word appears as *Akarshūni* with an initial *Alaph*.

That an initial *K* is not so accurate as an initial *G* is borne out by the following considerations:—

1. The fathers of the Christian Oriental studies in Europe, S. E. and J. S. Assemani, derived the word, somewhat against the above Sionita, from *Garshūn* (with a *G*), a vocable which, according to them, means "alien, foreign".<sup>2</sup> Even in their time, therefore, the word was pronounced *Garshūni* and not *Karshūni*.

2. In almost all the extant MSS. the word occurs as *Garshūni*

<sup>1</sup> Wright's *Catalogue of the Syr. MSS.*, vol. i, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibl. Apost. Vat. Codd. Manuser.*, vol. ii, pp. xxiii-xxiv of the introduction.



(with a *Gamaʿ*), and not *Karshūni*.<sup>1</sup> I have myself perused more than a thousand Garshūni MSS., and have come across the word about thirty times written always *Garshūni* and never *Karshūni*.

3. In our own days the word is pronounced *Garshūni* (and never *Karshūni*) by the East Syrians (both Nestorians and Chaldeans) and by the West Syrians (both Jacobites and Uniates).

4. All the catalogues printed in the East have invariably *Garshūni*. See A. Scher's *Catalogue of the Seert MSS.*, 1905, pp. 80-1, etc., and Sahro's *Catalogue of the Oroomiah College*, 1898, pp. 29, 33, etc.

In view of all these facts it is surprising to note that the word is exclusively used in the form *Karshūni* by a great number of modern Orientalists, so much so that not even a reference to the more original form *Garshūni* is found in the article written on the subject by such a competent writer as Brockelmann.<sup>2</sup> What is even more surprising is that when in my *Woodbrooke Studies* I make use of the more accurate form *Garshūni* Professor Dr. G. B(ergsträsser) of Munich takes me to task with an exclamation point,<sup>3</sup> which only suggests that he had never before heard of the pronunciation *Garshūni*.

I intend to deal with the history of Garshūni literature in the introduction to the catalogue of the Syriac MSS. of my own collection, which probably contains more Garshūni text than any other collection of MSS. found in the public libraries of Europe.

As a piece of useful information, I may here add that having spoken to the late Chaldean bishop Addai Scher about his use of the form *Caršouni* in his catalogues of the Syriac MSS.

<sup>1</sup> See Wright's *Cat. of the Syr. MSS. in the B.M.*, i, 238, and Baumstark's *Catalogue of the Syr. MSS. of the Monastery of St. Mark in Oriens Christianus*, i, 104, and ii (New Series), p. 133, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ii, 776.

<sup>3</sup> *Orient-Literaturzeitung*, 1928, p. 319.

preserved in the various libraries of the East, he told me that it was the Abbé J. B. Chabot who saw them through the Press who had changed the form *Garshūni* that he had himself used into *Caršouni*.

A. MINGANA.

## TIMING OF DRAMATIC REPRESENTATIONS IN INDIA

A passage in Aristotle's *Poetics*<sup>1</sup> which has baffled the commentators and has been emended in more ways than one, has been translated by Mr. Bywater as follows:<sup>2</sup> "If they had to perform a hundred tragedies, they would be timed by waterclocks, as they are said to have been at one period." Commenting on this, he says<sup>3</sup>: "The idea of tragedies having been at some date or the other timed by the Clepsydra, is to my mind highly improbable, and there is no hint of such a thing elsewhere." In India, however, as will be shown, dramatic representations were once timed by waterclocks.

From the description in the chapter called *siddhi-lakṣaṇa* of the *Bhāratiya-nāṭya-śāstra*,<sup>4</sup> it seems that there were once held, competitions<sup>5</sup> of dramatic representations (*nāṭya-vyavahāra*), that they were examined and judged<sup>6</sup> by examiners (*prekṣaka*) and judges (*prāśnika*), that marks for success or failure were noted<sup>7</sup> and written,<sup>8</sup> and afterwards counted,<sup>9</sup> on the strength of which the banner<sup>10</sup> of victory was presented to the successful party. Here is to be found the verse<sup>11</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> 1451a, 7, 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Bywater, *Aristotle on the art of Poetry*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Kāvyamālā ed., ch. xxvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 68.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 60.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 64.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 65<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 65<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 68.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 39.



*jarjaramokṣasyānte siddher mokṣas tu nālikāyās tu |*  
*kartavyās tv iha satatam nātyajñaiḥ prāśnikair vidhinā ||*

"The judges well-versed in theatrics, should always, according to rule, make *siddhi-mokṣa* as well as *nālikā-mokṣa* at the end of *jarjara-mokṣa*."

What are these three *mokṣas*? *Jarjara* is a staff specially prepared in the manner described in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, xxi, 141-161. It is carried <sup>1</sup> by one of the attendants of the *Sūtradhāra*, when he first makes his entry on the stage for the preliminaries of the dramatic representation. After certain formalities the *sūtradhāra* takes <sup>2</sup> the *jarjara* in his own hand. This is *jarjara-grahaṇa*.<sup>3</sup> After the *nāndī*, he recites the verse known as *raṅgadvāra*, which, according to Viśvanātha<sup>4</sup> is the benedictory verse composed by the author of the drama. The *sūtradhāra* then hands <sup>5</sup> the *jarjara* back to his attendant: this *jarjara-nyāsa*, as opposed to *jarjara-grahaṇa* is what is here called *jarjara-mokṣa*, i.e. "handing the *jarjara* back to the attendant."

As soon as the *jarjara* is handed over to the *pāripāśvaka*, the *sūtradhāra* begins <sup>6</sup> the *tripadī*, called *āmukha*, i.e. Introduction, by Abhinavagupta<sup>7</sup>; and it is from this point that the merits of the drama are to be marked. In the *pūrvaraṅga*, which is performed to appease the gods, no demerits are to be marked according to the author of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*.<sup>8</sup>

*suvasa (sahasā) na pūrvaraṅge siddher ghātaḥ prayoktavyaḥ |*

But as soon as the *jarjara* is handed back to the attendant and the introduction begins, merits as well as demerits are to be noted down. It is as if the writers' pens, kept in *pratibandha* during the *pūrvaraṅga*, were let loose to note the

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, v, 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, v, 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, v, 80.

<sup>4</sup> *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, vi parichhēda, prose after verse 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Nāṭya-śāstra*, v, 117.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, v, 123.

<sup>7</sup> *Abhinava-bhāratī* (Gaikwar Oriental Series), p. 244.

<sup>8</sup> *Nāṭya-śāstra*, xxvii, 40.

points of success. *Siddhi-mokṣa* thus means the commencement of noting down the points of success or failure.

Simultaneously with *siddhimokṣa*, there was *nālikā-mokṣa*. *Nālikā*, which means a period of time, is here used for the pot with a minute hole at its bottom, which is placed on water in a bigger pot, so that the water, slowly filling, causes it to sink in a particular period of time. The *nālikā-mokṣa* is thus "the placing of the perforated pot on water and so letting loose the water to enter the pot and thus mark the time". That *nālikā* means this can be clearly seen from a preceding verse <sup>1</sup> in the same chapter, where we have not only the word *nālikā* alone, but *udaka-nālikā*.

In this way the verse "*jarjaramokṣasya*, etc.", can be explained as follows :—

"When the *jarjara* has been handed over to the *pārīpārśvaka*, the judges should set the water-clock in motion and should allow the notaries to note down the merits and the demerits of the dramatic representation." This kind of water-clock and the time-keeper specially appointed to mark the sinking of the pot and to strike the hours, is familiar in India even in the present days of clock and watches. *Ghaṭīsthūpanā* is still one of the necessary preliminaries of domestic rituals, such as *upanayana* and *vivāha*, where the auspicious moment fixed by the astrologer is not marked by Swiss watches but by this ancient water-clock.

The context of the verse containing the expression *udaka-nālikā* may be noted. The twenty-seventh chapter begins with the points of success divided into two <sup>2</sup> categories :— (1) *mānuṣa*, those to be achieved by the efforts of the actors ; (2) *daiva*, those not within their control. The latter are further divided into two subdivisions, and the former into ten,<sup>3</sup> according as they make the audience (1) smile ; (2) laugh ; utter (3) "Well-done !" (4) "Oh !" (5) "Alas !" (6)

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 3.



"Hallo!" (7) "Fie"; (8) feel a thrill; (9) stand up in their places; (10) wave their kerchiefs. The points of failure are in the same way divided into four,<sup>1</sup> caused by (1) fate, (2) enemies, (3) accidents, and (4) the faults of the actors themselves. It is after this that the above-mentioned verse occurs, wherein the writer specially warns the dramatists to resist two faults (*ghāta*) in all dramas they represent. The first is *prakṛti-vyasana-samuttha*, "arising from ill-choice of the actors." (*Prakṛti* is explained in chap. xxvi.) The second is *śeṣodaka-nālikatva*, i.e. remaining unfinished in the time measured by the *udaka-nālikā*.

No restriction like that of the "unity of time" is here mentioned. This idea is not known to Indian dramatists in its strict sense. The limit is here prescribed for the representation, which contained, in addition to the portion written by the author, *dhruvāgāna*<sup>2</sup> and *ṛtta*<sup>3</sup> between the acts. And it was to lengthen or curtail these that the time-limit was placed. This was essential. According to the *Nāṭya śāstra*, the time for dramatic representations was fixed.<sup>4</sup> Dramas were not to be played either at mid-day or at midnight. The two dusks, as being the time reserved for prayers, were also forbidden. The plays were shown twice by day—before and after noon; and twice by night—before and after midnight. It was therefore necessary to time the representations, and, as we have seen, they were timed by the *udaka-nālikā* or water-clock.

H. R. DIVEKAR.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF EARLY TIBETAN WORD FORMS

The ancient orthography (*brda rñin*) of Tibetan which was revised, according to Tibetan tradition, in the first part of the ninth century in the reign of king Khri-lde sroṅ-btsan

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, xxxii, 318, 319.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, iv, 286-92.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, xxvii, 79-84.

under the leadership of two scholars dPal-brtsegs (Śrīkūṭā) from sKa-ba and kLui rgyal-mtshan (Nāgadhvaja) from Cog-ro aided by a staff of assistants, contains certain word forms of particular significance in regard to the probable cultural centre of the nation during the days of the T'ang dynasty in China. They further indicate the region whence at least some of the writers of documents dating from that time came, a fact frequently overlooked, the material from the sites of Chinese Turkestan and the Turfan area having more frequently elicited comparison with Western Tibetan forms, a region of which our knowledge is much more thorough.

For a correct understanding of the real significance of at least some of the orthographical traits of these texts certain dialects of Eastern and North-Eastern Tibet are of especial importance, the literature referring to which may be briefly mentioned here.

In 1874 B. H. Hodgson published in his *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepāl and Tibet*, Part II, pp. 65-82 and Vocabulary on following page, material on the Jyarung (Gyárúng) dialect of Szē-chuan under the title *On the Tribes of Northern Tibet (Horyeul and Sokyeul) and of Sifan*, the vocabulary of which had already been published in part by W. W. Hunter in his *Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia* (London, 1868), while T. de Lacouperie in 1888 published in his *Les Langues de la Chine avant les Chinois* (pp. 78-80) some observations on this language.

Then in 1897 A. von Rosthorn offered in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. 51, pp. 524-33, under the title *Vokabularfragmente ost-tibetischer Dialekte*, a vocabulary of Jyarung, and upon this same language Laufer in *T'oung Pao*, xv (1914), pp. 106-108, offered invaluable comments, albeit the present writer does not accept in its entirety the view that Jyarung on the strength of its prefix accumulations is of the age suggested by Laufer, the reasons for which dissent he hopes to state



in a forthcoming study of certain aspects of Tibeto-Burman morphology.

As a second source we have the so-called Panakha dialects of the Koko-nor region reported by Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas* (1891), pp. 362-7, in which some of the wordforms, particularly in the matter of prefixes, are of great interest.

Attention has already been called by Laufer (*T'oung Pao*, xv, p. 108) to the possible occurrence of speakers of Jyarung, or a language closely allied to it in phonology, in the region in which at least one of the Tun Huang documents of the Mission Pelliot was redacted, which observation might probably be applied in many other cases also.

In a document probably dating from the ninth century, Francke<sup>1</sup> notes the form *gñi* "sun" as remarkable. But it is no isolated case. It is used in the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of 822 at Lhasa in which line 22 of the Tibetan text reads *dkon mchog gsum dan lphags-pa-ñi dam-pa (-rnam)*<sup>2</sup> *gñi zla dan gza skar-la yañ dpañ-du gsol-te* "The Three Precious Ones (Sk. *triratna*), the Venerable Saints, Sun and Moon, Planets and Stars they invoked as witnesses".

On each of these occurrences of *gñi* light is thrown by the Jyarung form *ki-ni* (Hodgson), *ka-ni* (v. Rosthorn's *kě'-ni*), which draws attention to Eastern Tibet as the probable homeland of the scribe, as do also the Si-fan forms *gni-ma*, *gné-ma* and Mo-so *gni-me* recorded by d'Ollone.<sup>3</sup>

One of the marked features of the Panakha dialect as reported by Rockhill (loc. cit.) is the appearance of prefixed (superscribed) *r-* for other elements.

Even in this none too lengthy vocabulary *r-* appears once for *b-*, twice for *d-*, seven times for *g-*, four times for *l-*, and thirteen times for *s-*.

<sup>1</sup> *Tibetische Handschriftenfunde aus Turfan*, Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch., 1924, iii, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Supplied for a lacuna in the text. See Laufer, *T'oung Pao*, xv, p. 70, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Langues des Peuples non-Chinois de la Chine*, p. 24.

This is important in connexion with the Stein manuscript fragments from Endere, in which, in a poem from the Thegmchog-mdzod we read<sup>1</sup>: *tshul khrims brtsan-pho-ñi rtsaṅ-gis mtha bskoṅs-ñiṅ* "Filled to the brim with the purity of the Powerful Moral Law". In this, *rtsaṅ* for *gtsaṅ* "purity" shows the same substitution, the interval of some eleven centuries between the time of recording this document and that of Rockhill's Panakha vocabulary probably not invalidating the comparison as we know this latter dialect to be archaic in its word forms, and Rockhill specifically reports Panakha *mir-tsaṅ* "unclean" for written *mi gtsaṅ*.

Should the language of some of the Endere fragments have originated from this quarter, which is not improbable, we might reasonably expect to find still perpetuated in that region peculiarities noticeable at Endere. It is in fact not improbable that it was by a Tibetan from that area that the poem in question was written out, as we know that it was thence that Tibetan supremacy spread over the Tarim basin towards the close of the eighth century.<sup>2</sup>

The number of such cases might probably be multiplied many times, but enough has been said to draw attention to the more particular significance of such forms in the old orthography.

STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

#### A WESTERN ORGAN IN MEDIEVAL CHINA

(See *Journal* for 1926, pp. 193-211)

Through the kindness of my friend Mr. Sinmay Zau (邵雲龍, 洵美 Shao Yün-lung, Hsün-mei) of Shanghai I have received an attractively got up volume of Essays on Art by three Friends (藝術三家言 *I shu san chia yen*) published at Shanghai in November, 1927. On p. 282 of this book is a brief essay by 張若谷 Chang Jo-ku on the

<sup>1</sup> Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i, p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 and 148.



introduction of the organ into China, dated 26th March, 1926. On p. 284 he quotes a description of the Hsing-lung shêng from a chapter on forgotten curiosities (奇器不傳 *ch'i ch'ü pu ch'uan*) in a book entitled 眞珠船 *Chên chu ch'uan* by 胡侍 *Hu Shih*, c. 1520. Unfortunately no new light is thrown upon the construction or working of the organ by this passage, which is rather carelessly copied from the *Yüan shih*, but these two additions to the bibliography of the subject are perhaps worth recording.

A. C. M.

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ON THE DATE OF THE TIKASARVASVA BY  
SARVANANDA

In his rejoinder to Dr. S. K. De's note on the date of the *Subhāsitāvali*, Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya attempts to establish that the date A.D. 1160 = 4260 Kali Era, cited in Sarvānanda's *Tikāsarvasva*, is not his own, but that of a contemporary work, named *Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi* by Śrīnivāsa, whom he quotes as his authority.<sup>1</sup> But I am afraid a reference to the text of the whole passage hardly bears him out.

The passage *idānīm caikāśīti-varṣādhika-sahasraika-paryantena śakābda-kālena* (1081) *ṣaṣṭi-varṣādhika-dvicatevāriṃśacchatāni kalisandhyāyā bhūtāni* (4260) | *tathā ca Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇau Śrīnivāsaḥ* :—*kali-sandhyāyāḥ kha-samaya-kara-krta-varṣāni* can be rendered in one way only, viz., "At present, by the Śaka year 1081, 4260 years of the Kali Yuga have passed. So also Śrīnivāsa (has) in the *Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇi* : '4260 years of the Kali-sandhyā have passed.' " The passage, as it stands, does not allow us to take *idānīm . . . bhūtāni* with *kha-samaya-kara-krta-varṣāni* by combining the author's own statement with that of his authority, as Mr. Bhattacharyya has done, for *tathā ca* at the beginning of the second sentence signifies that the quotation following is cited in support of a statement previously made.

<sup>1</sup> *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 135.

We are ready to accept Mr. Bhattacharyya's rendering of *idānīm . . . bhūtāni* as "recently past", but his conclusion, based upon it, is wholly untenable. By "recently past" he understands that a decade or two have passed after A.D. 1160. But the expression "recently past" indicates that a few days or a few months have elapsed since the completion of the 4260th year of the Kali Era corresponding to 1081 *ś.E.*; but we should not be justified in interpreting the period as a complete year. Had it been so, we should naturally get 4161 Kali Era = 1082 *ś.E.*, instead of 4260 K.E. = 1081 *ś.E.*

We may profitably quote in this connexion a similar passage from the *Padacandrikā* of Mahintāpaniya Rāyamukṣa, who, while commenting on *daive yuga-sahasre dve brāhmaṇa*<sup>1</sup> copies Sarvānanda almost verbatim and writes *idānīm ca śakābda 1353 | dvātriṃśad adhika-pañca-varṣottara-catuḥ-sahasra-varṣāṇi kali-sandhyāyā bhūtāni* (4532) | *tathā Gaṇitacūḍāmaṇau mahintāpaniya-rājapaṇḍita-Śrīnivāsaḥ :—kali-sandhyāyā kha-samaya-kara-kṛta-varṣāṇi bhūtāni*.<sup>2</sup> Here also we find that Rāyamukṣa numbers the past Kali years with reference to his own date, and not to the time of Śrīnivāsa, whom he too quotes as his authority. According to the dates cited in the *Padacandrikā*, Rāyamukṣa is posterior to Śrīnivāsa by about three centuries. But he takes note of this difference of time between them and calculates the number of Kali years with reference to the corresponding Śaka Era 1353, which is unquestionably his own date. In the case of the dates occurring in the *Ṭikāsarvasva* we are to take 4260 K.E., which ends in the Śaka year 1081, as the date of Sarvānanda, or, more precisely, of the time when this portion of the *Ṭikāsarvasva* was written by him.

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<sup>1</sup> *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanam, Kāla-varga, v, 21.*

<sup>2</sup> MS. No. 985, Fol. 57 (a), in the Dacca University MS. Library.



## A REMARK ON TWO INDIAN NAMES

1. *Σισικόττος*

Arrian, in his *Anabasis*, iv, 30, 4, after having described the capture of Aornus—the site of which has now been so splendidly rediscovered by Sir Aurel Stein<sup>1</sup>—tells us as follows: εἵχετό τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡ πέτρα ἡ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀπορος γενομένη, καὶ ἔθυσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ κατέσχευασε φρούριον, παραδοὺς Σισικόττῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς φρουρᾶς, ὃς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν μὲν πάλαι ἡτομολήκει ἐς Βάκτρα παρὰ Βῆσσον, Αλεξάνδρου δὲ κατασχόντος τὴν χώραν τὴν Βακτρίαν ξυνέστρατευέ τε αὐτῷ καὶ πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο. Thus we get to know that a certain *Σισικόττος*, apparently an Indian rājāh from somewhere in the North-Western Frontier Province, had automatically joined Bessos; this apparently meant that he, being a feudal chief within the frontiers of the Achaemenian Empire, after the murder of Darius III recognized Bessos as Artaxerxes (IV), the Great King. But after well-deserved ruin had reached Bessos, *Σισικόττος* made haste to join the world-conqueror, was well received by him and showed himself a faithful partisan of his. We hear of him again in v, 20, 7, where he is called a satrap of the Assaceni and is said to have sent messages to Alexander reporting a revolt amongst his subjects.<sup>2</sup>

The same man apparently is mentioned by Curtius, viii, 11, 25, where the accepted reading seems to be *Sisocostus*, which is, of course, wrong.

Now, what was this man's Indian name? Lassen<sup>3</sup> long ago suggested that it should be *Sāsīgupta* and accordingly mean exactly the same as *Candragupta*; and his suggestion

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially *The Geographical Journal*, 1927, 417 sqq., 515 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, 2, ii, 165, n. 3, says that in this passage *Σισικόττος* is a conjecture of Blancard, and that instead of this we ought to read *Φιλίππου*, which is, however, out of the question. In the text available to me no *varia lectio* is mentioned; and the *C.H.I.*, vol. i, p. 369, seems to take it for granted that *Σισικόττος* is the correct reading. Of this I am in no doubt; but still all does not seem to be in order here.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, 2nd ed. ii, 131, n. 1, 149.

seems to have been silently accepted by more modern scholars, as e.g. the contributors to the *Cambridge History of India*.<sup>1</sup>

Personally I have long felt convinced that Σισίκωρτος or \**Sisocottus* (which we ought to put into the text of Curtius instead of *Sisocostus*) does not render an Indian *Śasigupta*, but a *Śisugupta*. However, while looking matters over, I found that this suggestion, just as most other ones, is nothing new. Already Benfey<sup>2</sup>—one of the greatest of scholars—had suggested in brief *Śisugupta*, simply adding the remark : “vgl. den Namen *Çiçunāga*.”

The reason, however, why I have ventured to put forth again this old suggestion is the following : If the name was really *Śisugupta*—and not *Śasigupta*—no explanation is offered by comparing it with *Śisunāga* as did Benfey. *Śīsu*<sup>o</sup> if it has any sense at all must here mean the war-god *Skanda*, and *Śisugupta* then means the same thing as the later well-known names *Skandagupta*, *Kumāragupta* and *Mahāsena-gupta*. Whether the first member of the name *Śisunāga* also means the same is, of course, doubtful ; but it does not seem to me wholly excluded if we compare it with later names such as *Skandanāga*, *Kumāranāga* and *Svāmināga*.<sup>3</sup> The word *nāga* here must, I suppose, mean “elephant”, though *Skanda*’s vehicle is, of course, the peacock.

Anyhow, if I am right in thinking, with Benfey, that Σισίκωρτος must in reality mean *Śisugupta*, and that this is = *Skandagupta*, then this explanation will be of a certain importance. For it would then prove quite definitely that already in the fourth century B.C. *Skanda* as a juvenile god—and probably as the protagonist of the gods in their wars towards the demons—was worshipped by the clans on the North-Western frontier of India. Otherwise the earliest

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *C.H.I.*, vol. i, pp. 350, 356, 369.

<sup>2</sup> *Indien*, p. 44 (= Ersch-Gruber, *Allg. Encyclopedie*, 2 Section, vol. xvii-xviii, p. 44).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hilka, *Die altindischen Personennamen*, p. 103 seq., a useful but unfortunately not quite trustworthy work.



known passage to mention the god Skanda is probably the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ. v, 3, 99, as the passage in *Chāṇḍ. Up.* vii, 26, 2, can scarcely be looked upon as being safely interpreted as yet.<sup>1</sup> To the history of Hinduism this early mention of the juvenile Skanda (*Śiśu*) would be of some importance; it would also do something to prove that not only the cult of Rudra-Śiva but also that of his "family" originated with the frontier and mountain tribes of the North and North-West of India.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. *Parnadatta*

In his Junāgaḍh Inscription<sup>3</sup> Skandagupta in the eleventh verse speaks thus:—

*Sarveṣu bhṛtyeṣu api saṃhateṣu yo<sup>4</sup> me praśiṣyān nikhilān*  
*Surāṣṭrān |*  
*ām jñātam ekaḥ khalu Parnadatto bhārasya tasyodvahane*  
*samarthaḥ ||*

According to the following verse *Parnadatta* was consequently appointed governor of all Surāṣṭra, and verse 13 tells us that he acquitted himself of his high office in an entirely worthy way. Unfortunately we know nothing else of this good man; possibly his name may tell us at least something.

The names beginning with *Parna*<sup>5</sup> are few and far between. Hilka, loc. cit., p. 116, knows only this same *Parnadatta*, but

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Belvalkar and Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, ii, 108.

<sup>2</sup> The above explanation, of course, presupposes that *Σαϊκωρρος* has nothing to do with certain Persian names like *Σισαμάκης* (vv. ll., *Σισαμάκης*, *Σισαμάκης*, *Σισαμάκης*), Herod., v, 121; *Σισαμίθρης*, the satrap of Naura, Curtius, viii, 2, 19, 4, 19; Plutarch Alexander, 58, 2 (vv. ll., *Σισαμίθρης*, cf. v. Schwarz *Alexander des Grossen Feldzüge in Turkestan* (1893), p. 88), besides whom there was also a *Σουσαμίθρης*, the cousin of Pharnabazos and murderer of Alcibiades (Corn. Nepos., 6, 10, 3; Plutarch Alcib., 39, 1), and *Sisigambis* or *Sisygambis*, the daughter of Ostanes, sister and wife of Arsanes, and mother of Darius III (another form of the name, mentioned by Diodorus, seems to be *Σισύγγαμβρις*). The origin of these Persian names seems to be quite unknown.

<sup>3</sup> *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. iii, No. 14.

<sup>4</sup> This forms the syntactical connexion with the preceding verses 8-10.

in the *Petersburg Dictionary* there are besides at least *Parnavalka*, meaning "possessing a garb of leaves"<sup>1</sup>, and *Parnāda*, a very apt name of an old sage who subsisted on the meagre fare of leaves. But *Parnadatta* suggests absolutely nothing in the way of a sensible meaning. Because of this I should venture to suggest that *Parnadatta* is simply an Indianization of an Iranian name \**Farna-dāta*, which would, of course, represent an Old Iranian \**Xvarenō-dāta* "created by Majesty", a name of the same type as *Ahura-dāta*, *Mithrapadārta*, etc. If such a suggestion be probable—and I can scarcely see why not—it would at least tell us that the governor of Kāthiāwār about 450 A.D., by name *Parnadatta*, was in reality an Iranian who served under the Indian monarch Skandagupta.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

#### THE FRAGMENTS FROM DINNAGA

Owing perhaps to the distance the proofs of my "Note on the fragments from Dinnāga" were not sent to me. Therefore some statements are contained in it that I should have corrected, had I revised the proofs. First of all, as I have already shown in this same *Journal* (1928, p. 8, n. 1), it is necessary to read *Nyāya-mukha* instead of *Nyāya-dvāra*. P. 378, the two *kārikās saṃhṛtya sarvataś cintām*, etc., are not taken from the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, but from the *Pramāṇa-vārttika* by Dharmakīrti, where they occur in the

<sup>1</sup> In this connexion it should be remarked that *Parnasabara* does, of course, not mean "a Śabara living on leaves" as suggested in the *Pet. Dict.*, but "a Śabara clad in leaves", a fairly well-known thing. Speaking of *Parnavalka* we are also reminded of *Yajña-valka*, the supposed ancestor of the great *Yājñavalkya*. That name was misinterpreted by Śaṅkara; and Professor Wackernagel, *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachforschung*, vol. xlv, p. 271, has given an ingenious but unacceptable explanation of it. *Yajña-valka* must mean "sacrificial splint", viz. a splint of *palāśa*-wood used for curdling the sacrificial milk (the wood of the *Butea frondosa*, of course, contains plenty of astringents, cf. Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 189).



third chapter, dealing with pratyakṣa (bsTan agyur, Mdo, Ce, fol. 228a of the Narthang edition, copy in the Library of the University of Calcutta kindly put at my disposal by the authorities of that University) mñon.sum.rtog.dañ.abral. bar.ni. | mñon.sum. ñid.kyis.agrub.pas agyur || kun. gyi.rnam.rtog.mi[n.]<sup>1</sup> brten.can. | so.sor.rañ.gis.rigs. bya.yin. | P. 379, I was right in affirming that this passage must be attributed to Dharmakīrti. In fact, it occurs in the same chapter of the *Pramāṇa-vārttika* (233 b.12).

dus.t'a.dad.pa.ji.ltar.ḍsin. | že.na.rigs.pa.šes.pa. yis. || šes.pai.rnam.par.ājog. nus.pai | rgyu. ñid.la. ni.gzuñ.bar.šes. ||

P. 384 read *nītyaḥ śabdaḥ prameyatvāt*.

Although the verse : *na yāti*, etc., is attributed to Dinnāga by Dharmabhūṣaṇa, it is not in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, but in Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa-vārttika*, 1st Chapter (p. 202a, l. 7).

mi.āgro.de.na.yod.pa.ḍi.min.no | p'yis.yod.c'a.da. ldan.pa.'n.min. | rten.sña.ma.ni.gañ.mi.ḍdod. | kye. ma.p'añs.pai.rgyu. ñid.yin.

Therefore I suppose that the other verses also must have been taken from the same author, although I cannot, as yet, identify them. P. 388, read : *yathā śaśī na candraḥ ; bhāvāt*.

G. TUCCI.

<sup>1</sup> The xyl. has *mi*, which is evidently wrong.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE GIRAFFE IN HISTORY AND ART. By BERTHOLD LAUFER.  
Anthropology Leaflet 27.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in., pp. 100. Field  
Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1928.

In this little booklet Dr. Laufer has gathered together in a very convenient and pleasant form an extraordinary amount of information about human knowledge and depiction of the giraffe in all parts of the old world, from prehistoric times down to the present day, and has illustrated it with an extremely interesting series of reproductions of pictures of this quaint and beautiful animal, ranging from "prehistoric rock-carvings" to the most modern photograph. It is a pity that none of the photographs seem to show the difference between the reticulated and the common giraffe or to show the strange middle horn which gives the giraffe its claim to be a unicorn. While members of the Asiatic Society may be primarily interested in the giraffe in Persia, India, and China, they cannot, we fear, fail to be struck with the supremacy of classical antiquity over the East in matters of scientific description.

In the chapter on "The Giraffe in Chinese Records and Art" Dr. Laufer adds an important—and the earliest—reference to those which had been published before, but shows some tendency to dogmatic statement and vague reference to the titles of books, without chapter or leaf, which is to be deprecated. Thus: "The giraffe was not known to the ancient Chinese," "neither the description nor the illustrations of the Kilin bear the slightest resemblance to a giraffe." (p. 41). "The only points of resemblance made by the Chinese between the Kilin and the giraffe are . . ." (p. 42). There is not a reference to chapter or leaf of a Chinese book in all this chapter. The explanation of the name "*u-na-si-yo*" (p. 53) is clever, but the statement that "there is no equivalent



for *ra* in Chinese "astonishing. Discussing M. Ferrand's suggestion that *ch'i-lin* may represent the Somali name *giri*, Dr. Laufer says (p. 98) "the old Chinese pronunciation *gi-lin* holds good only for the T'ang period, not for the fifteenth century." But something like the pronunciation *gi-lin* holds good on the south-eastern coasts of China, from which the Chinese sailors sailed and on which the giraffes landed, at this day, and evidence ought to have been produced that this was not the case in the fifteenth century. Once the suggestion had been made at Aden or at Ch'üan-chou that *giri* sounded very much like *gi-lin* (*ch'i-lin*), finikin differences of dialect would scarcely have deterred ministers from presenting the animal to the Emperor as a *ch'i-lin*.

On p. 74 it is stated that "In the Latin and French versions [of Marco Polo] the animal's name is spelled *graffa*"; but the French versions of 1824 and 1865, copying their respective manuscripts correctly, have *giraffe* and *girofles*; the only Latin version at hand as I write has *zirafas*, and the early Italian texts have *giraffe*.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be hoped that the book will greatly increase the general knowledge and love of this most lovable animal, and help to save it from the barbarous murder and threatened extinction from which it now seems to suffer at the hands of man.

A. C. MOULE.

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BARABUDUR: ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION. By N. J. KROM. 11 × 7½; vol. i, pp. viii + 478, 1 plate; vol. ii, pp. v + 365, 2 plates. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927.

This is an English edition, somewhat modified, of the archaeological description of Barabudur published in 1920

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written I have found *graffa* in A. Müller's seventeenth century Latin text.

by the Royal Institute of the Hague under the authorization of the Netherlands Government. While the text of the original has been somewhat abridged as regards the description of a number of reliefs as yet unidentified, it has, on the other hand, been supplemented by the addition of references to literary works not noticed in the Dutch edition. English readers are under a great debt of obligation for the publication of this important work in their own tongue, and it will no doubt appeal to a large number who would not have ventured to study the Dutch original. The preface modestly announces that the book is of a somewhat provisional character. There is still much to be explained in the sculptures of Barabudur, and the present work is intended to record "what is already established, what is doubtful, and what is still altogether obscure", and thus assist further investigation.

There is, of course, in the enormous stūpa of Barabudur a vast amount of material. One has only to consult the two huge portfolios of photographic plates, issued in connexion with the Dutch edition, to realize what an overwhelming mass it is. Of collateral epigraphic evidence to assist in identifying the subjects portrayed, there is very little. What there is, namely the brief inscriptions on the buried base of the stūpa, makes it probable that the foundation of the building was laid in the second half of the eighth century A.D., during the period when the Śailendra dynasty, which is best known in connexion with Southern Sumatra, was in possession of Central Java as well, and there erected some of the finest of its temples, dedicated to the form of Mahāyāna Buddhism of which the Śailendras were adherents. Early in the tenth century Central Java ceased to be a seat of royalty, and from that time onwards Barabudur seems to have fallen more and more into neglect. It had virtually disappeared from public view when in the early part of the nineteenth century it was in a manner rediscovered under the auspices of Sir Stamford Raffles, the British Lieutenant-Governor of Java during our brief occupation of the island. Since then



much has been done by the Dutch, in the way of conservation and intelligent restoration as well as minute study and description, to preserve its wonderful sculptures and make them known to the world at large.

Dr. Krom deals with these matters in his first chapter, and proceeds in the next nine chapters to describe and discuss the sculptures in some detail, subject to the qualification already mentioned. They comprise several distinct series, evidently in illustration of definite stories or texts. In some cases it has fortunately been possible to discover what were the texts actually followed by the sculptors. Thus the story of the life of the historic Buddha is based on the *Lalitavistara* and ends on the reliefs at the point where that text also ends. A whole consecutive series of illustrations of *Jātaka* tales corresponds with the *Jātakamālā* of Śūra, and another gallery of reliefs agrees closely with the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. In such cases it was possible to identify the personages and episodes of the sculptures with perfect certainty. On the other hand, there are rows and rows of illustrations to which no corresponding text has yet been discovered, and though in a great many cases they have been interpreted with a very considerable degree of certainty, there are many others which cannot at present be explained.

The remaining chapters deal with Barabudūr as a monument of Hindu-Javanese art and culture, with its pantheon from the point of view of iconography, and with the particular form of Buddhism that it embodies. As to this last, the author, after giving the matter full discussion, characterizes it as Tantric Mahāyāna based on the Yogācārya school. This accords with the type of Buddhism that is known to have existed in Eastern Java a few centuries later. In some respects this type agrees closely with the Buddhism of Nepal. Of quite a different order of interest is the light which the sculptures throw on life in Java in the eighth century and thereabouts. They are full of illustrations of the costumes and ornaments of various classes of people, of their weapons, emblems of

rank, buildings, furniture, utensils, occupations, and trades, animals, vehicles, ships, religious observances, musical instruments, dances, and the like ; and from that point of view the reliefs constitute a sort of archæological museum of the utmost value.

All these matters are duly recorded by Dr. Krom in a very learned, readable, and interesting way. One point has struck me as being questionable, viz. where on pp. 85 and 89 of vol. i he speaks of a relief depicting a field of maize. I believe that maize is generally regarded as a plant of American origin ; and if that is so, it is difficult to believe that it can have been represented in Java more than a thousand years ago. If, in fact, it was, that would be a much better argument for early intercourse between Indonesia and America than the protagonists of this theory have hitherto advanced. But after looking at the corresponding plates, I very much doubt whether the plant there figured is intended for maize ; there seems to be no indication of the spathe or sheath which encloses a growing maize-cob, and the picture would do for any grain set close in an ear. However, this is a matter for botanists to decide.

The English of the translation is, on the whole, very good, but here and there one finds phrases that would have been improved by revision. There is also a fair number of misprints that should have not escaped an English proof reader, if there was one. Otherwise the book is admirably produced, with large, clear type on beautiful paper. The second volume contains a valuable bibliography and a useful index as well as two plates reproducing brief inscriptions which are of palæographic interest as helping to date the monument. The plate at the beginning of the first volume gives, on an inevitably rather small scale, a view of one corner of the great stūpa itself.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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HINDOE-JAVAANSCH E GESCHIEDENIS. Door Dr. N. J. KROM.  
10 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7, iv + 494 pp., 2 maps. 's-Gravenhage : Martinus  
Nijhoff, 1926.

If there has been a long delay in noticing this book, the reason is not far to seek : a work of this size and importance demands careful study, which takes a considerable time. Having steeped myself in it by reading every page with attention and unflagging interest, I feel that the time has been well spent and the delay fully justified.

Dr. Krom has given us something that is quite new, namely a history of Java in its Hindu period as detailed as the circumstances of the case permit, and on a much larger scale than the excellent little work of Mevr. Fruin-Mees which was noticed in this *Journal* (1922, 631-2). Both histories are based on reliable data, but Dr. Krom discusses his sources critically and justifies the inferences he draws from them. It must be mentioned in this connexion that the history of Java has had to be painfully pieced together in the last two generations from numerous inscriptions, notices of Arab and Chinese geographers, travellers, chroniclers, and the like, together with the few Javanese literary records that are available. Among the last named the only two works of outstanding historical importance are the *Pararaton* and the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*. The latter is a poem composed in 1365, the former a compilation made at some time after 1481 from sources of varying authenticity. Taken together, they have proved invaluable, but they required careful critical study. The more recent Javanese histories on which Raffles based his *History of Java* are practically worthless. The inscriptions are often fragmentary, and usually (as elsewhere) fail to give us many of the details which we could wish to know.

However, out of the whole mass of these miscellaneous materials Dr. Krom has woven a story which in a manner covers the first fifteen centuries of our era. The beginnings, of course, are somewhat slight and vague. The first inscriptions are not older than the fourth or fifth century, the first dated

Sanskrit inscription appears in 732, the oldest original dated inscription in Javanese is of the year 809. After that, epigraphy flows on in a broadening stream till about the end of the fifteenth century. A sidelight on history is also thrown by the architectural monuments, which begin about the eighth century.

Java was never united in a single kingdom. The very earliest local evidence relates to Suṇḍa (Western Java), which plays but a relatively small part later on. Here the cult of Viṣṇu seems to have been prevalent in early days. About the seventh century Central Java takes the lead. As early as that time it was a centre of Buddhist learning, but the main object of its devotion seems to have been Śīva, coupled with a special cult of Agastya. In the tenth century Central Java was superseded by Eastern Java. But an interlude of considerable importance had in the meantime occurred in Central Java : for over a hundred years from about the middle of the eighth century it was under the sway of a branch of the Śāilendra dynasty who ruled in Southern Sumatra and extended their sway throughout the western half of the Archipelago as far north as the isthmus of Kra. They appear to have introduced Tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism into Java, and they certainly built some of the finest of the old Javanese temples. The Javanese princes, whom they had driven into the eastern end of the island, eventually recovered the centre of it, but early in the tenth century again shifted their capital to the eastward. In that region the same dynasty continued to reign for about 300 years longer (latterly at Kaḍiri), till it was overcome in 1222, by a new one which went on for about 300 years more, first at Singhasari and after 1292 at Majapahit. During this period Hinduism, mainly Śāiva, but now and then Vaiṣṇava, shared the royal and popular favour with Mahāyāna Buddhism. The last phase of Javanese Hinduism, which during the fifteenth century had been much disturbed, first by dynastic dissensions and then by the spread of Islām in the coast provinces, may be said to



be continuously represented (though with a difference) in Bali to this day. There is no substantial break anywhere in this long succession, but a gradual and progressive modification of the original Indian elements, which become more and more Javanized, as may be traced in art, literature, language, and religion.

But this sketchy synopsis does not cover the whole of Dr. Krom's work. Besides the history of Java, he has also given us the history of the rest of the Archipelago, so far as it entered into relations with Java. Sumatra, Borneo, the Malay Peninsula, and Bali are here the chief factors, and they are pretty fully dealt with, so far as the sources permit. It is plain that for some three hundred years preceding the end of the thirteenth century Southern Sumatra and Eastern Java were the two great rival powers in this region, till at last Java got the upper hand. Its final success, however, was short-lived, covering little more than the fourteenth century, after which its empire fell to pieces again.

Owing to the scantiness of the available data the story remains for the most part little more than an outline. But here and there a few great personalities stand out. The chief of them are the Javanese kings, Airlangga in the early years of the eleventh century, Kṛtanagara who conquered a great part of Sumatra, and thereby established Java as the leading power in the Archipelago, but drew down upon it the Mongol attack of 1292-3, his son-in-law Wijaya who founded Majapahit at this very time, and Hayam Wuruk (1350-89), during whose reign, under the energetic administration of his imperialistic minister Gajah Mada, Majapahit reached the zenith of its power and glory. Owing to the Javanese habit of deifying their kings, some of these outstanding figures can still be seen in effigy with the attributes of the deity they adored.

I have found but few points in Dr. Krom's work open to criticism. On p. 40 "childern" is a misprint for "children". The oldest Talaing inscription (p. 64) that one can be sure of

is not from Burma or of the sixth century, but from Lophburi in Siam, and probably of the second half of the eighth century (Coedès in *BEFEO*, (1925), xxv, 186). But a Pāli inscription found at Hmawza near Prome, may be about the sixth century, and it is possible that a few words in sixth century Cambojan script on the foot of a Buddha statue found at Lophburi may be Talaing. I cannot imagine why Buddhist manuscripts brought in the seventh century from Champa to China should be in Talaing (p. 107). If not in Sanskrit, they were presumably in Cham. I am informed by M. George Coedès that the Siamese work *Koṭ Monṭhierabān*, which mentions Malacca and three other places as vassals of Siam (pp. 236, 434), is of uncertain date, but probably later than 1360, since in its introduction it mentions a king Paramatrailokanātha, whose reign began about 1435. As regards the alleged place name "Saimwang" in the Nāgarakṛtāgama list of tributaries of Java (p. 413), I can only repeat what I have said elsewhere that in my opinion we must read "Sai mwang" ("mwang" being the conjunction "and") and that the reference is perhaps to Sai (otherwise Saiburi), a small place on the coast of Patani, Malay Peninsula. (In any event Saimwang cannot be represented by Sēmang, which is not a place name, but merely a nickname of unknown derivation given by the Malays to certain tribes of Negritos.) The mention of the name between Lēngkasuka and "Kalantēn" in the line where it occurs lends some little probability to my suggested identification. As to Sang Hyang Hujung in the same list, the name can be traced down to modern times with reference to Cape Rachado. It might, of course, apply to any cape; but I know of no evidence that it was, except in this particular case. Assuming Jēre to be Jēring in Patani, or alternatively Mount Jērai in Kēdah, it is in either event somewhat misplaced in Dr. Krom's first map. Since the work was written M. Coedès has told us, in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië* (1927), 83, 460 seqq., that the so-called Vieng Sa inscription (pp. 127-8) was, in fact, erected at Ligor,



that soon after 1178 the state of Malāyu must have superseded Śrī Vijaya (pp. 303-4) as the leading power in Sumatra, that Candrabhānu (p. 331) was king of Ligor and his expeditions to Ceylon must probably be placed in 1236 and 1256, and that the date of the Khmer inscription of Trailokyarājamauli-bhūṣaṇavarmadeva (p. 411), who was probably a king of Malāyu, is pretty certainly 1183.

Finally, I think it would be highly desirable to have an English translation of Dr. Krom's important work for the benefit of a large circle of readers to whom Dutch is, I regret to say, an unknown tongue.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

COSTUMES ET PARURES KHMÈRES D'APRÈS LES DEVATĀ  
D'ANGKOR-VAT. Par SAPPHO MARCHAL.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ,  
xi + 114 pp. (including 43 full-page and 4 text illustrations). Paris et Bruxelles : G. Van Oest, 1927.

The author, who is a daughter of the Curator of Angkor, has made a carefully detailed study of the costumes and ornaments of the very numerous female figures of celestial nymphs and the like (styled devatā for short) carved on the walls of the celebrated temple of Angkor Wat. The head-dresses are particularly varied and interesting. The illustrations, line-drawings made by the author herself and often extremely elaborate in detail, must have involved a tremendous amount of labour; and her text is a fitting commentary on them. M. Victor Goloubew has written an introduction drawing attention to the service thus rendered to the study of art. He foreshadows the possibility of some of these designs being used as models by jewellers and decorative artists. They might well do, and have often done, much worse.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

GUIDE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE AUX TEMPLES D'ANGKOR. Par HENRI MARCHAL.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , vii + 217 pp. Seven illustrations in the text (including 6 full-page plans), 16 plates, 1 folding map, and 2 folding plans. Paris et Bruxelles : G. Van Oest, 1928.

This is a useful practical guide-book, sufficiently detailed and illustrated with very good plates. But it also contains enough general information on history, religion, architecture, etc., to enable visitors who are not specialists in these subjects to appreciate the ruins of Angkor, of which the author is the official Curator.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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KELANTAN MALAY (Papers on Malay Subjects, Second Series). By C. C. BROWN.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , iii + 153 pp. Singapore : Government Printing Office, 1927.

More than twenty-five years ago I ventured to suggest in No. 37 of the *JRAS.*, *Straits Branch*, that the various local Malay dialects to be found in the Malay Peninsula deserved a more intensive study than had been devoted them up to that time ; and it gives me particular pleasure to note that a good deal has since been done by several scholars in this direction. The author of the work under review has already to his credit a somewhat similar one on Perak Malay, which appeared in the same series and was noticed in our *Journal* in July, 1923, pp. 445-6. In my judgment his present book is even better than the former one. It contains thirty-two excellent dialogues, almost all of them written by local Malays, to which Mr. Brown has added a Standard Malay version and a spirited English translation, accompanied by notes on special words, a preface, and a valuable introduction explaining the leading characteristics of the dialect of Kelantan.

My only criticism of this first-class piece of work is that the limitations of the Roman alphabet compel the reader to



remember about twenty rules of pronunciation if he desires to realize what the language really sounds like. That very complex and cumbersome mode of procedure is rendered inevitable by the absence of a fount of phonetic type, coupled with the fact that the dialect differs in its phonetic system very profoundly from ordinary Malay. It is very closely related to the Patani Malay of the texts collected by my friend W. W. Skeat and published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (1921), vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 27-38.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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BEKNOPT OVERZICHT VAN DE MALEISCHE GRAMMATICA.

Door Dr. C. A. MEES.  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , 124 pp. Santpoort :  
C. A. Mees, 1927.

Some people, who should have known better, have lightly said that the whole of Malay grammar could be written on one side of a half sheet of notepaper. The author of this concise survey has not achieved that impossible miracle, but has given us something more practically useful and done it on the whole very well. To me, however, the book seems to contain a compromise between the spoken vernacular and the literary language of the Malays : and I do not think these two distinct things should be included in the same volume, particularly when no clear distinction is made between them.

Apparently the main purpose of the book is to contribute to the extensive use of Malay as a second vernacular in the Dutch East Indies, and for that purpose it may be well designed. Even if those who learn from it will tend sometimes to speak "like a book", that will certainly be an improvement on the somewhat bastard Malay current in Java at present. I fully realize that the policy of the Government of the Dutch East Indies in fostering the use of Malay as a *lingua franca* has caused a great revival of interest in it. But I do not in the least agree with the author of this grammar

in the theory that in the last century the Malay language and literature were, in any real sense, dead. A language is certainly not dead when it is spoken as a home vernacular by several millions who know no other tongue ; nor can a literature be said to be dead, even though at some given moment its canon seems to be closed, so long as it is read with interest and appreciation by thousands of readers, whose numbers continue to grow as education is spread among the people.

This is not the place to enter into any criticism of details. The general scheme of the book, particularly the treatment of the verb, strikes me as being very good ; and subject to some slight reservations I can heartily recommend the work.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

DE MIDDELJAVAANSCH E HISTORISCHE TRADITIE. Door C. C. BERG. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$   $\times$  6 $\frac{1}{4}$ , 179 pp. Santpoort : C. A. Mees, 1927.

In this scholarly monograph the author examines the historical data of a number of Javanese works of the middle period. He deals mainly with Majapahit and Bali in and about the fourteenth century, but includes references to earlier periods and compares his sources critically. Like several other degree theses published in recent years by Dutch scholars on matters connected with the Dutch East Indies, the present work maintains a high standard of excellence.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

PAPERS ON THE ETHNOLOGY AND ARCHÆOLOGY OF THE MALAY PENINSULA. By IVOR K. N. EVANS. Cambridge University Press, 1927.

Your reviewer hails with pleasure the appearance of this later volume from the thoughtful and experienced pen of the Government Ethnologist to the Perak Museum. The Syndics of the University Press are to be congratulated upon their



assumption of sponsorship for this excellently printed volume of Collected Essays, which should prove of first-class interest and value to anthropologists, including as they do, some most important contributions to our knowledge of the earlier culture-stages of the Peninsula which are now for the first time in history established for this fascinating but still too little known tropical region.

Nor is there less cause for congratulation in the extent to which the author's labours have succeeded in bringing sensibly nearer the chances of comparing and correlating our scantier knowledge and evidences of these culture-stages as they occur both in Malaya and Indo-China with the infinitely great wealth of specimens illustrating the same stages of civilization, in the justly famed Museums of Holland and the Netherlands Indies. Many of the papers here collected have already appeared in various scientific journals of Malaya, but the chapters dealing with the succession of prehistoric culture-periods, e.g. the chapters dealing with stone implements whether of paleolithic, or of neolithic, type, together with the chapters dealing with cave-dwellers, and the Bronze and Early Iron ages, are now for the first time published. The entire collection worthily companions the same author's *Studies in Religion, Folklore, and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, which appeared under the ægis of the Cambridge University Press on a previous occasion.

Altogether the present volume contains four parts. These deal, respectively, with the following subjects:—

(1) The Pagan Races—Negritos, Sakai, Jakun and Orang Laut ("Sea-gypsies").

(2) Malay Beliefs, (a) lucky and unlucky *Kêris*-measurements; (b) Malay methods of divination.

(3) Malay and other Technology, the sub-sections consisting of: (a) a most important paper on the manufacture of Damascened Spear and Knife blades in the Malay States; (b) Malay gold and silver filigree work; (c) the pottery industry

of Pahang;<sup>1</sup> (d) the Malay fire-piston (for kindling fire); (e) a Kelantan (East Coast) coin-mould; (f) Nakon (i.e. Ligor) *Niello*-ware.

#### (4) Archæology of Malaya.

It will thus be seen what an amazingly rich and varied field of investigation has been covered. I propose, however, to take Part IV first: since the conclusions reached in that part are of the most far-reaching character, opening up, as they do, an entirely new chapter in the scientific study of the Malay Peninsula.

Beginning with the Age of Stone (p. 154), the author shows that in the Malay Peninsula we find a species of

"Neolithic culture imposed, without any transition stages, on one of primitive paleolithic type—a state of things very closely parallel to what has been observed in Indo-China (in Tonkin, for instance)."

In an earlier passage (p. 146), Mr. Evans describes how while excavating "two small light caves at Lenggong in Upper Perak" he discovered "the first implements of Paleolithic type known from the Peninsula". Elsewhere (p. 144) he more exactly defines the type of Paleolithic culture which he has thus established, and to which he gives the name of "Chelleo-Mousterian" (some geologists would perhaps prefer to have such objects more simply described as of "River-drift type").<sup>2</sup>

These correlations are, obviously, quite new and of supreme scientific importance and the only remaining doubtful point (upon which we may hope that Mr. Evans will enlighten us in his next *fasciculus*), depends upon the view to be taken of the large chipped implement of granite reported by Mr. H. N.

<sup>1</sup> The statement that the potter's wheel is unknown to the Peninsular Malays should be qualified by adding the word "now". There is a Malay potter's wheel from the Peninsula at Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> It may perhaps be helpful to state that some geologists question the possibility of the stones with grip-depressions being used as "pounders" (pp. 149–50, 153). Some smaller "cross-hatched" stones of this kind have been shown to have been used for stamping red marks on the skin.



Ridley, between thirty and forty years ago, as having been picked up by Lieut. A. D. Cox at Tanglin Barracks, Singapore, which originally came from a site identified at the time as Tanjong Karang on the west coast of Singapore Island. Mr. Ridley himself in a recent letter to the writer (dated the first of March, 1928) stated that he considers this implement to have been of paleolithic type! A description of it will be found in *JRAS. (S.B.)*, No. 23, p. 141. The year in which this specimen appears to have been found was 1891.

Next, with regard to Bronze Age possibilities, the "definite existence of such a period for the Peninsula" is doubted by Mr. Evans (p. 159), who considers that if it existed, it "was not of any considerable duration". The only examples known to him consist of "two single specimens from Selangor and Perak" and "finds of bronze adze-heads" from Kenaboi in Negri Sembilan. Illustrations of these rare objects would have indeed been welcome. Also some suggestion as to how they came to be there. For early Iron Age examples we are referred to certain iron tools, "presumably mining implements, which are said to be unlike any used at the present day," nor does the author "remember having seen similar articles from other countries"! In other words, they are, so far as the author knows, unique, and it would be so much the more obviously helpful, at least from the reader's point of view, if more adequate illustrations with measurements to scale could be given of these all-important specimens. Mr. Evans, however, has compensated us as far as possible by linking up his description of these implements with the extremely interesting native traditions of the "Mawas" or "Orang-utan", which has come down to us from the past in many parts of the Malay Peninsula. As Mr. Evans observes (p. 159) the "folklore beliefs of the Malayan peasantry" represent these great apes as having blades, with the appearance of "sharp sickles, sprouting from the elbows" (or "sharp-bladed iron armbones", as the writer was told, in the neighbouring State of Selangor)—with these

implements this gigantic ape was believed to clear away the bushes that encumbered his track as he forced his way through the inmost recesses of the primeval Malayan forests!

It must not be forgotten that the Peninsula is believed to have been once connected with Sumatra, in which island the "orang" still occurs.

But it is not enough to have laid the foundations of this new study of "prehistoric Malaya". Mr. Evans has in addition some most suggestive and stimulating remarks with regard to the former site of the long-lost Hindu capital of the ancient Malay State of Kedah, the Langkasuka of the famed Malayan Romance *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*. The site of this buried city of an old-world epic civilization has been discovered by Mr. Evans in some ancient Hindu remains near Sungei Batu, in the Kuala Merbok district of Kedah, close to the fort of Kedah Peak (called Gunong Jerai by the Malays).

I have not after all, left myself space in which to deal adequately with the remaining three sections of Mr. Evans' volume, which embody a number of most original observations in respect of Malay craftsmanship, folklore, and the primitive forest-dwelling tribes of the Peninsula. It should be noted in passing that in any further edition of this book it is to be hoped that the author will be able to give us his opinions with regard to at least two substantial volumes which have appeared in German during the last two decades. The first of these is Moskowsky's excellent *Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra*, by M. Moskowsky, Berlin, 1909. And the second, which may be considered the most important for comparative purposes, is entitled *Bei den Urwaldzweigen von Malaya*, by P. Schebesta, Leipzig, 1927. The latter is of special value in providing new up-to-date and first-hand evidence with regard to the vexed question of the Negrito and other comb-patterns, and the even more difficult estimate of the value to be attached to the evidence of Vaughan-Stevens, in connexion with this very important recent information—vague and inadequate, and even at times in-



accurate as some of Vaughan-Stevens' statements most obviously are.

To sum up the contents of this wonderful volume! It would now very clearly appear that matters have advanced to a point at which a more definitely forward policy ought certainly to be pursued by the several Malayan governments concerned in the common interests of Malaya. It should in fact still be possible in spite of severe recent market fluctuations, to finance without undue strain a more general and concerted effort for the solution of some of the outstanding problems here mentioned—pre-eminently that of excavating, preferably under Mr. Evans' own competent guidance, a sufficient part of the site of the old-time Kedah capital, or any other buried Malayan city, to enable the sites to be certainly identified and their general character described. Thus would, at last, be inaugurated in the Peninsula, a work that was begun by the English Government in India and Ceylon more than a generation ago, and in other parts of the British Empire at an even earlier date. Under the energetic and enlightened leading of the present Governor of Singapore who has so recently returned to the sphere of his earlier activities and interests, may we not hope that a more enthusiastic study of British Malaya may bring it in respect of such work at length definitely abreast of its more immediate neighbours?

W. W. SKEAT.

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THE ACCENT PROBLEM IN TURKISH. By G. RAQUETTE.  
(Lund Universitets Årsskrift. N.F. Avd. 1, Bd. 24,  
Nr. 4.)  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ . 42 pp. Lund: Gleerup, and Leipzig:  
Harrassowitz; 1927.

Brief though it is, this paper is of the highest importance for students of spoken Turkish. The problem of accent in Turkish has always been a difficult one, and there are probably few of us who have not at some time or another

revolted against the usual rule in the grammars that the accent is always on the last syllable. Dr. Raquette's discovery, briefly stated, is that there are two kinds of accent in Turkish, the stress accent and the musical accent, the latter like the musical accent of the Scandinavian languages. The high-pitched tone is normally on the last syllable, and it is to this fact that the rule stated in the grammar owes its existence. The stress accent on the other hand is hardly ever on the last syllable, on the contrary it is usually on the root syllable.

Dr. Raquette's discovery is of prime importance, and his generous recognition of the contributions to the subject made by his predecessors, his gentle methods of controversy, and his readiness to admit that he has not yet got to the bottom of his subject might well be imitated by other writers on controversial subjects.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

DIE ZWÖLFER-SCHİ'A. ZWEI RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE CHARACTERBILDER AUS DER MONGOLENZEIT. By Professor R. STROTHMANN.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , xii + 183 pp. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1926.

This work is an excellent example of the application of modern historical methods to the history of the East. In the time of our ancestors a "history" was almost entirely a chronicle of events, prominent characters were labelled "good" or "bad" according to the necessities of the case or the author's predilections, and that was about all there was to it. So far as European history is concerned this phase has passed, possibly because the progress of events is now well known, and even the schoolboy has now tumbled to the fact that the "good-bad" categorization was aimed primarily at imparting moral instruction in the qualities to be imitated and avoided, and not at giving an unbiassed account of the facts. But so far as the East is concerned, historians, particularly those who exploit the "glamour of the East",



generally on a very inadequate scientific basis, are still far too prone to follow the old lines.

Not so Professor Strothmann, who has written an admirable monograph on the personality, life, and work of two famous Shi'ite divines of the thirteenth century A.D., Nāṣireddīn Ṭūsī and Rāḍieddīn Ṭā'ūsī, selecting the former as an example of the worldly Shi'ite statesman, *rusé*, and a past master of the typically Shi'ite quality of *taqīya* (dissimulation), who was at the same time a philosopher and theologian with an amazingly interesting many-sided character, and the latter as a typical unworldly divine, almost a recluse, whose theological teachings have had a far reaching influence on his successors. Taken together the two characters give us a vivid idea of the social and intellectual life of the period. It cannot, however, be denied that the theology and philosophy makes fairly stiff reading.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

ORTA ASIA TÜRK TARİKHİ HAQQINDA DERSLER. By Professor V. BARTHOLD.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ , 8 + 222 + 20 pp. Constantinople: Evqaf Matba'ası, 1927.

This volume contains the Turkish text (or a Turkish translation?) of a course of twelve lectures on the history of the Turks of Central Asia delivered by Professor Barthold in Constantinople in 1926 on the invitation of the Institute of Turcology of the Constantinople University, and, as it represents the considered views of a first-class scholar of ripe experience, formulated in the light of the most recent literary and archæological discoveries, it is of prime importance.

We must not, of course, expect too much from a work of this kind. You cannot deliver foot-notes to a lecture, and Professor Barthold, therefore, expresses rather his conclusions on the various problems of which he treats than his reasons for reaching them, with citation of chapter and verse. More-

over when a subject so vast is to be covered in the space of 220 octavo pages, even of small Turkish type, there must necessarily be omissions and condensations ; it must be taken for granted that the audience starts with some knowledge of their subject, and the lecturer must aim at giving rather a statement of the general trend of events, a philosophy of history, than a detailed chronicle of the happenings of each year or century. Within these limits the work is one which must be of accorded high praise and cannot safely be neglected by any student of the history of Central Asia. If certain criticisms are offered in the following paragraphs, it is rather because they are superficial blemishes which mask the excellence of Professor Barthold's work, and might well be eliminated if the same or a similar work is to be published in some other language, than serious or radical defects.

That these blemishes exist, however, cannot be denied. The first of them is a certain incoherence, a tendency to run off at a tangent. Central Asia has suffered more than most areas from this failing, and Professor Marquart's essays in incoherence in the Grand Manner have probably never been equalled, much less surpassed. Professor Barthold does not rival Marquart, but there are too many instances in which a promising line of thought gets lost in a bog, because the Professor's brain is so full of knowledge of his subject that he cannot resist the temptation to wander off into interesting by-paths regardless of their relevance to the trend of his main argument. No doubt much apparent incoherence would have been avoided if he had been able to relegate these superfluous facts to a foot-note.

A second defect is the lack of a table of contents to the lectures. There are three excellent indices, of subjects, names of authors, and names of works quoted, but a *précis* would greatly assist foreign scholars, and even Turkish scholars themselves, to find their way about the book.

For the third defect it is perhaps not fair to hold Professor Barthold responsible, but it is nevertheless a blemish on



ZUR AUSSPRACHE DES SANSKRIT UND TIBETISCHEN. By Dr. MAX WALLESER. 10 × 6½ in., 40 pp. Heidelberg, 1926; purchasable through O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig.

This short study forms volume ii of the "Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus", and in spite of its somewhat comprehensive title deals only with one or two special aspects of the pronunciation of Tibetan and Sanskrit, in the latter case principally the pronunciation of *k*.

In neither case can Professor Walleser be said to carry much conviction. The original pronunciation of Tibetan is rather an interesting subject, especially for English scholars, since modern Tibetan pronunciation varies more widely from the spelling even than English, random accusations that we spell one word "Cholmondeley" and pronounce it "Marchbanks" notwithstanding. The ordinary common-sense view is that Tibetan words were originally pronounced in the way in which they are spelt and that phonetic decay has since set in, while religious conservatism has preserved the original spelling. Professor Walleser's contention, however, appears to be that in at any rate some cases words never were pronounced *exactly* as they are spelt but that certain letters were introduced in the spelling to indicate a slight variation from the ordinary in the pronunciation of the main sound. His argument is based principally on the Tibetan transcription of the Sanskrit *kalpa*, *bskal-pa*; where he says that the *bs* merely indicate that the *k* was pronounced somewhat differently from the ordinary Tibetan *k*.

Advocates of the "common-sense" view certainly have a difficult task to explain the *bs* in this word, but that does not mean that an explanation on the lines of Professor Walleser's is the only one possible and indeed the balance of evidence seems definitely to be against it. No reference is made in the paper, and it must therefore be assumed that Professor Walleser has not considered the extremely important evidence from two sources, (a) early foreign transcriptions of Tibetan words, e.g. the Uighur transcription published in

F. W. K. Müller's *Uigurica II* (Berlin, 1911), p. 52; (b) early transcriptions of foreign languages in Tibetan script, e.g. the transcriptions of Chinese recently published by Dr. Thomas and the present writer in this Journal. The former seems to indicate that consonants now normally silent were pronounced when this text was written. The latter is almost overwhelming evidence against the theory; Chinese is perhaps less easily represented by foreign alphabets than any other language, and if the Tibetans, in fact, consciously possessed the elaborate and delicate instrument created by the system supposed, it seems incredible that they would not have used it in transcribing Chinese. The fact however, is that such texts contain not one single "silent" consonant.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

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A GRAMMAR OF THE KUI LANGUAGE. By the Rev. W. W. WINFIELD, B.A., B.D. 10 × 6½, xiv + 248 pp. Asiatic Society of Bengal (Bibliotheca Indica), 1928. Price not stated.

Chiefly owing to their ancient custom of human sacrifices, the Kandhs or Khonds of Orissa and the neighbouring hills have for many years been fortunate (or unfortunate) in attracting the attention both of anthropologists and of philologists. Although but a small tribe of at most some 450,000 people, their Dravidian tongue has often been described. The earliest Grammar seems to have been that of J. P. Frye (1851), which was quickly followed by Lingum Letchmajee's (1853). The latter was largely used by Bishop Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, and was reprinted by the Government of Bengal in 1902. That reprint was followed in 1909 by J. F. Friend Pereira's *Grammar of the Kūi Language*, also published by the Bengal Government, and now, in the present year, we have Mr. Winfield's work. But this does not exhaust the list, for Kūi, though spoken by so few people, has received the dignity



of being given a dialect, Kūvi, spoken in the neighbouring Madras District of Vizagapatam. For this we have a Grammar by F. V. P. Schulze (Madras, 1911), and, according to Mr. Winfield, it is sufficiently different from the Kūi of Orissa to warrant its separation as a distinct but kindred form of speech.

Most of the Kandh people call themselves "Kūinga", and their language "Kūi". The name Kandh is borrowed from Oriyā. Khond, a corruption of this, was employed by earlier English writers, and has thus become the name by which the tribe is generally known in this country. Mr. Winfield prefers "Kond" as the most suitable Europeanized name of the people. Although I have not myself often come across that form, he states that it has been very generally used of late years. Personally, if the word is to be used at all, I should prefer that the Orissa spelling "Kandh" should be retained. It is already fairly well known, and avoids multiplication of nomenclature.

The list of Grammars given above shows a series of progressive excellence; and I have no hesitation in recommending Mr. Winfield's Grammar as a great advance on its predecessors. It is not a mere outline sketch, but, as Mr. Ollenbach observes in his foreword, is an exhaustive study of the structure and growth of the language. As Kūi is a Dravidian tongue, the whole grammar is based on agglutination. Save for occasional euphonic changes, the root persists without alteration throughout its entire range of grammatical functions. The suffixes, giving nominal or verbal force, or modifying such a force, therefore require most thorough treatment, and this they have received most successfully at Mr. Winfield's hands.

To the Grammar proper (which includes both accidence and syntax) he has added what, in Aryan philology, we should call a *Dhātupāṭha*. It is a list of some seven hundred Kūi verbs, with the principal parts of each. This is followed by a useful vocabulary of all the words in the numerous examples quoted

in the text and by five Appendixes dealing respectively with (1) the change of dental consonants to palatals, (2) the pronunciation of the "checked *h*" described by former writers, (3) the use of double consonants, (4) the names of the tribe and of its language, and (5) the number of speakers. A full bibliography and an index complete this excellent work. A word must be added in praise of the typography and freedom from misprints of a work in every way worthy of the great Society that has published it. It will be indispensable to every future student of the comparative philology of the Dravidian languages.

G. A. GRIERSON.

### Indica by L. D. Barnett.

1. TRITA ἌΡΤΥΑ, eine vedische Gottheit. I: Inaugural dissertation. Von K. RÖNNOW. (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1927. Filosofi, Språkvetenskap och Historiska Vetenskaper 5.) 10 × 6½ in., pp. xxviii + 189 + 2. Uppsala: A.-B. Lindequistska Bokhandeln, 1927.

It is hardly just to Dr. Rönnow for a reviewer to pass judgment upon his work until he has published the second and concluding part of it, which is now in preparation. Nevertheless, it may be fairly said that the present instalment is a singularly able and scholarly contribution to Vedic literature, which really throws new light upon the obscure character of Trita in the R̥gvēda. Dr. Rönnow, who holds that the original form of Trita's name was *Trīto-* (with which the Greek *Τρίτων* is to be compared), has so far not much to say of Trita's association with the Indo-European legend of the Three Brothers, beyond maintaining that the form *Trita* (the equivalent of *Tertius*, more or less) is probably the result of a popular etymology based upon that myth. On the other hand, he deals at considerable length with Trita's character as a spirit of the waters, lustratory genius, dragon-slayer, and



brewer and dispenser of the Sōma, with various issues arising thence, and he is particularly instructive in his discussions of the nature of the Sōma as the divine vivifying essence of water, of the parts played in myth and ritual by the Gandharvas, and of the relations between the asuric and devic cults, although on the last point I venture to think his conclusions need some modification. Altogether the book is marked by exceptional ability, and we hope that the publication of the concluding part will not be long delayed.

2. *STILGESCHICHTE UND CHRONOLOGIE DES RĠVEDA*. Von WALTHER WÜST. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausg. v. d. Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, xvii Bd., Nr. 4.)  $9\frac{1}{8} \times 6$  in., pp. xvi + 172. Leipzig, 1928.

In this study, which merits high praise as a piece of exact and laborious research, Dr. Wüst endeavours to ascertain the relative dates of the ten books of the R̥gvēda by a statistical examination of their style. The criteria applied by him are the relative frequency of (1) the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, (2) *vrddhi* in secondary nominal formations, such as *ātharvaṇa*, *bhrūtra*, *saukṛtya*, *straiṇa*, (3) late suffixes, viz. *-āyana*, *-i*, *-ika*, *-iṣṇu*, *-īya*, *-ēya*, *-tva*, *-tvana*, *-tvatā*, *-tū*, *-maya*, *-la*, *-vin*, *-śas*, (4) compound words of various types, (5) reduplications, including intensives, desideratives, onomatopœic forms, and *āmrēḍitas*, (6) words formed with prefixes, of types such as *abhibhūti*, *aghōra-cakṣus*, *brhad-uktha*, (7) diminutives, (8) plays on numbers, scil. on *ēka*, etc., *śata*, *sahasra*, *viśva*, *sarva*, (9) adjectives denoting metres or derived from names of metres, e.g. *anuṣṭubh*, *ṛc*, *gāyatra*, *gāthā*, *gāthin*, *sāman*, *sāmagā*, (10) adjectives with philosophical and theological meanings, (11) adjectives of exaggerated intensity of expression, such as *ajāta-śatru*, and (12) compounds of identity, e.g. *agni-jihva*, *dhūma-kētu*. It may perhaps be questioned whether some of these criteria are perfectly cogent : for example, the selection of words under Nos. 10 and 11 may

in some cases be determined by subjective feeling, and so be open to modification. Unquestionably, however, the application of them yields most interesting and valuable results. The individual books of the RV. do not respond to them with complete uniformity, but on the whole they react to the tests with at least approximate consistency. If we take the collective results of the criteria, we find that the relative order of the ten Maṇḍalas judged thereby is as follows: IX, IV, III and VII, II and VI, V, VIII, I, X. Thus the ninth book as a whole is the earliest, and the tenth, of course, the latest; the period between the first and last is at the most three or four hundred years, and it lay probably nearer to 1000 B.C. than to 2000 B.C. These conclusions may have to be modified in the light of future researches, but so far they appear generally to fit the facts.

A further and very welcome result of these studies is to throw further light on the relation of the RV. to the classical Sanskrit literature. The style of the RV., artificial and conventional, already the product of a school of Epigoni,<sup>1</sup> can be followed through its developments into the language of Epic and Kāvya, as well as into its ramifications into that of the Upaniṣads with their psycho-cosmical mysticism and the Sāṅkhya and Buddhism with their number-jugglery. Not only in the culture that it reveals, but likewise in the idiom that it uses, the RV. is directly linked with the following ages.

3. KAUTILYA. Or an Exposition of his Social Ideal and Political Theory. By NARAYAN CHANDRA BANDHYOPADHYAYA, M.A. In two independent volumes. Vol. I: The Art of Good Government.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in., pp. xiv + 318 + x. Calcutta: Cambray and Co., 1927.

"The object of the present volume," writes the author, "is not so much to summarize the details of Kauṭīliyan

<sup>1</sup> It may be observed that this artificial character of the RV. fully justifies the application of the statistical method to it. To apply such criteria to Isaiah or Aeschylus would be a deplorable error; but to the RV. they are quite appropriate.



administration as to present in a handy volume the guiding principles of the greatest Arthaśāstra teacher, to discuss his ideas as to the ends and functions of government, and to present the prospects of good government which he had before him." To these aims are devoted the five sections composing this book, which deal respectively with (1) introductory matters, viz. Kauṭalya himself and his reputed identity with Cāpakya, the present Artha-śāstra and other works on the same theme, and the Hindu theory of the ends of life, (2) ideas of society, state, and kingship, (3) the duties of the king and his relation to the state, (4) administration, and (5) the character of the administration, evolution of the system, Kauṭalya's ideals, consolidation of the royal power, etc. It cannot be said that the work throws any important new lights upon the subject, or that the treatment is particularly profound. It is, however, generally intelligent and reasonable, and the author is justified in laying stress upon the nobler aspects of his hero's statesmanship, which are often ignored. A second volume, dealing with Kauṭaliyan diplomacy, war, conquest, and consolidation of empire, is promised.

4. THE PRINCESS OF WALES SARASVATI BHAVANA TEXTS.  
 Edited by GOPĪ NĀTHA KAVIRĀJA. Nos. 13, 14, 15  
 (parts 1-2), 17.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  in., pp. 4 + 40 + i, pp. 13 +  
 29, pp. 2 + 232, pp. 3 + 27. Benares : Government  
 Sanskrit Library, 1925-7.

No. 13 of this series, edited by Pandit Gopinātha Kavirāja, comprises the *Siddha-siddhānta-saṅgraha*, a metrical tract in seven *upadēśas* by a writer named Balabhadra, summarising the *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati* ascribed to Nityanātha, on the doctrines of the Nātha school of Śāiva Yōga. In No. 14 we have Āśādharā's *Trivēṇikā*, an essay on the power of words to convey meaning by denotation, connotation, and suggestion, which is edited by Pandits Baṭukanātha Śarmā and Jagannātha Śāstrī Hōśing. No. 15 contains the first two instalments of the *Jñāna-khaṇḍa* or doctrinal section of the

*Tripurā-rahasya*, an exposition in narrative form of Śākta mysticism, which is edited by Pandit Gopinātha Kavirāja, and in No. 17 Mahāmahōpādhyāya Gaṅgānātha Jhā gives us Jayanta's *Nyāya-kalikā*, a summary of the author's views on the sixteen categories of logic which are developed at length in his commentary *Nyāya-mañjarī* on the *Nyāya-sūtra*. The series deserves commendation not only for the rarity of the texts published in it, but likewise for the attention paid by the general editor and his coadjutors to the by-ways of Hindu thought, such as the Nātha and Śākta schools, which have a certain importance and interest of their own, although perhaps they do not represent the Hindu genius at its best.

5. A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN MITHILA.

By . . . KASHIPRASAD JAYASWAL, M.A. (Oxon.) . . . ANANTAPRASAD ŚĀSTRĪ, Ph.D. (Oxon.). Vol. I: Smṛti Manuscripts.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in., pp. xv + i + 536 + xvi + xv + i. Patna, Bankipore printed: Khadgavilas Press, 1927.

In this volume, published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, with financial support generously afforded by the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, are presented the firstfruits of the search for Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in Bihar and Orissa instituted by Government in 1918; and it is a very acceptable offering. True, it records no exciting discovery: the hope that some lost work of paramount importance, such as Guṇādhyā's *Bṛhat-kathā* or a primitive *Purāṇa*, might be found has not yet been realised, and perhaps never will. The 407 Sanskrit works here registered are, with one exception, writings on religious law—*dharma-sūtras*, *dharma-śāstras*, digests, and monographs on special rituals—and none of them are of great antiquity or striking novelty. But they are all of some importance. The compilers tell us that "the present volume does not contain an exhaustive list of all Smṛti works. The search was instituted to discover rare MSS. Only (*sic*!) unpublished or little known MSS. have



been recorded. Published or well-known MSS. have been noticed if there is any striking variation or other particular point of interest". Hence we may take it that the manuscripts of common works here registered—e.g. Manu, Yājñavalkya, and the like—are of value for the critical study of their texts; and the other works, especially the digests composed by Māithila pandits, will appeal to specialists as characteristic products of the study of Hindu law and ritual which has long flourished in the region under survey, while No. 295, which seems to have crept into this volume by a technical oversight, is a portion of Ratnapāṇi's *Mūhūrṣācarita*, a history of the present dynasty of Darbhanga. The workmanship of this catalogue is good and sound, and there is little to desiderate in it except an index of scribes and patrons, which would be a useful addition.

6. TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES. Nos. LXXXVII-XCI.  
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. pp. i + i + iii + 96, pp. 3 + iii + v + 280 + ii + x, pp. 3 + iii + 42 + iv, pp. i + ii + xv + 291 + iii + i, pp. i + 5 + ii + vii + xiii + 332 + i + viii + vi + i. Trivandrum: Government Press, 1925-7.

No. 87 of this series is edited by the late Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstrī and No. 88 by R. Harihara Śāstrī, while for the rest we are indebted to K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī. With No. 89 the series appears with a new sub-title, *Śrī-Sētu-lakṣmī-prasāda-mālā*, in recognition of the patronage of H.H. the Maharani Sētulakṣmī; thenceforward each volume is to bear the names and numbers of the two series, which is slightly confusing to bibliographers.

The subjects of these volumes are varied. No. 87 is the *Śaṅgīta-samaya-sāra*, a manual of music in nine chapters of verse, in which are also included the rules for pantomime and gesticulation. The author is Pārśvadēva, a disciple of Hermana; he must have been a Jain, but nothing more is known of him. In No. 88 we have books 1-5 of Mammata's *Kāvya-prakāśa* with two commentaries, Vidyācakravartī's

*Sampradāya-prakāśinī* and Bhaṭṭa Gōpāla's *Sāhitya-cūdāmaṇi*, both of considerable technical merit. Of these two exegetes, the former was a courtier of a Hoysaḷa Vīra-Ballāḷa; whether this was Ballāḷa III (c. A.D. 1310), as the editor opines, or one of his predecessors, is not clear. For the second the editor ingeniously suggests an identification with Bhaṭṭa Gōpāla, the father of Śāradātanaya, but this is very problematical. The *Sphōṭa-siddhi* of Bharata Miśra (No. 89 of the Trivandrum Series, and No. 1 of the *Śrī-sētu-lakṣmī-prasāda-mālā*) is a summary of the classical arguments for the theory of *sphōṭa*, in ten memorial verses with an exposition. Then comes as No. 90 of the old series (No. 2 of *Śrī-sētu-lakṣmī-prasāda-mālā*), pt. i, of Kumārila's *Mīmāṃsā-śloka-vārttika*, the well-known exposition of Śabara-svāmī's *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra-bhāṣya*, with a commentary styled *Kāśikā* by Sucarita Miśra; and lastly we have in No. 91 (= No. 3 of *Śrī-sētu-lakṣmī-prasāda-mālā*) the famous Varāhamihira's *Hōrā-śāstra* (or *Bṛhaj-jātaka*), a manual of horary astrology in twenty-six chapters, with a commentary by Rudra Vāryar.

7. ÉMILE SENART: LES CASTES DANS L'INDE. Les faits et le système. Nouvelle édition publiée sous les auspices du Musée Guimet.  $9\frac{1}{4} + 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. pp. 7 + 244 + 1. Paris (Abbeville printed): P. Geuthner, 1927.

The advent of this book is likely to make the reader *leidvoll und freudvoll*, for it evokes keen regrets for the brilliant author, who passed away but a few weeks ago, and at the same time it bears cheering testimony to the vitality of his work, which, now re-issued after a lapse of over thirty years, still speaks with magistral authority. Senart's *Castes* made its first appearance in 1894, and it at once compelled the assent of all who were competent to judge to its main proposition that the castes of India are essentially the descendants of the ancient Indo-European family, modified under the peculiar conditions of Indian history and fitted by Brahmanic theorists *tant bien que mal* into their scheme of the Four Classes. *Felix qui potuit*



*rerum cognoscere causas*; and Senart was happy likewise in that he lived to see his work recognised and to write the foreword to this re-issue. The Musée Guimet merits the hearty gratitude of students for this handsome and timely reprint.

8. MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 30: THE BEGINNINGS OF ART IN EASTERN INDIA, with special reference to Sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, M.A., F.A.S.B., Rai Bahadur. No. 32: FRAGMENT OF A PRAJNA-PARAMITA MANUSCRIPT FROM CENTRAL ASIA. By Pandit B. B. BIDYABINOD. 13 × 10 in., pp. 54, 7 plates, pp. 12 + i, 4 plates. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1927.

The work of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda is, as is his wont, thoughtful and well informed. After a chapter on art in the unfavourable atmosphere of Vedic religion, he discusses its growth in the domain of the primitive religion of Eastern India, where nature-worship, expressing itself in the cult of the *cāitya*-tree, the honour paid to the illustrious dead by the erection of the *stūpa*, and the veneration of animal symbols of deities, supplied fruitful themes for plastic representation. He then compares the structural art of Persepolis and Pāṭaliputra, concluding that the imitation of Persepolitan style at Pāṭaliputra "was not the normal result of the contact of the Achæmenian and Indian cultures, but was due to conscious adoption of the plan of the Achæmenian hall of public audience by the Mauryan emperor as a part of the paraphernalia of his imperialism" (p. 12). This leads him to a study of Aśōka's imperialism—the peaceful expansion of the Empire of the Faith—and its plastic symbols on his sculptures, with a survey of the imperialism of the Achæmenids, Alexander, the Seleucids, and the Māuryas before Aśōka; and this is followed by a chapter on Aśōka's edicts, with the conclusion that his "idea of universal kinship through Dharma or universal brotherhood is a further development of the idea

of universal dominion entertained by Darius I and Alexander . . . the original contribution of Aśoka himself " (p. 26). The author then attacks his main theme. Aśoka's art, like his religion, was composite, " a synthesis of all the arts—Indian, Achæmenian, Assyrian, Hellenistic, of his age," but was most influenced by the Achæmenian. The Rai Bahadur suggests with some probability that Bindusāra, traditionally a philhellene, imported sculptors from the Seleucid kingdom, who introduced Perso-Hellenistic elements into Māuryan art, which was perfected under Aśoka ; some of the cruder Māuryan sculptures may be pre-Aśokan, and probably were originally intended for worship, the objects figured on them (the lion, bull, elephant, Garuḍa, Makara, Kalpa-tree, etc.), being mythological symbols associated with gods.<sup>1</sup> After this comes a chapter on later Māuryan art, in which, *à propos* of works of mixed style like the statues of Patna and Didarganj, it is suggested that the Indian artists trained by the foreign craftsmen imported by Bindusāra and Aśoka after a time " would naturally be employed by the successor of Aśoka or others of the same generation, and the indigenous primitive art would assert itself in their work through the veneer of Perso-Hellenistic polish " (p. 35) ; and a Catalogue of the products of Māuryan and Śuṅgan art in the Museum concludes an interesting and valuable monograph.

In No. 32 are published facsimiles and transliteration, with introduction, of eight half-folios belonging to a manuscript

<sup>1</sup> The Rai Bahadur thinks (pp. 21 ff., 33) that Aśoka refers to the construction of such divine figures when in his Minor Rock-inscriptions he says that " the gods who previously did not mingle [with men] in Jambūdvīpa have now been made to mingle ". This seems unlikely. Aśoka speaks of the mingling of gods with men as a *result* of his propagation of the Faith, whereas some, perhaps many, of these divine figures, as our author admits, were constructed *before* his reign ; and moreover it is hardly usual to apply the term *dēvā* to animals such as bulls and lions. Aśoka, I suspect, refers in this connexion to the common belief that various gods are incarnated in the person of a righteous king, and means that the rulers of India—himself and his governors—have now become " godly ", literally inspired by deities.



of a Sanskrit Prajñāpāramitā from Central Asia (probably Eastern Turkestan). Altogether forty-eight folios of this manuscript, all more or less damaged, have been secured ; the eight here published are the best preserved of them. The script is calligraphic, of a well-known Upright Gupta type, belonging probably to the latter half of the sixth century A.D., and the text corresponds to the Śatasāhasrikā Pr°. VII-XI, which, as given in the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition, seems to be a more diffuse recension.

9. THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1668-9. By Sir WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. 9 × 6½ in., pp. xi + 343, 1 pl. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1927.

In the period under survey in the present volume an outstanding incident is the transference of the island of Bombay from the ownership of King Charles to the jurisdiction of the East India Company, which took effect on the 23rd September, 1668. The Company, with its Presidents and Governors, set to work at once with energy and judgment to turn this advantage to the best account ; the building of fortifications was begun, while at the same time the Company outlined an enlightened policy "to promote the worship of God . . . amongst our owne people and those that shalbe invited to imbrace the same, and yet not to persecute or disturbe those that shalbe of different apreheensions of any other nature ; and to administer justice equall to all, by which all sorts of people may bee encoraged to resort and settle there . . . and that may improove our revenew, without oppressing or discouraging the people" (p. 236), and instructed its officers "to invite and encorage all sorts of merchants to inhabite in and to trade to and from that place ; which we hope you will the better accomplish, for that you write the Mogull is so seveere in his persecution of discenters from the Mahometan religion" (p. 238). Again they give an interesting order "that, for the better planting of Bombay and making it an English collony, wee doe not only send you English soldiers and their wives but also single woemen, that may become wives to our

soldiers and others there. And . . . some gentlewomen, whose though wee did not invite thereto, yet being engaged therein, wee doe recomend them unto you, that they may be there civilly treated and have that respect from you as their virtues shall deserve" (p. 240 f.). A striking and instructive antithesis to this policy is to be seen in the piquant account of the persecution with which the brutal Qāzi of Surat harried the Hindu merchants of that city, following the lead given him by his Imperial master. On the whole it would seem that the Company's officers rose to the occasion: they established in Bombay something approaching decent administration, and in spite of many shortcomings proved themselves not unworthy pioneers of British rule. In comparison with Bombay, events in the other seats of the Company's trade were insignificant; frequently, however, they were very lively, what with dishonest and unruly factors and others (*inter alia*, in August 1668 the truculent Sir Edward Winter surrendered Fort St. George to a commission backed by troops), contentious ladies, and unsatisfactory ministers of the Gospel.

The editor's announcement that with the completion of this volume he terminates his work upon the series will be read by all with deep regret. To his scholarly industry and sound literary sense, which has made these old records live and tell their tale of how the foundations of empire were laid, a great debt of gratitude is owing: *optime meritis discedit*.

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A DICTIONARY OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE. By PRASANA KUMAR ACHARYA, I.E.S., M.A. Oxford University Press. Printed at the Government Press, Allahabad, India.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE ACCORDING TO MANASARA-SILPAŚĀSTRA. By PRASANA KUMAR ACHARYA, I.E.S., M.A. Oxford University Press. Printed at the Government Press, Allahabad, India.

These two volumes are a valuable addition to the few English books dealing with the little understood principles of Indian architecture and architectural terms as practised and used by



the *salāts* who built the fine old shrines whose ruins remain to display their skill in construction and taste in details. Professor Acharya is to be congratulated upon the result of his labours in the very great amount of careful and painstaking search and the digging out of so much useful material from the vast amount of Indian literature he has consulted. The printers, however, have not turned out the books so well as the subject matter deserves. The numerous and lengthy quotations in the Dictionary would have been better in smaller type; and that of the *Mānasāra* is by no means clean. The paper is poor.

The author may not be averse to a few suggestions in the event of a second edition being produced. As ancient Hindu architecture, in its modes of construction, designs, and details, is more or less strange compared with anything a would-be student has been familiar with, it would be a very great help if the Dictionary were well illustrated with small vignette insertions, showing, for instance, the different types of pillars, mouldings, etc. The Archæological Survey of India, in its volumes, drawings, and photographs, has a rich store from which these might be culled; and the omission of much, or even all, of the Sanskrit quotations, which are of little use to the architectural student, would make ample room for them. Abbreviated references to the Sanskrit texts would be sufficient. It would require the help of a *salāt*, or Indian architect, to ensure the proper illustrations being attached to their respective terms; and a *salāt* would, very likely, enrich the Dictionary with many other terms not at present included. Again, the arrangement would be far better for the student if the English alphabetical order were followed—as it is in Hughes' *Dictionary of Islām*—for it is almost hopeless, as it is, for one unacquainted with the Sanskrit alphabet, to seek out any term he may be wanting more information about. The index of English terms is a good feature.

The *Mānasāra*, or "essence of measurement", probably written between A.D. 500 and 700, which is one of the *śilpa-*

*śāstras* dealing with architecture, does not confine itself wholly to that art, but, like the others, busies itself with many other things, such as the planning of towns, villages, and forts, the orientation of buildings, the classification of kings and their ceremonial rites, the manufacture of couches, cars and chariots, ornaments, jewels, etc.

The title would have been better "Hindu Architecture", since "Indian", as now used, includes Muhammadan. Measurements are laid down for every detail both in architecture and sculpture, so it is not to be wondered at that we find such sameness, stiffness, and oft-repeated conventional forms in the old temples which are still standing, especially in mediæval work. The advance of Islām gradually influenced later work and brought into it much that is not Hindu. Of civil buildings very few now remain; and it is on the ancient temples, with a few tanks and wells, that the student has to depend for his practical acquaintance with Hindu architecture. The "essence of measurement" is brought out in all its scrupulous exactitude where every measurement in a building must be regulated upon one measure—that of the side of the shrine—and nothing is left to the *salāt* to express his own individuality. And the measure of the side of the shrine depended upon the length of blocks that could be obtained from the quarry, for the shaft of every pillar was always a single stone from the top of the base to the neck of the capital: it was never built, as a rule, of more than one stone.

Professor Acharya does not confine himself to a description and summary of the contents of the *Mānasāra*, but gives us references to architecture in the ancient epics, the *Purāṇas* and other works and a résumé of the contents of many other *śilpa-śāstras*. He also ventures upon a long discussion about the similarity between the *Mānasāra* and Vitruvius, which he appears to think had some connexion the one with the other.

The index, which is practically a glossary, is good and full.

H. C.



THE OCEAN OF STORY. Being C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's Katha Sarit Sagara. Now edited with introduction, fresh explanatory notes and terminal essay. By N. M. PENZER, M.A. Vol. x, Appendixes and Index. 4to, pp. 368. London: Chas. J. Sawyer, Ltd., 1928.

Folio editions are now out of fashion. The people prefer more handy volumes: quarto or smaller sizes. They were compact and contained the whole matter in one volume. But with the folio volume much that was of the highest value has also disappeared. They may not have been easy to handle, nor was it easy to find what one sought on a folio page. But that difficulty was surmounted by admirable indexes. These were not limited, as in modern editions, merely to the giving of single words. The index was, in fact, an epitome of the contents of the book. It saved much trouble, and the scholar could easily find what was sought. Mr. Penzer has now brought his monumental work to a fitting conclusion. He has avoided the cumbersome folio, but he has preserved the old practice. Although each volume contained a brief index of its contents, and was therefore confined to each special volume, causing thereby the reader to search for what he wanted in nine volumes, he has given us now a comprehensive index of the whole work in the present tenth volume. It is devoted entirely to the contents of the nine volumes in epitomized form. Each motif and each incident, as well as each important work is here carefully registered, not in single words, but in full sentences. Only those who know how difficult it is now to follow up the widely-developed study of folk-lore will be able to appreciate the invaluable service which Mr. Penzer has rendered to modern scholarship, and also those who have been engaged in preparing indexes will be able to recognize the immense patience and diligence required for an index of this kind, which is to be full and reliable at the same time. Many an item has to be registered under two or more heads, and cross-references must be avoided. They are more confusing

than helpful, but each point must be repeated in full in the alphabetical order under which it is to appear. I have made the experiment, and I can testify to the care with which Mr. Penzer has registered all these items over and over again, whenever they could be arranged under different letters of the alphabet. Without such an index, a comprehensive work in nine massive volumes could almost become a book sealed with nine seals; but Mr. Penzer has put into our hands the master-key and for this all students of folk-lore, and especially those of the *Ocean of Story*, will remain grateful to him. It was a great task which he has undertaken when he started the publication of Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Ocean of Story* in a new and enlarged form, and he is to be congratulated on having brought it to a successful issue.

M. GASTER.

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SOLDIERING IN INDIA—1764-87. Extracts from Journals and Letters left by Lieut.-Colonel Allan Macpherson and Lieut.-Colonel John Macpherson, of the East India Company's Service. Edited by WILLIAM CHARLES MACPHERSON, C.S.I., formerly of the Indian Civil Service.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xvii + 413, 4 illustrations and 5 maps. William Blackwood and Sons, 1928. 15s.

The publication of these Journals, as the editor states in the introduction, were undertaken with the intention of compiling family annals only, but the editor found that the records left by his great-grandfather and great-grand-uncle for the years 1770 to 1787, "have interest for general readers—as throwing light on the life of soldiers serving at that time in India, as giving information not before published (at least, in popular and available books) of early marches of British forces in Oudh and Rohilkhand in 1772-3; of the Rohilla Campaign of 1774; also with regard to the detailed negotiations with the Marathas which preceded and followed the Treaty of



Purandhar in 1776; of early marches (1779) in Chota Nagpore; also as adding something to what has been told of Bengal and Calcutta in the days of Warren Hastings by Busteed, Hickey, Mrs. Fay, Sydney C. Grier, Colonel Wylly in his *Life of Sir Eyre Coote*, by writers in *Bengal Past and Present*, and others."

Colonel Allan Macpherson began his service in the Black Watch, and after fighting at Ticonderoga in Canada in 1759 and at Havana, went out to India as a cadet in the East India Company in 1764. Colonel John, the younger brother went to India as an ensign in the 89th Regiment, and became a company's officer in 1764. Allan's early service was as A.D.C. to Colonel Champion with whom he was through the Rohilla campaign of 1774, and whose official Journal he mainly wrote; and subsequently with Colonel Upton on his mission to Poona, which resulted in the Treaty of Purandah with the Marathas in 1776, with regard to which he was largely the intermediary between Colonel Upton and the Maratha ministers. He subsequently became Quartermaster-General, and afterwards was Private Secretary to the Governor-General, Mr. John Macpherson (1785-6). He was a Persian and Arabic scholar, and throughout his service was interpreter in Persian, and as Private Secretary to the Governor-General conducted important correspondences both in his own name and for the Governor-General, and had the arrangement of the Durbars.

John, on the other hand, put in the whole of his service with a marching regiment. The Journals of the two brothers, therefore, cover every aspect and variety of a soldier's life in India at that period, and also show the strenuous conditions of the continual marching in those days.

The editor supplies such notes as are necessary for explanation or references in the Journals and letters; an interesting one is that on Sir John Strachey's judgments on the policy and conduct of the Rohilla War, in regard to which the Journal gives conclusive evidence of the rapacity

and plunder of the Nawab's army, and the freedom from plunder on the part of the Company's troops.

From a geographical point of view, the marches across India are of great interest. The route of the march from Kalpee to Poona in 1775 is illustrated by the original map prepared by the Rev. W. Smith, the Surveyor of the Mission, which is published by the permission of the India Office. The return march in 1777 was through the Nizam's dominions and Orissa, and the Journal contains a full account of Cuttack, then under the Marathas. Of Colonel John's marches, the most interesting is that with Major Carnac's detachment in 1779 from Calcutta to the frontier, through Chota Nagpur, then an unknown country, to join Colonel Goddard's force, and the return march from thence to Dinapore. The route is shown on a map prepared by Mr. C. A. E. Oldham.

Two interesting incidents in the Journal of Colonel John Macpherson are his putting down a rebellion by Raja Fatch Sahi in the Saram District, which shows the responsibility that commandants of outlying detachments were sometimes required to take, and a forced march of 52 miles in the hot weather to protect Lucknow against an anticipated rising, when the Nizam's troops had gone to the relief of Hastings at Benares.

The Journal gives some interesting sidelights on Calcutta social life, and the cost of houses and living. Colonel Allan's wages of servants for his last month in Calcutta show a total of Rs. 712 for 107 servants. The voyage home in those days, too, was a serious affair, when the passenger had to provide his own cabin furniture in addition to provisions for the voyage, wine and even drinking water which was brought all the way from "Seetacoon" hot-spring in Monghyr. We have the list of things provided by Colonel Allan for his voyage as a bachelor and afterwards as a married man; 183 shirts gives an idea of the wearing apparel that was carried, and, of the children, William (aged 2½) had 124 new frocks, and Harriet (aged 7 months) 183 new frocks, and the rest in proportion.



As examples of the miscellaneous information contained in the Journals and letters, there is an account of a Sati which Colonel Allan Macpherson communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was a member, and a description of a dress worn by Mrs. Hastings which "would not be worth less than from five and twenty to thirty thousand pounds sterling".

The spelling of Indian words and names has been left as it was written. There is great variety, and the same word is sometimes spelt in different ways on the same page.

All who are interested in the India of that period are indebted to Mr. W. C. Macpherson for having published these interesting and valuable journals.

E. H. C. WALSH.

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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE TERMS HINAYĀNA AND MAHĀYĀNA, AND THE ORIGIN OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM. By RYUKAN KIMURA. University of Calcutta, 1927.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ .

The author begins with a discussion of the terms which refer to distinctions within the development of Buddhism based on geographical distribution as well as on philosophically diverging aspects. He characterises Mahāyāna and Hinayāna according to *vyakta-* and *guhya-yāna*, *sahaja-* and *kāthina-yāna*; discusses the relation between the doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas and those of the Mahāyāna-sūtras, and finishes with the applications of the terms Mahā- and Hina-yāna among the various representatives of the Mahāyāna Schools up to roughly the tenth century A.D.

I do not want to discuss Mr. Kimura's views about the "Buddha's" doctrine which he divides into an *exoteric* side (= original Buddhism) and an *esoteric* side (= developed Buddhism), and on which he lays stress throughout the book, but it is open to considerable doubt whether the Buddha actually did solve the "truth of the physical nature of this

world", as the author puts it, and whether it is fair to the history of Buddhism to speak of Phenomenological and Ontological perception of the Buddha, and to say that the Buddha preached the doctrines formulated from a Phenomenological point of view, and that the Buddha's Ontological perception (*sic*) was left in the hands of his disciples to be manifested afterwards "when the proper time for it came".

In his analysis of meaning and application of the term Mahāyāna the author gives various synonyms of it as used in the M. sūtras, such as eka-yāna, agra°, bhadra°, paramārtha°, Bodhisattva° and Buddha-yāna. He shows how all these were formed from peculiar aspects relating to individual conduct of life, and not from the point of view of doctrine. Of these terms he gives "*ekayāna*" (as equivalent of Mahāyāna, whereas dvi- and tri-yāna are used in the place of Hinayāna) the distinction of chronological and doctrinal preference and says that it was used by the Buddha himself and appears in the Pali Nikāyas (from which the Mahā-saṅghikas borrowed it). I should have been glad if Mr. Kimura had furnished us with a few references from the Nikāyas showing that *ekayāna* was used in the sense mentioned. I have never come across it, but only know the term *ekāyana* (eka + āyana having a definite, direct goal) as epithet of *magga*. Thus at Majjhima I. 63, equivalent to uju- and añjas'āyana-magga D. I. 235. It is very important to know where *ekayāna* is first met with. We find *brahma*- and *dhamma*-yāna as epithets of *magga* (= mārga) in the Nikāyas. Mr. Kimura's theory in this respect is not convincing. Further, to quote the *Dīpavaṃsa* as an authority for the Vaiśālī Council and the age of the Jātaka collection is, to say the least, very risky; in my opinion all the accounts of councils contained in the *Dīpavaṃsa* are late fabrications, possibly of the first century B.C. or even A.D.

The quotation on p. 131 from Rhys David's *Birth Stories* is worded wrongly, and thus places the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī earlier than *Dīpavaṃsa* (there are also two misprints in that



sentence !). Somewhat misleading is the author's translation of *sarvām-anātman* as "all is without self" (what does that phrase mean ?) whereas it can only mean (i.e. in Pali Buddhism) "all the material (phenomenal) Universe is not the real Self". But as this is one of the most vexed and misunderstood questions of Buddhism, it may serve as an excuse for the author.

Mr. Kimura has touched upon many vital problems in the history of Buddhism, but he has only touched on them and reserves a full discussion for his main book which we hope will appear soon. This "Historical Study" is only an introduction, and its merit lies in the field of Mahāyāna rather than Pali Buddhism. A perusal of this book as well as of other recent discussions of Buddhism in general confirms one's impression that in almost all of them the Mahāyānist view prevails, and not only how very important for its correct understanding and appreciation it is to make an exhaustive study of its foundation, viz. Pali Buddhism, but also how very little has been done in this respect and by how few competent scholars. Promising work in this respect is getting done by the "middle" generation of Japanese Buddhist scholars, and I wish we had a few more Indian and European ones to join them. Mr. Kimura is one of those who can help us if he takes up the study of Pali a little more thoroughly.

The style of the book is that of lectures, i.e. the author converses with his reader on main topics ad lib., and thus avoids a strict adherence to a uniform and rigorous argument. This also accounts for the many repetitions and for the fragmentary character of the book as a whole. A great many misprints will have to be avoided in the next edition (*tittiyas* on p. 51, e.g. *paribbāyakas* p. 52, *avatamska* p. 64, *pryñā* p. 66, and many more). The translation of Pali passages is not always correct.

W. STEDE.

EARLY HISTORY OF ASSYRIA TO 1000 B.C. By SIDNEY SMITH, of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, the British Museum. 6½ + 10, pp. xxviii + 418, 24 plates, 2 maps. London: Chatto and Windus, 1928.

This is the first part of a History of Assyria designed to complete the well-known work of the late Professor King. The fact that the origins of Assyria cannot be discussed without reference to the history of Sumer and Akkad enables Mr. Smith to supplement King's history from the abundant material that has accumulated since 1916. The author is to be congratulated on an admirable addition to the series.

Of the principal work on a subject of general interest it is an excellent characteristic that one is so often warned that a fashionable theory lacks strict proof (e.g. the theory that Sumerian remains at Ashur witness to Sumerian immigration from the north, that Cappadocian is old Assyrian, that the Hittite raid under Mursilis synchronizes with the end of the first Babylonian dynasty, that the Habiru were mercenaries . . .), or that an attractive problem is at present insoluble, e.g. the problems of the coloured pottery, of the geography of the Hittite Empire, the character of Genesis xiv.

The origin of the Assyrians is the subject of an extremely interesting chapter (5). This, which is not typical of the book, but invites special attention none the less, has been included, says the Preface, "in the belief that current assertions and assumptions need testing"; "that any theory on the subject should only be accepted as correct after most stringent criticism is the writer's earnest desire." Perhaps the thesis may be put as follows. In earliest times Assyria was occupied by Sumerianized Subaræans. Before the time of the dynasty of Akkad enter the people who became the Assyrians. These were not Akkadians from the south, but a people speaking an east-Semitic language distinct from though akin to Akkadian. They came perhaps from the region of the Habur or the Belih. The Asianic influences that may be discerned in



Assyrian race and culture are due partly to intermarriage with Subaræans in Assyria, but partly are older than the entry into Assyria and due to an original Asianic, but not Subaræan, stock.

That the Assyrians were not colonists from Akkad seems to be definitely settled, and it would be hard to improve upon the suggestion that they came from the Habur or thereabouts : that their Asianic characteristics were derived before entry into Assyria from a non-Subaræan substratum is more problematic. The possible signs of Asianic influence might perhaps be classified as (1) somatic, (2) linguistic, (3) legal and social, (4) religious, (5) onomastic. It would be very difficult at present to specify the Asianic element from (1) the Assyrian racial type or (2) the decay of the language through non-Semitic influence, and the attempt is not made. Much the same may be said of (3) ; and as regards the *limmu* system Mr. Smith acutely observes that it has a sort of counterpart in Akkad ; it could therefore be derived as well from a proto-east-Semitic as from an Asianic source. Under (4) the most promising topic seems to be the origin of the god Ashur and his relation to Marduk (Asari) and Osiris. Mr. Smith gives good reason for the (ultimate) identification of these gods ; but even if the ultimate origin were Asianic (as the variant writings of the god's name in Assyrian might suggest), we should be no forwarder, for the unidentified Asianic ancestors of the Assyrians would be the only Asianic witnesses to the god : and, as a matter of fact, Mr. Smith has not suggested an Asianic origin for Ashur (his researches on this subject suggest rather—though there is no formal synthesis in the present volume—the hypothesis of a Semitic god who passed from Syria to Egypt, was influenced in turn by Egypt, passed from Syria to the ancestors of the Assyrians, and independently at some early date to the Southern Euphrates). There remains the risky criterion (5) : proper names. Subaræan names of Assyrians would be due to inter-marriage after the Assyrians came into the Tigris valley. Kikia and (A)ušpia, names of

early Assyrian rulers, are not, as is often supposed, necessarily Subaræan, though the author does not suggest that they are positively un-Subaræan in form, as Landsberger has done on the ground that *-ia* is not found in Subaræan of this early date. Abstracting from the *-ia*, my own impression would be that the *Kik(ki)*-names collected by Clay, *Person. Names* . . . 99, still favour a Subaræan origin of *Kikia*; and that *Ušpia* is properly compared with the Kassite element *ušpi*, *ušbi*, *uši*, etc. (Clay, 144), and *uši* in the Kassite vocabulary. My first impression, then, after studying the chapter which deals formally with the origin of the Assyrians, was that the Subaræan hypothesis now in vogue did indeed need criticism, but that the theory of an earlier non-Subaræan Asianic influence from further west lacked positive proof. However, in other parts of the book Mr. Smith shows that there are other reasons for his thesis. Among the Asianic names on the Cappadocian tablets are none that are distinctively Subaræan (148), and business documents from Assur and Nineveh contain non-Semitic names like those on the Cappadocian tablets (321). These seem to be the crucial facts, and they would fully justify the author's position. Mr. Smith refrains from speculation about the language of these names. Since it is not Hurrian (Subaræan), and it certainly is not "Kanisian" or Luwian, is it "proto-Hittite"? It is the only other hypothesis available. Landsberger (*Alte Orient*, 24, 4, p. 32; *ZA.*, 1924, 226) is inclined to see a proto-Hittite character in the reduplications found in some of the names; it may be added that *Wašha-nini* and *Wašhuru* seems to contain a word similar to proto-Hitt. *Wašhaw* = god. On the other hand, the more frequent elements in the names are not yet clearly documented in proto-Hittite. Have we, then, yet another Asianic language? Possibly: the only alternative is that the names represent a dialectic variant of the proto-Hittite used at Boghaz-Keni, say east-proto-Hittite. Mr. Smith has indicated an important problem. (It is interesting in this connexion to notice points in which



Hittite and Assyrian laws agree, as against Babylonian : e.g. levirate marriage.)

The dynastic lists that have become available since 1916 make important additions to the works of L. W. King. Mr. Smith shows that many of the dynasties overlap : e.g., besides instances generally known, Gutium partly contemporary with Uruk IV and part of Agade. It is suggested that the Gutian domination began during the disputed succession after Sargalisharri. Is it not more probable that it began at the end of the dynasty ? Comparing the lists WB. 444, Poebel 2, and Legrain, we find that after a kingless period there were twenty Gutian kings whose reigns added together give about ninety-one years. The total given, however, is twenty-one kings and 124-5 years. Presumably the kingless period is reckoned as a reign of thirty-three to thirty-four years. If this figure is reckoned back from the first Gutian king we arrive at a date near the end of the last reign of the Agade dynasty, which is a very suitable one for the Gutian invasion. Mr. Smith maintains that the Isin scribes were generally aware of the overlapping in their lists, even when they summed up the reigns as if they were consecutive. This is difficult. There is, indeed, a reason for suspecting that the author of WB. 444 knew Agade to be contemporary with Akšak, but it is perhaps significant that this list does *not* sum up the regnal years at the conclusion. In absolute chronology Mr. Smith refuses for the present his adhesion to any of the competing astronomically fixed systems and as Assyriologist and historian argues for a dating *about* 2040 of the beginning of the Amorite dynasty. Is not this in effect a confirmation of the 2049 of Father Kugler's second system ?

There are some slips, but hardly any of importance so far as I have observed. P. 102, Ashur and Asher compared with Arabian Asir : but has not the latter 'ain (and does not the argument require 'Athir) ? P. 104 : naturally put sign ER for ZU. P. 18, l. 17 : is it necessary to suppose scribal

error? see a suggestion—*gi* = *ge* (genitive)—noticed in this *Journal*, 1926 329<sup>1</sup>. P. 379 (147): for AJSL xl read JSOR xi; Arrapha in maps 1 and 4 should be east of the river.

E. BURROWS.

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MANUEL D'ARCHEOLOGIE ORIENTALE DEPUIS LES ORIGINES  
JUSQU'À L'ÉPOQUE D'ALEXANDRE. Par le Dr. G.  
CONTENAU, Conservateur adjoint au Musée du Louvre.  
I: Notions générales (race, chronologie, langage,  
écriture, religion, etc. . . .). Histoire de l'art (Art  
archaïque d'Elam et de Sumer). 6 + 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 545 Paris:  
Auguste Picard, 1927.

The main scope of the Manual, as may be seen from the description above, is the history of art. The limits are those of Western Asia, in the usual sense of that term, but the second volume will contain a chapter on West-Asian influence on Egypt and some account of the antiquities of the Kouban and the Black Sea. The method of the work is synthetic, Western Asia being treated as a whole rather than in a succession of monographs on the different arts. This method corresponds with the author's historical theory; Dr. Contenau decidedly tends to see the culture of the Near East as homogeneous. The Sumerians came from Central Asia, i.e. Siberia, after the removal of the glacial barriers, together with "the other Asianics" or brachycephalic non-Semitic people—an hypothesis in general agreement with those of Maspéro and (as regards the other Asianics) de Morgan. The coloured pottery cultures are seen, broadly speaking, as radiations of one and the same old Asianic culture. The old civilizations of the Indus valley, of Elam and of Sumer came from a common source. As regards the last point, however true the theory may be for ultimate origins, should it not be emphasized that the Indian connexions discovered by recent excavation in Sumer are best explained by trade from India? Mr. Mackay's



paper in this *Journal*, 1925, 697 ff., on certain carnelian beads of c. 3000 B.C. found at Kish contains evidence for this view (esp. p. 700—the technique practised down to Greek times in India).

The history of art, the main subject of the book, is full of interest. The finds at Ur, so far as known at the time of writing, give occasion to many valuable suggestions: for instance, the first dynasty plaque (*Ant. Journ.*, v, pl. xxxii, 1) would be a very early witness to the deification of a king. Is there any reason for regarding the altar at T. el-'Obeid as an autel à combustion (p. 327)? A few slips may be noticed: p. 296 seems to assign to Anu the polar instead of the equatorial stars; and p. 297 gives Ninurta's constellation as Orion (for Sirius). P. 65 gives the impression that Kadašman-Harbe's fortified route led to Jerusalem; the text in question naturally does not say this. P. 101: refer to fig. 77 not 177. The idea of the Amorites as blue-eyed blonds can hardly be derived from the Bible (108), but is given by Egyptian monuments. But these are details: this very useful and interesting manual will certainly be welcome to orientalists and others. The first volume contains no less than 357 well-chosen illustrations.

E. B.

L'ART DE L'ASIE ORIENTALE ANCIENNE. Par GEORGES CONTENAU. (Bibliothèque d'Histoire de l'Art, publiée sous la direction de M. Auguste Marguillier.) 7 × 10, pp. 60, 64 plates. Paris et Bruxelles: G. van Oest, 1928.

The short text gives a stimulating résumé (synthetic rather than geographical in arrangement as in the volume last reviewed) of architecture, sculpture, decorative and industrial arts. The plates in heliogravure are quite beautiful, and many of the subjects little known.

E. B.

LA LOTTA TRA L'ISLAM E IL MANICHEISMO. MICHAELANGELO GUIDI. Un Libro di Ibn Al-Muqaffa contro il Corano confutato da Al-Qasim b. Ibrahim. Testo Arabo pubblicato con Introduzione versione Italiana e Note da. . . 8° pp. xxviii + 127. Roma: R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1927.

To Professor Guidi all those who are interested in the history of polemical literature will be greatly indebted for his publication of Abul Kasim's treatise against the "Zendig" Al Moqaffa. It is one of the oldest Mohammedan treatises of this kind and assisted, as have all religious polemics in forcing accuser and defender more clearly to define their own dogmatic points of view. Christian polemics and religious disputations have had the same effect as have these Mohammedan polemics in assisting the Mutazila in defining their attitude towards the Koran and in the Kalam. Abul Kasim was specially incensed against that heretic Manichæan who outdid Mani in his attack against Mohammed and the Koran. Abul Kasim tries to refute his accusations, and he quotes from the book of Al Moqaffa. Unfortunately, he does not follow in his citations the order in which they occur in the last-mentioned book, and thus does not enable us to form a coherent view of its contents; he merely takes them haphazard. They are, moreover, often very brief and torn from their contexts. Still, there are sufficient references to enable the student of Manichæan doctrines in the eighth or ninth century to gather some impression as to the prevalent views held by the latter in their relation, among others, to Islam. Professor Guidi has scored in the Arabic text all these quotations, and in the excellent Italian translation he has printed them in italics. In the long introduction Professor Guidi is able to summarize from these fragments the leading principles in Al Moqaffa's work, and to show the weakness of Abul Kasim's refutation. A work by Professor Guidi recommends itself. One has only to draw attention to it, and thank the veteran master for this new gift.

M. G.



THE TURKISH LETTERS OF OGIER GHISELIN DE BUSBECQ, IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE, 1554-62. Newly translated from the Latin of the Elzevir Edition of 1633. By EDWARD SEYMOUR FORSTER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

The letters of the Flemish diplomat Busbeek are celebrated both for the excellence of their Latinity and the interesting matter which they contain. They have been translated into numerous languages, into English first in 1694 by N. Tate, more recently in the elaborate work of C. T. Forster and F. H. Blackburne Daniell (London, Kegan Paul, 1881). Mr. E. S. Forster's new translation omits numerous paragraphs, is in places nearer the original than that of his immediate predecessors, and is adorned with a few illustrations and a map. It is not always clear that the alterations in the rendering are improvements. Busbeek calls the Golden Horn *flumen*, which Forster and Daniell translate *creek*, Tate and E. S. Forster *river*; since the author is quoting Strabo, who speaks of a bay, perhaps *flumen* is corrupt. The Persian sovereign is reproduced literally as *Sagthama*, whereas Forster and Daniell restore *Tahmasp*. The confusion of the Turkish *charush* with *qavvas* reappears.

That the first two Turkish letters have impossible dates in the original has long been observed. The Hungarian historian Katona altered 1st September, 1554, of the first to 1st September, 1555, and Mr. E. S. Forster accepts this. He has not noticed that the dates have been carefully examined by Fr. Marcks, *Jahresbericht über das königliche Pädagogion zu Putbus* (Rügen), 1909, who observes certain anachronisms which escaped his predecessors. Early in the first letter one Antonius Verantius is called *Episcopus* of Erlau; he was not consecrated Bishop till 19th November, 1557. Hence the alteration of 1554 to 1555 is insufficient. Herr Marcks concludes that the letters were worked up some years after the drafts had been made, and arbitrary dates attached. The German writer's conclusion is borne out by other

anachronisms which he has not noticed. On p. 4 of Mr. E. S. Forster's translation, "the King" (*rex*) and "the Emperor" (*Cæsar*) are mentioned in the same paragraph; clearly the same person is intended, and Forster and Daniell render in both cases "the King". Ferdinand, however, became Emperor in 1556, the year after the corrected date.

These letters have been utilized by the historians of Turkey; many references to them will be found in the Index to Zinkeisen's excellent work. Though their author was under strict surveillance during his residence in Constantinople, he succeeded in learning valuable details of Ottoman politics, administration, and customs. He speaks of the Turks habitually as "barbarians", but has boundless admiration for their virtues and excellences. He contrasts the orderliness of a Turkish camp with the riotous disorder of those which he had seen in Christian countries. He appears to have had vast pecuniary resources at his command, which he employed with generosity. His most memorable achievement was the discovery of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which furnishes another argument for the view of Herr Marcks which has been stated above.

To comment adequately on these letters would require much research, and some puzzles might prove insoluble. On p. 7 we are told that the name of the Pasha of Buda *Tuigon* means in Turkish "a stork". In Oriental Turkish (according to Pavet de Courteille) it means *oiseau blanc*, *faucon blanc*; the Osmanli dictionaries are not acquainted with the word. On p. 20 we read of "men called *talismans*, attached to the service of their mosques". Some English writers also give *talisman* as the name of some Moslem official; but it is by no means easy to discover what Arabic, Persian, or Turkish word they have in mind. The fact that Busbeek's ear seems to have been accurate renders far-fetched identifications improbable.

From the nature of Mr. E. S. Forster's work it would not be reasonable to expect to find such matters elucidated in



it; many of his notes seem intended for quite uneducated readers. It is perhaps surprising that his popular abridgement should bear the imprint of a University Press, whereas the more elaborate work of his predecessors should bear that of a publishing firm.

D. S. M.

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SATZLEHRE DER ARAMÄISCHEN SPRACHE DES BABYLONISCHEN TALMUDS. By VON MICHEL SCHLESINGER. Veröffentlichungen der Alexander Kohut-stiftung, Band I. Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1928.

There would appear to be several "foundations" both in America and Germany in memory of Alexander Kohut, whose *Aruch Completum*, a Talmudic Lexicon, embodying the same matter as that of Levy, only in Hebrew, occupies eight volumes, and, it would seem, has been twice reproduced. Their purpose is to encourage Judaic studies, and the volume which inaugurates the new series is closely connected with Kohut's subject. It is an analysis of the modes of expression employed in the Babylonian Gemara, obviously collected and arranged with great care. He rightly avoids the term *syntax*, as, indeed, the style is too simple to justify its use; the difficulty lies in what may be called its stenography, reducing the words employed to the smallest possible number, and the nature of its reasoning. Much has been done to elucidate the latter by Adolf Schwarz; the former can only be mastered by protracted study, which is now facilitated by scholarly translations of some treatises. Herr Schlesinger's collections of examples and comments on them are calculated to familiarize the student with this language and help him to translate it with certainty and accuracy.

D. S. M.

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AUS DEM KITĀB FATH AL-BĀB FI'L-KUNĀ WA-L-ALḲĀB DES  
 ABŪ 'ABDALLĀH MUH. B. IṢḤĀK B. MANDA AL-ISBAHĀNĪ :  
 INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION. By VON SVEN DEDERING.  
 Upsala, 1927, Selbstverlag.

This dissertation contains extracts from a work by the traditionalist Ibn Mandah, of which a copy is preserved in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin. It is a list of Reporters of Tradition who are usually known by a *Kunyah* (name to which *Abū* is prefixed). The extracts occupy 48 pages of Arabic, to which the editor has attached 53 of German, containing Introduction, elaborate notes, and Index of proper names. It is curious that the learned editor does not mention in his list of authorities the work on the same subject by Abū Nu'aim (ob. 310), called *Kitāb al-Kunā wal-Asmā*, which was published at Haiderabad in 1322 A.H. Ibn Mandah was born in the year of this person's death. There is considerable, but by no means complete, coincidence between the two works. Dr. Dederling has given in this dissertation evidence of industry and scholarship, which justifies us in expecting valuable contributions to Islamic literature from his pen.

D. S. M.

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THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS SUCCESSORS, 1801-1927. By  
 WILLIAM MILLER, M.A., F.R.H.S., etc. Cambridge  
 University Press, 1927. 16s. net.

All who are interested in the complicated politics of the Balkans will welcome the new and enlarged edition of Mr. Miller's work. It deals with the process whereby a number of independent nations have arisen in that portion of Europe which at the beginning of the last century constituted European Turkey. Its 563 pages are crammed with facts, so skilfully narrated that the readers' interest never flags ; just as the Hebrew translator of *Paradise Lost* took for the title "And he drove out the man", this might be styled an epic on the theme "And he drove out the Turk". Though from the distinctions which the author has obtained from



Greek institutions he might be expected to be biassed in favour of the Hellenes, he is equally sympathetic towards Serbians, Bulgarians, Roumanians, and Montenegrins; for the Turks, however, he has scarcely a good word from beginning to end. The story is told throughout from the standpoint of the nations which threw off the Ottoman yoke; it familiarizes us with their monarchs, politicians, and generals; references to the internal affairs of Turkey are comparatively few, and little is said about those who conducted them. The Great Powers which interfered in the politics of this region are rarely praised, more often severely censured; and Great Britain comes off no better than the others. Of the English statesmen concerned, the late Lord Salisbury receives most commendation; Gladstone is rebuked for inconsistency, and Beaconsfield's "Peace with honour" shown to have been a delusion. "If," says an Arabic proverb, "the end of an affair were as clear as the beginning, no one would ever regret anything." It is worth observing that Buckle, probably the most erudite, and possibly the wisest man of his time, was enthusiastically in favour of the Crimean War,<sup>1</sup> now generally regarded as indefensible. Philosophers then would seem to be no more far-sighted than statesmen.

For those who have time to go deeper into these matters, Mr. Miller has provided an ample bibliography, and the lists of rulers which he has compiled add to the value of his book as a work of reference. The author's mastery of his subject, the dexterity of his arrangement, and the brilliancy of his epigrams, render it a contribution of the first order to the historical literature of Europe.

D. S. M.

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LA VIE FÉMININE AU MZAB: ÉTUDE DE SOCIOLOGIE MUSULMANE. By A. M. GOICHON. Paris: Geuthner, 1927.

The Wadi Mzab is not to be found in Harmsworth's *New Atlas of the World*, but Ghardaia, the metropolis of this region,

<sup>1</sup> *History of Civilization*, i, 195 (cr. 8vo edition).

appears there, in the Hinterland of Algiers. It is one of the places where Kharijite doctrine and polity are still maintained, and has been the subject of several monographs chiefly by French scholars. Only a woman could penetrate the women's world of an old-fashioned Moslem community, and Mdlle Goichon has undertaken this task. She states that her observations were made during residence for a few months, and the work appears with a preface by M. Marçais, and much of it was seen before publication by M. Massignou, both eminent authorities. She must have made good use of her time, for the result is a volume of 340 pages 4to and furnishes a wealth of details about the lives and occupations of the Abadite women, their medicine and magic, religion and superstitions, joys and sorrows. The work is richly illustrated with the authoress's sketches and photographs. It is a valuable contribution to anthropology, and contains much that is of linguistic interest. Copious references are given in the footnotes to the literature of the subject, and attention is called to similarities or divergences in practices that have been noticed elsewhere.

D. S. M.

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PROPHETS, PRIESTS, AND PATRIARCHS: SKETCHES OF THE SECTS OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA. By HARRY CHARLES LUKE, C.M.G., B.Litt., M.A., sometime Assistant Governor of Jerusalem. London: Faith Press, 22 Buckingham Street, 1927.

In this small volume of 128 pages, Mr. Luke, who is both an acute observer and an accurate scholar, has given vivid accounts of ceremonies performed by various Palestinian communities and witnessed by himself, and a series of brief but very able summaries of the tenets maintained and the vicissitudes experienced by the numerous sects, Christian, Moslem, and Jewish, which are represented in Palestine and Syria. The literature which has gathered round these sects is in some cases out of proportion to their size: this is



noticeably so with the Samaritans, and to some extent with the Druses. The amount which Mr. Luke has given will be sufficient for most visitors of the Holy Land. Great interest attaches to his personal experience of and judgments on Turks, Armenians, and other communities, and the work of the Anglican Bishopric.

D. S. M.

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CHRONICLE OF EVENTS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1629 AND 1733, RELATING TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ORDER OF CARMELITES IN MESOPOTAMIA (BASSORA). A contribution to the History of Christian Missions in the East, written by Agathangelus of St. Theresa and others, now edited for the first time, with translation and notes, from a unique (autograph) MS. in the possession of the Author, Sir HERMANN GOLLANCZ, M.A., D.Litt. Oxford: University Press, 1927.

This lengthy title explains the character of the work which Sir H. Gollancz has published, translated, and annotated. He offers no statement or conjecture concerning the vicissitudes which brought the domestic records of the Carmelite settlement in Bastah into his hands. Mr. Longrigg's valuable *Four Centuries of Modern Irak* repeatedly alludes to this settlement, and since according to him (p. 191) "Carmelite monks were among the forces of Sulaiman", who defended the city against the Persians but had to surrender in 1776, their settlement is likely to have been looted by the conquerors, and the Chronicles may at that time have been secured by some private purchaser. Mr. Longrigg, who has pieced his narrative together largely from the works of European travellers, would have gleaned much from this volume, had it appeared in time. Thus it is of great interest to read the story of Captain Hamilton's visit as told by the Carmelites, whom he in his narrative charges with "immoralities". If

that term includes the use of violent language, the charge could scarcely be rebutted.

Missions are from their nature proselytizing, and since the proselytizing of Moslems would not be tolerated in a Moslem country, the missionaries had to confine their efforts to other communities. After a time even this was forbidden; when in 1705 the Carmelites obtained permission to rebuild their church, it was stipulated that they must not attempt to convert "any Mohammedan or Hebrew, or member of any sect, young or grown up". Various episodes in later Ottoman history show that this principle was afterwards maintained. Attempts to win adherents from other sects were naturally resented by the authorities of those sects. That which incurs the severest reproaches of the monks is the "Sabæan", i.e. Mandæan, which was far more numerous at the time when these chronicles were compiled than it is now, though there are still some members of it in Basrah and more in Kut. The monks display no interest in their language and literature, which have since occupied the attention of the foremost Orientalists in Europe. After them the Armenians seem to come off worst.

Sir H. Gollancz has deciphered the monkish and barbarous Latin of the Chronicles, but reproduced the Arabic and Turkish deeds embodied in them in facsimile. The Latin translations of these which are appended by the monks give the sense fairly well, but are often far from being literal. Thus a deed reproduced on p. 199 declares the servants and the interpreter of the Padre Joannes free from the *jizyah* and the *kharaj*, i.e. the poll-tax due from members of the protected communities. The Latin rendering is *immunes a quacunque multa, sive onerosa impositione*.

It is interesting to observe the process whereby the head of the Carmelite Mission came to combine with his spiritual functions the secular business of Consul of France. Several pages are occupied with records of negotiations conducted by him for the purpose of securing a reduction of the import



duties paid by French traders. His good offices were often employed by the traders of other countries, and it may be surmised that the Mission was to some extent supported by fees earned in this way.

The tasks of deciphering, translating, and elucidating these documents must have been exceedingly tedious, and Sir H. Gollancz has earned the gratitude of all who study the modern history of Iraq by these labours. There are cases—there could scarcely fail to be—where his explanations and renderings suggest doubts. "The land of the Great Mogul" (p. 541) is probably not Mongolia, but India. The words (p. 253) *Juvenis quidam Franciscus nomine Ritu Sorianus Religione Catholicus* are rendered (p. 569) "A certain Franciscan, named Ritu, a Syrian Catholic". As this person's betrothal was approved by the monk, we may feel sure that this rendering is incorrect. The words must mean "A certain youth named Francis, a Syrian by ritual, a Catholic by religion". Special interest attaches to an Arabic *fatwa*, reproduced on p. 80, but not translated, wherein it is held that the declaration *ana Muslimun* or *aslamtu* is not of itself sufficient to constitute profession of Islam without express repudiation of a former faith by the person who makes it.

D. S. M.

ELLIL IN SUMER UND AKKAD. VON FRIEDRICH NÖTSCHER.  
Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaie. 10 × 6½, 110 pp.,  
and two plates, with cuneiform text. Hannover, 1927.






The importance of the worship of the god Ellil in Babylonia and the Near East in general can hardly be exaggerated, and many have been attracted by the tablets in the wedge-writing referring to him and to his divine spouse Ninlil. The god himself is the Illinos of Damascius, a form thus written for Illilos, but the oldest Sumerian form of the name is Enlil or Ellilla, meaning "lord of the air", or the like.

In his first paragraph Dr. Nötscher gives all the names, or

all the best-known names of this deity, which are very numerous, and one of which at least suggests his identity with the god of the waters, Êa. This identification probably arises from the fact, that mist and water were always closely connected. He emphasizes the fact, that Enlil was never identical with Bel, as was thought at first. This was proved by Professor Clay from the Aramaic dockets of the contract-tablets excavated by the American explorers on the site of Niffer, the centre of Ellil's worship.

Concerning the signification of the god's name, the writer of the monograph finds much doubt. Taken in their ordinary sense En-lil means "lord of the wind", or "the storm". The name, however, might also mean "lord of the *lilu*-demons", the masculine of the (probably wrongly rendered) "night-monster", *Lilith* of the Hebrews. Upon this point the author speaks at some length. Special chapters are devoted to the god's names as "the decider of fate", "the great autocrat", "the great mountain", "the storm", etc. All these are exceedingly interesting, and well worth study.

Besides these, there are several other names by which this god was known, and his heavenly train was very numerous, as were also his children. Concerning him I have written at length, under the title of "The divine lovers, Enlil and Mim-lil" in the *Journal* of this Society. The greater part of the texts of which I treated were communicated to me by Professor S. Langdon (to whom I again express my thanks). This is one of the most important and interesting of the legends referring to Ellil, and forms a noteworthy section of Babylonian mythology.

Ellil seems in a sense to have been closely related with Tammuz and Merodach. In this relationship he would seem to be connected with Nin-Girsu, the god of Lagaš, the dialectic form of whose name was U-Mersi, suggesting that the standard form of his name was En-Girsu—like     , *dingir En-urta* (not *Nin-urta*). Also, as I have shown, the myth of En-urta has parallels with the legend of Bel-Merodach and



the Dragon. Divine brothers, fathers, and sons, would thus seem to be identified with each other. The relationship between Ellil and Tammuz was first pointed out by Zimmern, who, in this connexion, speaks of the "annihilating activities" of Ellil, and Ištar's visit to Ê-kur, "the mountain-house" or "temple", where he lived. In this legendary hymn the goddess seems to call to the "spy" (*âtû*) to open the temple, and she appeals to Ellil with the words: "How long liest thou (there)."

This is regarded as having analogies with the complaint of Ištar concerning the descent of Tammuz to the Underworld. The question addressed to the "steer lying therein" (*am al-na*) as to why he did not bestir himself arises also elsewhere, where a comparison with Tammuz is excluded.

There are in this interesting monograph many similar comparisons which arouse interest, and furnish material for comparisons such as the many legends of Babylonian mythology contain. As many of the hitherto published legends have shown us, we see how rich Babylonian religious literature was in delightful fancies concerning the gods whom they worshipped.

Other interesting sections are those which treat of the centres of worship of Ellil in Babylonia, the principal of which was at Niffer. The oldest, however, was probably that of Lagaš, built by Ê-annadu. Uru-ka-gina records that the people of Umma (? Širma) had shed blood there, and had thus desecrated it. There was another sanctuary dedicated to him in Erech, and several in Assyria.

The Ellil-days and festivals are also treated of, with much interesting information. Concerning his astral position, it is pointed out that, like Anu and other of the principal deities, he had a special pathway in the heavens. The author holds the symbols and representations of Enlil as uncertain, notwithstanding the probable connexions with the god that some may have. An appendix gives two plates of text with transcription and translation.

T. G. PINCHES.

SCYTHIAN ART. By GREGORY BOROVKA. Translated from the German by Professor V. G. Childe, B.Litt., F.S.A. pp. 111 and 74 plates. Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1928. 21s.

The first glance at this book will establish its importance to every student of the native art of Northern Asia and Eastern Europe.

Assyrian, Iranian, and notably Greek elements have influenced it: but, like the art of China to which it is closely related, it has assimilated and adapted foreign motives without impairing the vigour of Scythian craftsmanship or its devotion to traditional subjects and conventions.

A certain roughness and boldness of handling show that the original materials of the Scythian carver were wood and bone. Gold was, apparently, applied to wood at a fairly early date, and was subsequently worked independently, without a wood foundation. Similarly the illustrations of antique jade objects in the many Chinese books on the subject show clearly that wood was used in that country, at some remote date, for cups and beakers, and its peculiarities can occasionally be recognized in later vessels of bronze, porcelain, and jade or other hard stones.

The main characteristics of Scythian work would appear to have been a keen sense of line, a persistent addiction to animal forms (possibly totemistic), and a habit of finishing off a horn, tail, or ornamental excrescence upon one animal with the head of a bird or beast often totally unrelated to the subject of the carving. The last-named device is very common in the Keltic art of early Christian times, and in that of the Han Period (206 B.C.-A.D. 220), in China. Another peculiarity of Scythian art was the skill with which a ring, a button, or a boss was enriched with strongly curved animal forms, with coiled monsters, stylized and compressed, but full of movement and vigour.

It is clear that Scythian or some closely allied art impulses lie at the base of Chinese design. We can trace them through the Siberian bears and elks, the Manchurian tigers, and Tibetan



yaks shown by M. Borovka, to the better known monsters of the Chinese cosmogony ; in the jades of the Han Dynasty and the netsuke of feudal Japan, to mention no other examples, we recognize the vigour and ferocity of Scythian treatment, allied though it be with the unerring rhythm and consummate craftsmanship of the Far East.

M. Borovka rightly reminds us that of the Scythian peoples we know nothing except a few dates. Greek influence affected Southern Russia from the eighth century B.C., and had its effect on Han art ; much of the South Russian material can be located in the fifth century B.C., while the Siberian and Mongolian finds are of uncertain age, or are attributed, doubtless by analogy, to the Han Period.

Concede what we may, however, to Greek influence, we are always confronted with the tendency in Scythian, as in Chinese art, to revert to its native character ; to rhythm and boldness combined with love of convention, to the command of free line allied to marked adaptability to the limits of surface and material. It is as if a racial strain rejected crossings, and obstinately reverted to its original type.

Dr. Berthold Laufer's authoritative work on "Jade" is simply packed with evidence of this unity of feeling between the arts of the Chinese and Scythian schools. For example, one may suggest the following comparisons :—

| <i>Laufer</i>   | <i>Borovka</i>                                |
|---|---|
| Discs showing subdivision of animal motives : figs. 71, p. 158 ; fig. 73 <i>b</i> , p. 161 ; fig. 74, p. 162. | Pls. 3 <i>b</i> , 49 <i>a</i> , 52 <i>b</i> . |
| Half-disc or <i>huang</i> , fig. 80, p. 171, showing interlaced curves ending in monsters' heads.             | Ring, pl. 42.                                 |
| Tiger mask, fig. 82, p. 177.  | Pl. 60 <i>d</i> .                             |
| Dragon, p. 186.   | Pl. 42.                                       |

*Laufer**Borovka*

Monster face and eyes, figs. 199,  
200, p. 317.

Pl. 62.

Coiled animals, figs. 127, 128,  
p. 224.

Pls. 13, 62.

Line motives, pl. xxix.

Pls. 7, 24, 25, 28.

Crouching animals, pl. xxxii.

Pl. 3*b*, *d*, and *g*, 36*a*.

Knobs, etc. (netsuke treatment),  
pl. xl.

Pl. 14*b*, 37*a*, 55.

Han fish, pl. xli.

Elk's head, pl. 64*f*.

Han butterfly, pl. xlii.

Pl. 7*d*.

Han monster, pl. xliii.

Pl. 20*a*, 22*b*, 34.

In the late Henry L. Joly's *Legend in Japanese Art*, reference may be made to the plates opposite pp. 54, 74, 126, 176, 192, and 252 for examples of netsuke depicting animal subjects which may be compared with those indicated above.

These parallels might be pursued indefinitely, but students of the subject can be left to work out their own conclusions.

With pardonable enthusiasm M. Borovka endeavours, on pp. 86 and 87, to explain away the Chinese dragon with the aid of Scythian, Greek, and Iranian examples. Few, I think, will follow him so far; but all his readers will be grateful for his contribution to the embryology—if one may term it so—of the ancient but still living and vigorous arts of the non-Mediterranean peoples.

G. W. M.

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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM CHALDICARUM. Edited by C. F. LEHMANN-HAUPT. Text-Band, pt. i; Tafel-Band, pt. i. Berlin: W. de Gruyter and Co., 1928. 60m.

We have waited many years for the long-promised Corpus of Vannic (or, as Professor Lehmann-Haupt calls them, Chaldian) cuneiform texts, and our patience is at last rewarded. The work, of which the first part has just appeared,



is up to the highest standard of scientific completeness and perfection. Nothing is wanting which can give the student all the information that he needs and it is all brought up to date. Professor Lehmann-Haupt's copies of the texts have been twice revised, once by Dr. Bagel, and again by Dr. Schachermeyer, while Dr. Ebeling's eyes, trained in copying Hittite tablets, have also been brought into requisition.

The story of the long delay in the publication of the texts is told by Dr. Lehmann-Haupt in his introduction. It is now just thirty years ago since he and Dr. Belck, thanks mainly to Professor Virchow's assistance, made their exploratory journey of nearly two years in Armenia in search of its early monuments and inscriptions. A goodly harvest of them was gathered, and those of us who were interested in the early history of Armenia looked forward to the speedy publication of the material that had been obtained. But beyond brief reports nothing was published until in 1910 Professor Lehmann-Haupt brought out his first volume of a still unfinished work, giving an account of the expedition and its general results. Meanwhile, the intended publication of the large number of fresh cuneiform inscriptions which had been discovered together with corrected copies of those already known had developed into the design of publishing a complete *Corpus* of the texts with the necessary apparatus and commentary.

When the Great War broke out the design was far advanced towards accomplishment. The earlier portion of the work, in fact, was already in print, waiting for correction. The proofs and MS. were in Liverpool, the Professor happened to be in Germany, where he was impressed for service in the German army and subsequently sent to occupy a chair in the newly-established University at Constantinople. Even after the armistice the progress of the work was dogged by adversity. A box containing some of the manuscripts and proofs was lost in its transport from Constantinople, and it is only since 1922

that it has been possible to resume the work and replace what was lost during the war.

All the copies in the *Tafelband* are photographs, and excellent photographs most of them are. There are forty-two plates altogether in this first part, the larger number of which are also represented in the accompanying *Textband*, where they are given in transliteration with introductions and textual notes. The two parts, however, do not wholly correspond, as the photographs of some of the transliterated texts will appear in later parts of the work while certain of the photographed texts are reserved for future parts of the *Textband*.

From a linguistic point of view, the most important of the texts now published is that of the bilingual inscription of Kelishin, where we have at last as accurate a copy of the two texts, Assyrian and Vannic, as is obtainable. Professor Lehmann-Haupt prints the corresponding passages in them in parallel columns and the result is to show that the two agree very closely. But it also shows that the native language of the scribe can hardly have been either Assyrian or Vannic, at all events if the official literary language is meant; as the Professor points out, there are sins against the grammar or phonology in both cases. Some of the readings I have given in the *JRAS.* 1906, pp. 612 sqq., will have to be revised in the light of the fresh examination of the squeezes and therewith the translations I have suggested for some of the words. Unfortunately, the photographs which were taken from the squeezes give no assistance. The end of the thirty-sixth line of the Assyrian transcript, for instance, is still uncertain, and though Professor Lehmann-Haupt is probably right in seeing in the sign *ki* the ideograph of "earth" rather than the first syllable of a phonetically-spelt word, the word *kuludî* which terminates the corresponding Vannic sentence has a nominal and not a verbal suffix, and therefore cannot have the signification he would assign to it. On the other hand, I believe he is right in assigning the



signification of "earth" to the preceding word *qiurâ*. As for *kuludi*, I have pointed out in this *Journal* that it is elsewhere written *quldi* and *quldi-ni*.

Among the previously unpublished inscriptions two belonging to the joint reign of Ispuinis and his son Menuas are printed and furnish us with some geographical and royal names. The long and important inscription of the same two kings at Meher-Kapusi (SAYCE 5) is also printed and photographed, and we now, therefore, have as perfect a copy of the text as can be obtained. The long list of deities enumerated in it will have to be carefully examined again in the light of the revised readings.

One word in conclusion. In a scientific publication like the present, which is intended to be the final word on the texts, it is a pity that the Professor has adhered to his theory-begging title "Chaldian" instead of the colourless "Vannic". The inscriptions are found either in Van and its neighbourhood or else in districts which at the time they were engraved were in the possession of the kings of Biainas, the older form of the modern Van. The Chaldians of classical and mediaeval literature, on the other hand, lived further north, and what we are told of them indicates a culture considerably inferior to that of the Vannic kings. It is true that the supreme god of the Vannic people was Khaldis, and that most of the deities worshipped in the country were regarded as his offspring; it is also true that the country itself is occasionally called "the land of Khaldis". But so, too, Judah is sometimes called "the land of Yahveh" and Egypt "the land of Osiris". On the Assyrian monuments the Babylonians are termed "the people of Bel". But no one would dream of substituting the names Yahvian, Osirian, and Belian for the familiar Jews, Egyptians, and Babylonians.

A. H. SAYCE.

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THE DIFNAR (*Antiphonarium*) OF THE COPTIC CHURCH.

Part II. Edited by DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. 119 pp., lithographed. London, 1928.

The first part of this medieval hymn book was reviewed here on its appearance (*Journal*, 1926, p. 736). Dr. O'Leary has now produced that for the second four months of the year, and for his text has, this time, followed the Vatican MS., written in 1737 in a none too easy hand, and referred to in our previous notice. Let us hope that he will, in due time, give us the remainder of the year; a total of some 360 pages of clearly lithographed text will be no mean addition to our materials, linguistic and liturgical.

It is needless to recapitulate what was said as to the literary aspect of the *Difnâr*. The further one reads its curiously uncouth idiom, the less is doubt possible as to its translated character: evidence for a direct dependence upon the Arabic *Synaxarium* may be gathered on almost every page. Not that the *Synaxarium* was the sole source utilized; features not to be found there make their appearance now and then: Mena, the martyr, on p. 66, seems to figure only in the Calendar of Forget's edition (ii, 326) and not in any edited text. Isaac the Samaritan, known from Cyril's Homily on the Cross (Budge, *Miscel. Coptic Texts*, 183 ff.), is named in the hymn to the Cross on p. 70, but not in the *Synaxarium*. An incident in the story of Mary the Egyptian, p. 95, is likewise absent, although found in Sophronius's Life. The hymn to Victor, p. 115; closely follows Celestine's Encomium (Budge, *Coptic Mart.*, 46 ff.), yet the *Synaxarium* shows no evidence of having used it.

It is indeed as one of the rare works indisputably translated from Arabic sources, when Arabic had already gone far to supersede the ancient speech, both in church and in daily life, that the *Difnâr* is chiefly of interest. The present volume offers so many illustrations of this fact that choice is invidious. Most significant is the transcription of proper names, where the author has systematically adopted, without, of course,



attempting to recover the original forms, those which he found in the *Synaxarium*. For instance: *Apa Skulla* (p. 26) is miswritten for *Apa Askla*, *Marouna* (p. 52) for *Marouta*, *Parkisios* (p. 60) for *Narciassus*, *Eblanios* (p. 66) for *Apollonius*, *Phistos* (p. 81) for (*Qustas*) *Constans*, *Koreh* (p. 91) for (*Qurah*) *Kópe*, *Ezekiel's father Néri* (p. 93, as in Amélineau, *Contes*, ii, 141) for *Buzi*, *Iëssou* (p. 101) for (*Yashû'*) *Joshua*, *Anthinos* (p. 103) for *Antipas*, *Protheos* (p. 109) for *Hierotheus*. Similarly among place-names: the monastery of *Paparon* (p. 37) is for *Πατέρων*, *Ephōgia* (p. 54) for *Phrygia*, *Siōnia* (p. 96) for (*Shiyūniyah*) *Chionia*. Particularly noticeable is *Elpontos* (p. 78), showing *Pontus* with prefixed Arabic article. Interesting too is *Kos Berber* (p. 54), showing that this *Matthias* was a native martyr, not a Cypriote. An Arabic original might indeed be deduced from the single word *Menēnios* (p. 80) "Manichaean", for this (as the *Synaxarium*, *ad loc.*, shows) can be nothing but *Manā-niyah*, the form generally preferred by Christian writers. The mistranscription (p. 28, in the Arabic heading) of *Bifām* (*Phoebammon*) as *Maqār* is interesting to the present writer, in view of what has been observed elsewhere (*ZDMG.*, lxxviii, 180 n. Cf. Peeters in *Anal. Bolland*, xlv, 397).

As regards the Coptic idiom which the author could still manipulate, it would probably, upon minuter examination, be found to coincide in the main with that of the other medieval hymn-books: *Theotokia*, *Psalmodia*, and the rest, though among the older MSS. of these there are plenty in which grammatical degeneracy is much less obtrusive. Comparison moreover with late texts of another class, such as the Acts of John of Phanijôit, would no doubt be instructive. The extant MSS. of the *Difnār* no longer distinguish vowel sounds: ετα- stands for ετε- (p. 4), εεεεε for εεεεε (p. 25), εθπε- for εθπε- (p. 34), εεεεε for εεεεε (p. 46), εαλα for ? εαλα (*surân*, p. 73), ταειφει for ταφει (p. 76), εθδα- for εθδε- (p. 79), εε for εε

(p. 94),  $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\theta\omicron$  for  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\theta\omicron$  (p. 100),  $\iota\nu\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\alpha\zeta\iota\tau\iota$  (p. 102). An instance of *imāla* transcribed is  $\chi\omega\rho\alpha\varsigma\epsilon\tau\iota$  (p. 101) for Khurāsān. There seems to be a tendency to add a vowel at the end of words:  $\chi\omicron\lambda\eta$  (p. 33),  $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\omicron\tau\iota$  (p. 76),  $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\psi\rho\omega\psi\iota$  (? p. 81, cf. Isaiah lxiii, 1),  $\epsilon\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\iota$  (p. 88),  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\iota$  (p. 89), though possibly this merely shows the influence of a following  $\dot{\iota}$  (*en-*). A more noticeable addition is that of apparently superfluous  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  to various verbs:  $\psi\omega\pi$  (p. 93),  $\psi\iota\tau\iota$  (p. 97),  $\delta\omega\pi\tau$  (ib.),  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\theta\omicron$  (p. 98); likewise in the previous volume:  $\omicron\tau\omicron\zeta$  (p. 59),  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\omicron$  (p. 84),  $\epsilon\omega\zeta\varsigma$  (p. 94),  $\kappa\omega\rho\chi$  (p. 122). The employment of the prepositions is often irregular:  $\delta\acute{\alpha}$   $\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\chi$  (p. 1),  $\varsigma\acute{\alpha}$   $\epsilon\delta\rho\eta\iota$  (p. 13),  $\eta\varsigma\acute{\alpha}$   $\epsilon\beta\eta\lambda$  (p. 94); further  $\epsilon\psi\tau\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\tau$  (p. 104). Such combinations again as  $\rho\epsilon\mu\iota\delta\kappa\omega\beta\omicron\varsigma$  "Jacobite" (p. 102) show how far the literary idiom of this late age has forgotten classical usage.

W. E. CRUM.





I PAPIRI IERATICI DEL MUSEO DI TORINO—IL GIORNALE DELLA  
NECROPOLI DI TEBE, a cura di GUISEPPE BOTTI E. T.  
ERIC PEET. Fascicolo I.  $16\frac{1}{2} \times 12$  in., 24 pp.,  
2 + 20 plates. Torino: Fratelli Bocca; Paris: Paul  
Geuthner; London: Hodder and Stroughton, Ltd.


The Turin Museum contains the richest collection in the world of Egyptian hieratic papyri of the Ramesside period. Amongst these treasures may be mentioned the Canon of Kings, the map of the gold mines near Wadi Hammamât, the architect's plan of the tomb of Ramesses IV, the judicial papyrus dealing with the trial of the *harim* conspirators in the reign of Ramesses III, the love-songs, the Twenty-first Dynasty letters, and the large series of magical texts. Some of these papyri were published between 1869 and 1876 by Pleyte and Rossi, but their publication, useful as it has been, is far from complete, and leaves much to be desired in point of




accuracy. In addition to the documents enumerated above, the Turin collection includes a large series of fragments of a day-book or journal recording the daily events in the Theban Necropolis during the latter part of the Twentieth Dynasty. It is with this journal that the publication now before us is concerned.

During recent years, with the warm encouragement of the Director of the Museum, Dr. Ernesto Schiaparelli, Dr. Botti of Turin has expended endless patience and skill in bringing together the many scattered fragments of what he perceived to be parts of one great whole—the Journal of the Theban Necropolis. He has been most fortunate in his collaborator, Professor T. E. Peet, of Liverpool University, whose work upon the hieratic papyri of London and Liverpool is so well known and so justly appreciated. The outcome of many days of patient labour bestowed by these two scholars is now bearing fruit in the complete publication of the journal-papyri in accurate hieroglyphic transcription controlled by excellent collotype plates. The plates are preceded by a brief but valuable introduction and by a translation of the documents into Italian. The editors have wisely decided not to insert a detailed commentary with the translations. There are excellent reasons for restricting such publications to the bare communication of new material with just so much by way of translation and introduction as will make the plates intelligible. In so progressive a science as Egyptology, it is in the nature of things that much that is written must soon pass out of date, and for this reason it is far better not to accompany the plates, which will always retain their value, with a mass of letterpress discussing and elaborating points which can be more appropriately handled in scientific journals or in special memoirs. The authors have also wisely avoided the use of printed hieroglyphic type for transcriptions of the hieratic text. The existing founts of type, lately enriched by the magnificent fount made for Dr. Alan Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*, are quite unsuitable for the transcription of







hieratic texts, for they face in the wrong direction, and it is, moreover, impossible to group them in the particular mutual positions that were used by the scribes of the Ramesside period in drawing up documents in the hieratic script. In the publication now before us each plate is accompanied by a transcript exactly following the arrangement of the original lines of text, and the plates are arranged in such a way that text and transcript can be consulted together with the greatest facility. The autographed transcriptions are very clear and accurate, and show an amount of detail which we are not accustomed to in handwritten texts, in fact this wealth of detail in some instances seems to be needlessly laborious. This, however, if a fault, is a good one: and it is a welcome contrast to the handwritten hieroglyphs in some published works which are often as difficult to read as the original hieratic text. One or two signs which are differentiated in hieratic, but which resemble one another in hieroglyphic writing, are made rather too much alike in the transcription. As an instance we may note the birds , *hr*, and , *tyw*<sup>1</sup>: for which compare pl. iv, line 6, with line 8 of the same plate. Of course, the difference is self-evident from the context, but such similar signs are apt to be miscopied into popular works for beginners, and many instances of such incorrect copying could be named. A few other points in connexion with the transcription may be mentioned before we pass on. In pl. xiv, line 5, the sign  seems to be followed by the stroke and not by the complements , as always elsewhere in






<sup>1</sup> In printed type the sign  has to do duty for two distinct birds.

The first is the Egyptian Vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*), which has the value *z*, and the second is the long-legged Buzzard (*Buteo ferox*),

value *tyw*. The conventional type of the latter, , is unsatisfactory because the tuft on the breast of the bird corresponds to nothing in nature, but is derived from the diacritical mark in its hieratic counterpart.



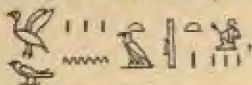
these papyri<sup>1</sup>: according to the photograph the sign is a simple vertical stroke, and not a ligature of  and . In the word    in pl. xiv, line 10, the first sign is reversed. From the photograph (pl. v) it would appear that line 11 (the first of that plate) is a rubric, but it is not indicated as such in the transcription. It may be observed, *à propos* of the unusual hieratic form of the sign  noted at the foot of pl. ix, that this sign often assumes peculiar forms in the writing of personal names in Ramesside hieratic texts.

We may now briefly consider the subject matter of the papyri now under notice. They are, as we have already said, parts of a journal<sup>2</sup> or log-book kept by the necropolis scribes of Thebes during the latter part of the Twentieth Dynasty. This first part of Botti and Peet's publication deals with two manuscripts, built up out of numerous fragments,<sup>3</sup> the one dealing with events in the thirteenth and the other in the seventeenth years of a king who we know from other evidence to be Neferkerē Ramesses IX. The Necropolis Journal is the main stem to which we can attach numerous other documents (papyri and ostraca) that deal with the same events and name the same persons. As the journal supplies the chronological sequence necessary for linking up the numerous scattered elements comprised in the other documents, it was important that it should be published first. The Journal is mainly concerned with the doings of the     , "the men of the gang" or the great corps of workmen of various grades employed in the Theban Necropolis. The daily entries vary in length; often they contain no more than a note

<sup>1</sup> E.g., pl. ix, line 4; x, 10, 12; xi, 3; xii, 4, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Similar journals have been found written on the back of literary papyri, e.g. *Anastasi III*, *Leiden I*, 350, *Turin Love-Songs*, etc. These are a few of the many instances of economy in the use of papyrus as a writing material, which must have been valuable, and too costly to waste.

<sup>3</sup> The numbers of the various fragments, most of which have not previously been published, and their mutual positions is shown diagrammatically on pls. A and B.

that the men were working or not working, as the case may be. We have still to discover why on so many consecutive days no work was done; the entry for such days usually being , with no reason for idleness

assigned. Some of the entries, however, specify some religious festival or other event which provided a reason, or an excuse, for stopping work. Such is the case, for instance, during the five epagomenal days (pl. iv), which we know from other evidence to have been regarded as unpropitious days fraught with ill-luck.<sup>1</sup> On many occasions the stoppage of work was due to lack of rations. Thus we read: "Day 7. The workmen were idle because they were hungry, not having received their rations for the Second Month of Winter amounting to 374 *khar*." etc. These overdue rations were slow to arrive, for two days later we find the following entry: "Day 9. The workmen were idle because they were hungry and exhausted through insufficient food."<sup>2</sup> Such records of the non-delivery or late delivery of supplies are so numerous as to compel us to believe that the condition of the necropolis workmen was a pitiable one. It can scarcely be wondered at that many of them were thieves. The journal makes frequent reference to prisoners, and one of the fragments specifies the names of eight men who were confined in the broad hall of the temple of Maēt (pl. xii). Professor Peet has already told us that these eight prisoners are the same as those whose depositions are recorded in a papyrus in the British Museum,<sup>3</sup> and they were charged with theft from a royal tomb. The inquiries made by the authorities into this and other thefts are frequently recorded in the journal. Some days after the entry just referred to we find another allusion to the eight thieves. "Year 17, Second Month of Winter, day 17. The workmen of the

<sup>1</sup> *Papyrus Leiden I*, 346, 2, 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. xiv, lines 6-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. xi (1925), p. 49 ff. In this important article Professor Peet shows how the Necropolis Journal links up with the events recorded in the juristic papyri of the British Museum.



Necropolis were idle. The eight [thieves]<sup>1</sup> of the Necropolis were prisoners in the temple of Maēt at Thebes."<sup>2</sup> A week later, on the 21st day, the sergeants of the Necropolis informed the vizier and the chief prophet of Amūn that they had the thieves under lock and key, and these officers handed over the gold, silver, garments and other objects that had been found in the prisoners' possession.<sup>3</sup> A few days later is the entry "examination of the eight men and their wives".

The above quoted specimens from the Necropolis Journal will give some idea of the importance of the document for reconstructing the civil administration of Western Thebes towards the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. From its entries can be gleaned an immense harvest of information as to the personnel, employment, and wages of the workmen. The frequent references to the names of officials, priests and work-people who are known to us from other documents are valuable clues to the reconstruction of many interesting details of private and official life during a period of great historical interest. As the power of the later Ramesside kings waned, so that of the priesthood waxed, until the chief priest of Amūn, Hrihor, succeeded in gathering the reins of power into his own hands, when he followed Ramesses XI to the throne, and became the first Pharaoh of the Twenty-first Theban Dynasty. There are innumerable papyri and ostraca in the Museums of London, Liverpool, Berlin, Paris, Cairo, and elsewhere, that deal not only with the events, but with the very persons named in the Necropolis Journal. The publication of the journal itself is the first step towards putting these abundant materials into their proper positions, and although the task abounds in difficulties, it will doubtless be accomplished, and we shall then have a detailed picture of the daily life of Thebes in the twelfth century B.C. with a wealth of detail unparalleled in any other period.

<sup>1</sup> The word is lost in a lacuna.

<sup>2</sup> Plate xv, line 18 (line 3 of plate).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., lines 21-3.

Dr. Botti and Professor Peet have placed all scholars and historians under a deep obligation by their skilful and patient handling of a difficult and laborious task. The succeeding fascicules of their publication will be awaited with great interest, and it is to be hoped that every possible measure will be taken to ensure their speedy completion.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, it is the pleasant duty of the reviewer to pay a warm tribute to the industry, patience and sagacity of Dr. Botti in the laborious preliminary work of sorting the fragments, a work that extended over several years. It is difficult for one who has not done direct work in fragmentary hieratic papyri to realize what an extreme trial of patience is involved in sorting over hundreds of fragments, and then of arranging them according to their texture, spacing, handwriting, palæography and subject-matter. The reviewer has done a certain amount of similar work (but far less onerous a task than Dr. Botti's), and can fully sympathize and appreciate the difficulties involved.

It would be difficult enough to reconstruct a single shattered papyrus from numerous fragments even if it were known that all the pieces were in existence; how much greater then was the task of building up a number of different documents from countless scraps, many of which were missing! To have estimated the extent of the lacunæ and to have built up the documents dealt with in this, and the future parts of the present work, is an achievement of which Dr. Botti may justly be proud. Without this preliminary labour of love, it would have been impossible for him and for Professor Peet to have undertaken the intensive study of the texts and to have placed them before students in so admirable a fashion.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written the second and third parts have appeared.

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## OBITUARY NOTICE

### The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali was born in Oudh (District Unao) in 1849 but the greater part of his Indian career was spent in Bengal. He graduated in the Calcutta University in 1867 and showed an early inclination to literature. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1873, and held various legal positions, becoming a Judge of the Calcutta High Court in 1890. He retired from the High Court in 1904, earning warm encomiums from Lord Curzon at a farewell banquet. Meanwhile he had served on the Bengal Legislative Council and the Viceroy's Legislative Council from 1878 to 1885. After retirement from the High Court he took up his residence in England, and was appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on which he served till his death on 3rd August, 1928. During his stay in England he was an honoured member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Elected a member in 1904, he was a member of the Council of the Society from 1907 to 1911, a vice-president from 1911 to 1915, and again a member of council from 1915 to 1918.

Syed Ameer Ali's work may be considered under three heads, as a Muslim Jurist, as an interpreter of modernism in Islam both to the West and to his own co-religionists, and as a worker in the cause of Islam in the larger movements, political, social, and international. In all these capacities he had an effective instrument in a charming literary style, which he used with grace and distinction.

Almost immediately on graduation Syed Ameer Ali collaborated with Maulvi 'Ubaidullah in the translation of what was then considered a remarkable work by an Oriental scholar, Maulvi Syed Karamat Ali, Mutawalli of the Hugli Imambara. The original book was in Persian (*Maakhaz i 'Ulūm*), and was meant to turn the attention of Indian Muslims to modern science. The argument was that all

sciences originated from the East, which was the source from which the Greeks derived their knowledge. When the Greek sciences were lost or suppressed in the Dark Ages of Europe, the Arabs preserved them in their translations, which formed the starting point for the modern sciences. Just as Europe took her sciences from the Muslims, the Muslims should now learn their sciences from Europe. It is rather startling to be told that even the Copernican astronomy was known to Pythagoras and preserved in Arabic, to be renovated in the European Renaissance from Arabic sources. After that we shall not be surprised to hear that the name of "Spain" was derived from the Persian city of Ispahan! The original author, Syed Karamat Ali, was alone responsible for these phantasies. To Syed Ameer Ali's credit is the singularly lucid English style which served him in all departments of his literary and legal work to the end. But the argument is worth recalling, as it finds echoes in the Urdu poet Hali, and exaggerated claims for the East have been put forward in similar parallel movements in Hinduism. On such questions Syed Ameer Ali's own balanced and mature judgment will be found in his later works.

The "Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed" was published in London in 1873. It was the starting point of a literary movement towards an interpretation of Islam from within to its critics and a criticism of the accretions by which mediaeval interpreters have made a living, vigorous, and progressive system inert and mechanical, followed by their modern descendants who are even more mediaeval than the mediaeval 'Ulama. Revisions and developments followed in 1891 (London) and 1902 (Calcutta), and its final shape is to be found in *The Spirit of Islam* as published in London in 1922. In the same group may perhaps be put the more colourless *Ethics of Islam* (Calcutta, 1893), and the *Short History of the Saracens* (London, 1899 and 1921), as well as *The Legal Position of Women in Islam* (London, 1912). Syed Ameer Ali latterly adopted the



Mo'tazila label. This was the name of a sect in Islam which flourished in the second and third centuries of the Hijra.<sup>1</sup> The sect is now extinct. It is less than just to Syed Ameer Ali's liberal spirit to suppose that he wished in the slightest degree to revive the fierce controversies in which the sect figured in its early days, sometimes supporting extravagant metaphysical doctrines now fortunately forgotten. Its rationalist attitude is (to put it on the lowest plane) consistent with the whole tenour of the Prophet's teaching: in the present writer's view it is of the essence of that teaching. But without the moral and spiritual fervour which characterized the Prophet's message, the Mo'tazila rationalism is apt to become barren and inert.

As a jurist Syed Ameer Ali may well claim to have specialized in Anglo-Muslim law. In collaborating (1904) with Mr. Finucane in his Commentary on the Bengal Tenancy Act, and earlier in his Editorship of the India Law Reports, Calcutta, he had dealt with general law as administered in Bengal. In his Law of Evidence, in which he collaborated with Sir John Woodroffe for the last time in the fourth edition (1907), he urged the value of freedom rather than technicality of interpretation in the rules of evidence, following the modern spirit of jurisprudence as opposed to what Bentham called the "grimgribber nonsensical reasons" for the rules of evidence. But the standard juristical work on which his fame will rest was his *Mahommedan*<sup>2</sup> *Law*, which has passed through several editions, and is always quoted with authority in the Courts. A popular Student's Handbook, based on the larger work, is also used in legal education. Here again the modern spirit is evident, e.g. in his doctrine of the legality of commercial interest under the Shari'at, or of valuable securities as forming valid subject-matter for Waqfs. He

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Arnold has published a short account of it, with an Arabic Text.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling is Syed Ameer Ali's.

was largely instrumental in re-shaping the law of family Waqfs.

In public affairs Mr. Ameer Ali's position has not perhaps been fully understood. In defending Turkey in the Turco-Italian War (1912) he had at his back the whole of Muslim and Hindu opinion in India. In pressing for the integrity of the Khilafat after the Great War, he took his stand on the unity of Islam, rather than on any bias for or against Turkey. He stood for the rights of Persia in a paper he read to the Central Asian Society in 1918. The Indian Muslim League of London, which he guided, held a somewhat isolated position in these later years. But there is no doubt that he was acting throughout in the best interests (as he understood them) of Islam, of India, and of the Empire. His humanitarian efforts in connexion with the British Red Crescent Society deserve to be better known than they are. His cherished scheme for building a worthy Mosque for London made little headway on account of his isolated position, and it is to be hoped that any future plans in this connexion may not lose sight of his pioneer work or of the jealous care with which he guarded the scheme from anything calculated to lose the confidence of those most competent to judge.

In conclusion a word of personal tribute may be permitted from one who knew him for many years and was associated with him in some of his activities in England. To the courtly manners of a cultured Muslim gentleman he added a powerful intellect and an absorbing love for Islam. He never got the full recognition that was his due, either from his own people, or the country and Empire he served so well. But every one will remember with respect his integrity of purpose, his sterling character, and the consistent course which he steered through life. His loss makes a big gap in Muslim learning and public life.

A. YUSUF ALI.

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## Hungarian Scholars

*Abstract of Lecture delivered to the Royal Asiatic Society, on  
12th June, 1928.*

By SIR DENISON ROSS

THE studies to which the lecturer referred were those in connexion with Chinese Turkestan and Tibet. The Hungarian scholars he spoke of were Csoma de Kőrös, Ujfalvy, Arminius Vambery, and Sir Aurel Stein. He pointed out that after the unveiling to Europe of the ancient culture of India by English scholars at the end of the eighteenth century there remained two great secrets to be revealed, (1) that of Tibet and (2) that of Central Asia. It was mainly to the remarkable self-sacrifice and devotion of the lonely Hungarian traveller, Csoma de Kőrös, that we owed the first interpretation of the Tibetan language and the first description of her vast Buddhist literature. On 1st January, 1820, Csoma set out from Bucharest, and travelling by ship or on foot without equipment or money reached Lahore on 11th March, 1822. From Lahore he retraced his steps to Leh, and there he began quite by accident his study of the Tibetan Language, as a result of the perusal of Georgii's *Alphabetum Tibetan*, which had been lent him by an Englishman. This book, which gave a quite erroneous account of Tibetan, so whetted Csoma's curiosity that he determined to "be acquainted with the structure of that curious tongue". He thus spent the next nine years at various places on the N.W. frontier studying with Lamas, and in 1831 arrived in Calcutta with a complete knowledge of the language and a mass of linguistic material. From 1831 to 1835 he resided in the premises of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, devoting himself to cataloguing the Tibetan books sent from Nepal by Brian Hodgson, and preparing his Tibetan Dictionary and Grammar for the Press, for which the Government had agreed to defray the cost of publication. He lived on the merest pittance like a hermit, and never went outside the

Society's premises, his only exercise being a walk within its compound.

In 1835 he again set out on his travels, and passed two years in Eastern Bengal learning Bengali and perfecting his knowledge of Sanskrit. From 1837 to 1842 he a second time resided in the A.S.B. building, where in addition to his duties as Librarian he wrote and published a number of articles in the *Journal*. In February, 1842, at the age of 58, he set out for Darjeeling intending to make the journey to Lhasa. He reached Darjeeling sick with fever on 6th April, and six days later died. He was buried in Darjeeling and over his grave the A.S.B. raised an inscribed pillar, which was renovated in 1910.

The lecturer next referred to Ujfalvy, who travelled extensively in Central Asia and elsewhere. His main contribution to ethnography was his *Ariens au Nord et au Sud de l'Hindou Kouch*.

Arminius Vambery, whose name, thanks to the popularity of his books of travel and his frequent contributions to the *Times*, was better known to Englishmen than that of Csoma de Kőrös, made extensive journeys in Russian Turkestan and Persia and did much by his writings to popularize the manners and customs of the peoples he visited.

Finally the lecturer spoke of the most eminent services to science rendered by Sir Aurel Stein, who belongs to that small group of explorers in Chinese Turkestan who by their patient endurance of innumerable hardships and the application of their scholarly equipment have wrested from the sand-buried ruins of the desert the secrets of lost civilizations, and whose journeys have resulted in the revolutionizing of our conceptions of Asiatic history, and have placed the world under a permanent obligation. Seldom has there been seen combined in one individual such qualifications for exploration; we may perhaps be allowed to call Stein an *Übermensch*—scholar, historian, geographer, and athlete all in one, this great Hungarian, a naturalized Englishman, is the pride of two nations.



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(July-September, 1928)

### GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

*Friday, 20th July, 1928*

Lord Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

|                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Major C. A. Boyle.          | Mr. Najendra Nath Sharma.  |
| Mr. K. Ramachandra Rao.     | Mr. Bertram S. Thomas.     |
| Professor Edward Robertson. | Mr. Rama Shankar Tripathi. |

### BURTON MEMORIAL MEDAL PRESENTATION

The Burton Memorial Lecture, "The Coming of the Arabs to the Sudan," was given by Mr. H. A. MacMichael, C.M.G., D.S.O.

The Chairman, introducing the lecturer, said :—

Ladies and Gentlemen, the lecture we are to hear to-day was founded and endowed with a view to perpetuating the memory of that great traveller and scholar, Sir Richard Burton.

When we listen to a lecture delivered in honour of Sir Richard Burton, our minds at once go back to those great exploits of his, his pilgrimage to Mecca, and the production of those great literary works which would in themselves have been sufficient to secure fame for him throughout the civilized and perhaps throughout the uncivilized world.

The first lecture of the Trust was delivered three years ago by that great expert upon the people and the country of Arabia, Mr. H. St. John Philby, and in Mr. MacMichael we have a worthy successor to Mr. Philby, for Mr. MacMichael has spent something not far short of a quarter of a century in the political service in the Sudan. After a distinguished career in the provinces of that great country, he came to headquarters, Khartoum, and became Civil Secretary to the Sudan Government.

During the years of his service he spent much time and thought in studying the people amongst whom he moved, and embodied the results of his labours in admirable publications, and particularly in the *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, which he published in 1922.

*Abstract of the Lecture*

Mr. MacMichael said :—

I will first deal with the question of cause. The Arabs were bound for Egypt, and they passed thence into the Sudan for reasons which I hope to explain. The motives which brought the Arab tribesmen to Egypt in 639 A.D. and the years which followed are familiar to all students of history. They are common to all the phases of the great religio-racial movement which marked the rise of Islam in the first half of the seventh century, but it may be contended with justice that the movement was not so exclusively religious in character as it is sometimes represented to have been. I hope in saying this, not to be misunderstood. It would, of course, be ridiculous to argue that the primordial force, which stirred the Arabs into sudden action and first inspired their leaders to conquer new worlds, was not religious fervour, or that religion has not played a leading part in the life of the race at all times ; but neither must one forget the tendency of a surplus population to seek subsistence beyond the borders of its own poor territory, nor the fact that at all times and in all places the unchanging Arab of the desert has always been swayed by thoughts of loot and pastures new. So long as he is happy and contented the Arab is not particularly prone to intolerance in religious matters, but, thrown off his balance by injustice or unexpected hardship, or excited by hopes of sudden aggrandisement, ingenuously he clothes with the sanctions of religion any atrocity he may feel moved to commit, and his native fatalism renders him regardless of consequences. . . .

But a brief sketch of the history of those Arabs who remained



as nomads in Egypt is necessary for a full understanding of our subject.

First, however, let us not forget that long before the rise of Islam there had been *some* Arab infiltration both into Egypt and the Sudan. Arab merchants, seeking gold and ivory, slaves and spices, had been in the habit of crossing the Red Sea, the Straits of Babel Mandeb, and the Isthmus of Suez from the earliest times of which history has any knowledge, and the process was intensified in the Roman and Ptolemaic periods.

To revert now to the Arabs who sojourned in Egypt. As tribal units they entered Egypt in the seventh and following centuries.

The question then arises, why, when and how did so many of these Arabs go to the Sudan? Also: Of the Arabs now in the Sudan, did none come direct across the Red Sea? The latter question is difficult to answer, but it need not detain us long. Tradition in the Sudan would have it that many of the tribal ancestors came by way of the Red Sea ports, but tradition is suspect, for it would also have us believe that these ancestors were either of royal blood, or at least noblemen from the holy places, and, true to type, takes no count of the thousands of forebears who could have laid no claim to either. Unquestionably, occasional families entered the Sudan by this route, in search of trade or the rewards expected by the learned from the ignorant, or as refugees, and other tribesmen may have crossed over seeking the pastoral life in congenial surroundings, as, within recent years, certain Rashaida have done; but I am unaware of any evidence to show that there has ever been wholesale tribal movement to the Sudan by way of the Red Sea in the sense in which such tribal movement has certainly taken place through Egypt and up the Valley of the Nile. . . .

Leaving aside for the moment the question of dates and circumstances, let us consider the reasons why the Arabs tended to migrate from Egypt to the Sudan. In brief, there

was better pasturage for their animals, less fear of the tax-collector, and more hope of loot and slaves. . . . On the other hand there were serious limiting factors, namely the age-long disinclination of those who sat in the seat of Pharaoh to let them go, and a very natural unwillingness on the part of the rulers of Nubia to let them pass the narrow river gateway of the Sudan.

Let me say a few words more on some of these points, Egypt is not an ideal country for the nomad. Its rainfall is negligible, and there is a superfluity of cultivation. The Sudan, on the other hand, excluding the southern provinces, has much in common with Arabia. . . . One can see what happened. As the Arabs gravitated southwards through Egypt, they heard of wide pasture lands eminently suited to their camels and sheep—at this time they probably owned no cattle—and when they were able to sample the promised land they found themselves upon familiar ground among familiar conditions. Most of them therefore stayed there with their beasts; but others, pressing farther afield, acquired cattle—the tsetse fly would not have let the camel live, even were other conditions favourable—and took up their abode between the negroes of the South and the camel- and sheep-owners of the North.

But the lure of pasturage was not the only inducement to the Arab to move into the Sudan. For the first two hundred years or so after the conquest of Egypt, its rulers were themselves Arabs and so understood Arabs and their ways. By the middle of the ninth century the Arabs, who had been encouraged by circumstances to migrate from Arabia, tribe by tribe or section by section, were numerically preponderant in Egypt; but a change now took place which was of vital moment to them. The Governors of Egypt ceased to be Arabs, and a series of despotic Turks, Berbers and Mamluks held the reins of government until the conquest of the country by Selim I of Turkey in 1517. The result to the nomad Arabs was disastrous. They were regarded with no favour or sympathy



by anyone. To the native Copts they and their animals were interlopers and a nuisance; to the warlike ruling classes they were contemptible, for, as compared with the trained troops of the standing army, they were useless save for skirmishing or conducting a foray that promised loot. As tax-payers they were elusive and not particularly productive when caught. As subjects they were a perpetual source of anxiety.

Periodically they rose in rebellion, though never with success, and by the beginning of the fourteenth century they were regarded as little better than outlaws. As a natural result, the tendency of the Arab was to get away as far as he could from the iron hand of despotism and the turmoil of precarious uncertainty.

So much for the incentives urging the Arabs southwards. A word must now be said of the main difficulty that was involved and the manner in which it was surmounted.

Beyond the first cataract, the Christian kingdom of Nubia, with its capital at Dongola and territories extending to what are now the cotton fields of the Gezira, lay athwart the river. To the East and North-east were the wild nomadic Beja tribesmen (the Fuzzie of the present day), to the West an almost waterless desert. Its people were negroids, a blend of pre-dynastic Egyptian and Libyan stocks, diluted by many centuries of negro admixture from the South. For some six hundred years after the Arab conquest of Egypt—a period, be it remembered, as long as that between the ascension of Edward III and the present year of grace—this barrier held. Then, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it crumbled away entirely. . . . But the days of Arab rule in Egypt were by now drawing to their close, and the change is reflected in the relations between the Arabs and the Nubians. On the Nile, the Kingdom of Dongola was to survive for many years to come, but changes were taking place already, and, by the close of the tenth century, we find that Nubian converts to Islam were not uncommon in the borderland and that

Mohammedan settlers had acquired lands there and become practically independent. Henceforward extreme Upper Egypt and the northern fringes of Nubia were to become more and more a focus for the immigration from Egypt of Arabs to whom life was being made a burden by the tyranny of successive alien dynasts. No doubt they met with opposition from the natives, no doubt for many years sporadic fighting took place, no doubt whatever, too, intermarriage took place, but the eventual outcome at least is clear. Gradually the plains of the northern and central Sudan, excepting always the Red Sea hinterland where the Beja, albeit with Arab infusion, preserved their independence, fell to the invaders, and between them and such of the older inhabitants as were not forced southwards or to the hills a merger of races took place of which we see the obvious results at the present day in the case of all but the most nomadic of the camel-owning tribes.

Two hundred years after the final collapse of Dongola, we find the powerful Arab chieftain of the Rufa'a engaged in a formal alliance with the Mohammedan Sultan of the negroid Fung. The main object of the Arab alliance appears to have been the extirpation of the remainder of the aborigines. Its immediate consequences were the subjugation of the country within a wide radius of the junction of the rivers, and a considerable further influx of Arabs of heterogeneous origin from the North.

The doors of the Sudan were now wide open. There is no evidence of any further tribal movement to the Sudan on the grand scale, but there has been infiltration by small groups at successive periods, both by way of Egypt and the Red Sea.

Here, in view of the title I have chosen for my address, I might perhaps close my story. I feel, however, that it would be rather incomplete if I did not say something in very brief and general terms as to what has become of the Arabs whose entry into the Sudan I have tried to describe.



When the Arabs entered the country they probably found conditions much as they were until recently so far as the growing of crops and the raising of sheep and cattle are concerned. Those who settled at an early date in the riverian districts without displacing the earlier inhabitants *en bloc*, would tend to become absorbed racially and culturally by them; but away from the river tribal life survived to a far greater extent. The camel-owner in the north would find the field fairly clear and opposition slight, but in the central belt and southwards there was a numerous population of blacks who must have resented and resisted the arrival of the interlopers. The methods whereby the difficulties were overcome may have differed widely in different areas, but all the evidence points to the fact that victory was more usually won by agreement and intermarriage than by force of arms.

In the case of the nomad tribes, though repeated permutations have taken place, and still from time to time take place, in the allegiance of the component sections, it is amazing to find how slight is the change that has occurred during the course of centuries. Miscegenation between the Arab and the semi-Arab, and breeding from the negro slave women who were captured by the thousand during the Egyptian and Dervish periods, have left their obvious mark, and many customs have been borrowed from the land of their adoption; but the fact remains that the nomad Arabs as a whole, and more particularly their womenfolk, are hardly distinguishable from the Arabs of Western Arabia in appearance or in ways.

In one respect, it is true, there is a marked difference at the present day, but it is one in which the administration of the Sudan may, I think, legitimately take a certain pride. Its policy is to avoid every form of unnecessary interference with the tribal life, to support the authority of the sheikhs so long as it is not gravely abused, and to encourage in them that spirit of responsibility and self-reliance and self-respect which provides the best guarantee of justice and security to the individual. The Arabs have now enjoyed these advantages

to an ever-increasing extent for thirty years, their flocks and herds have increased enormously ; and while they still preserve the fine freedom and independence of spirit and the tradition of courtesy which has always been the pride of their race, they are losing something of the wildness, the bird-like fecklessness and irresponsibility, the propensity to battle, murder and sudden death, which still distinguish their nomadic cousins in Arabia.

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The Chairman, in handing the medal to Mr. MacMichael on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society, acting as Trustees for the Burton Memorial Committee, said that a letter had been received from Dr. Baker, the friend and companion of Sir Richard Burton himself, who in collaboration with a member of this Society, Mr. Penzer was chiefly instrumental in establishing the lectures. Dr. Baker, though unable himself owing to ill-health to be present that afternoon, had displayed a keen interest in the lecture.

We are very fortunate, he added, in having present Sir John Maffey, the Governor-General of the Sudan, and I am sure that you would be glad to hear a few words from him on the subject of the lecture to which we have just listened.

Sir John Maffey said :—Mr. MacMichael shortly after his arrival in the Sudan was sent to a somewhat remote province, and he spent a great part of his time in compiling a great work on camel brands. Camel brands to the unlettered Arabs are really the whole machinery of the registration of property, and in that work Mr. MacMichael rendered great service to Government in that particular line of research. Another branch of his work which has struck me as likely to prove very fruitful in the future is the attempt to maintain such tribal organization as exists. There has been a great tendency to allow the old patriarchal powers and organization gradually to disappear, but we are pulling it together again, and it is wonderful



what a response we have had. In that work Mr. MacMichael with his deep knowledge of the tribal powers of the Arabs and his deep sympathy with their tribal machinery has been of immense assistance. It is essential, I think, in dealing with people of that kind, not to force upon the country a Government machinery until you are quite sure that you have not got in the tribe itself a machinery which will carry the load.

Mr. Ellis said :—He had been acquainted with Sir Richard Burton himself many years ago at the time when he was preparing to publish his *Arabian Nights*. The presentment of him which he remembered is in the portrait of him which is in his *Arabian Nights*. He was an extremely pleasant acquaintance, and a delightful conversationalist. I think I might say a very pleasant friend but a rather unpleasant enemy. He was a very daring traveller, and his method of managing the natives was very fine. He had an intimate knowledge of the Arab character.

Colonel Spencer also spoke.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

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